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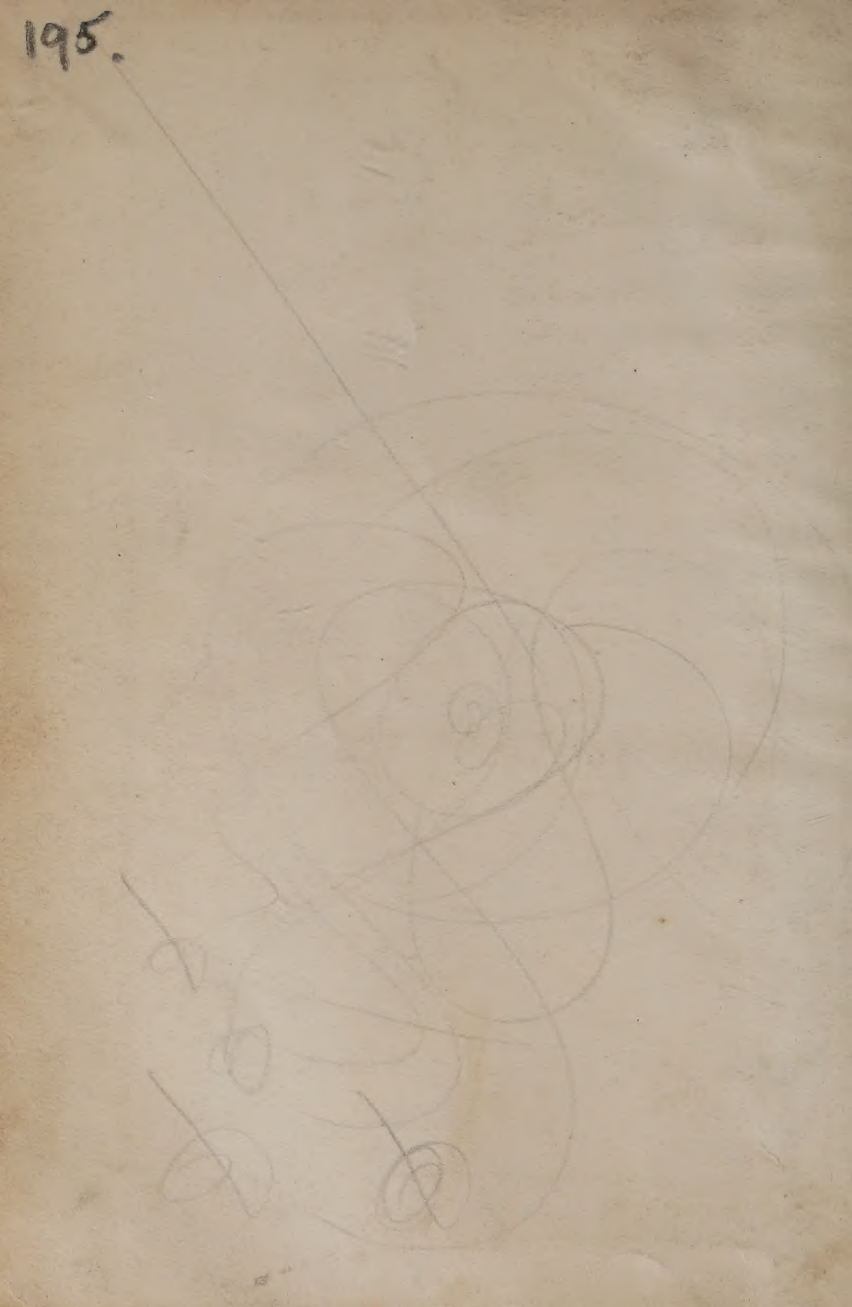

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OF THE

BRITISH ARMY

BEING A CONTINUOUS HISTORY OF

Its Services, its Defeats and its Victories from the Earliest Times

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BY

CHARLES RATHBONE LOW

(Late) Indian Navy, F.R.G.S.

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NAVY," "GREAT BATTLES OF THE BRITISH NAVY," "GREAT AFRICAN TRAVELLERS"

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PREFACE.

To chronicle the brave deeds of the British army is truly an inspiring theme. The regular forces of England only came into existence in 1660, when General Monk restored Charles II. to the throne. During that and the following years, some regiments were raised for service at home and at Tangier, and the Foot Guards were formed to do duty about the King's person. These levies formed the nucleus of that famous army whose standards have been borne throughout the world, and everywhere almost invariably to victory. Whether we regard the varied nature of its services or the splendour of its victories, no army of the ancient or modern world presents so distinguished a record. This is a bold assertion, but that it is amply justified by facts a cursory review and comparison will show.

With the British Isles, whether as a colonizing or military power, with which aspect we are alone now concerned, only one nation of antiquity can be compared, and that is Rome. The Roman legionary carried the eagles of his country to the shores of Britain on the one hand, and the confines of the Persian Empire on the other, and from the Nile and Ethiopia on the south to the frozen banks of the Baltic on the north. Great conquerors had penetrated to more distant climes, as Alexander to the banks of the Indus, and in modern times, Genghis Khan extended his gigantic empire over Northern China, while Napoleon established his rule over half Europe, and sought to extend it over Egypt and Syria and to oust us from India. But none of these states either lasted as long or extended its limits so far as the British Empire—that marvellous creation of the genius and valour of the British soldier and sailor, and, let us add, colonist and trader, for so far as the acquisition of Australia is concerned, a hostile shot has never been fired on its shores.

The arms of the British soldier have been carried to almost every clime and country of the habitable globe. Excluding from our review the Crusades, our ancestors first showed their English mettle on the fields of Cressy, Poictiers and Agincourt, victories achieved in the face

of the greatest difficulties and discouragements, and against enormous odds. Marlborough displayed generalship of the first order, and his troops the most signal courage and discipline, in those four sanguinary battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet; and before England's greatest soldier appeared in the military arena, the victories of Dettingen, Minden, Quebec, Alexandria and Maida were honourable to the British soldier. The astonishing series of successes achieved by our army under the great Duke of Wellington are familiar, as Macaulay would say, "to every schoolboy."

But what, perhaps, forms the chief glory of the British army is the conquest of India—first the severe and protracted struggle we maintained with the French, and then the wars from the time of Clive to that of Roberts, in which we subdued the Bengalee, Madrassee, Sikh, Scindian, Rajpoot, Goorkha, Belooch, Mahratta, Burman and Afghan; until now the flag of our country is paramount from Quetta and the confines of Cashmere to Bhamo and the borders of China and Siam. The empire of Akbar and Aurungzebe, of which poets and historians have written, never equalled in extent or riches the vast territory now ruled by an English Viceroy, under the protecting ægis of British bayonets. Without this symbol of order, which insures the *Pax Britannicum*, the countless races of that vast peninsula would fly at each others' throats, or by their weakness invite foreign domination, and bring back the days of those cruel invaders, Mahmoud of Ghuznee, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah and others, who carried fire and sword to the walls of Delhi.

The British soldier has displayed the Union Jack in Mauritius and Java, at Aden and Kas-ul-Khymah. He has borne it victoriously in China, Persia and New Zealand. Africa has been a fruitful field for the display of his valour, as witness the campaigns in Egypt and Ashantee, and the numerous Kaffir Wars, beginning with the acquisition of Cape Colony and ending with the pacification of Zululand. America, North and South, has witnessed British prowess, not always, it is true, crowned with success, as witness Buenos Ayres, Yorktown, and New Orleans; but our arms were honourably upheld and were often triumphant, as at Quebec, Louisburg, and in some of the engagements of the fratricidal struggle forced on the country by the folly and obstinacy of George III. and his minister, Lord North. From this summary it will be allowed that the British army, both by the extent and magnitude of its campaigns and victories, has achieved a reputation that is perhaps unique in the world's history.

My object in writing this book has been to supply a much-needed want, to wit, a popular, but complete and detailed (so far as the limits would permit) narrative of the achievements of the British army. Since the establishment of the Volunteers as an adjunct to our system of

defence, the military history of our country has become a matter of widely-diffused interest. The regular army, which numbers on the peace establishment 210,000 men, is but a portion of the armed forces of the country. Irrespective of the Navy and Royal Marines, the land forces of the United Kingdom reach the vast numerical aggregate of 600,000 men. This is inclusive of the 72,000 men serving in India, but exclusive of the native troops of the Indian army, and the local forces of our Colonial Empire. Hence has arisen among all classes a great and increasing interest in the history of the British army, which, as set forth in this work, includes not only its victories but its defeats. Some may consider this course unpatriotic, but a regard not only for truth, but for "the whole truth," has impelled me to adopt this method of treatment, and the balance is so enormously in favour of our successes, that the national pride will not be offended by setting one side of the account in the national ledger against the other. We have suffered defeat on the Continent at Almanza and Fontenoy, and in minor affairs duly set forth in these pages. Also at Buenos Ayres and in Egypt in 1807, and we were worsted by our Colonists in America; but they were men of our own blood; while, on the other hand, we conquered and drove out of America our French rivals. In the West Indies, again, we emerged triumphant out of a long series of wars waged with the Spaniard and Frenchman.

In India the record of the British soldier is, perhaps, the most astonishing recorded in history. "*Divide et Impera*" is the maxim which has inspired our policy in that peninsula, as with Rome and all peoples possessing the imperial instinct of governing alien races. Many times since we embarked in this struggle for supremacy has our rule only been saved from extinction by our adoption of this golden maxim. Our proconsuls knew how to manage the princes and people of India, and, perhaps, even to intrigue when necessity demanded it, in order to stave off a combination of powers, and thus we triumphed over all enemies.

When Coote was struggling in the south, Clive was enabled, by his wise policy, to send him reinforcements from Calcutta, and, on the other hand, Plassey was gained by the "Heaven-born General," by the aid of soldiers from Madras. In our life-and-death struggle with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, we had the Nizam or the Mahrattas on our side, and the French aid came too late to save the extinction of the Mysore power. Again, in the Mahratta Wars we dealt with Scindia, Nagpore, and Holkar separately, and settled them effectively in detail. It was the same during the struggle with the Sikhs and Nepaulese, and the sagacity that guided our counsels, in this respect at least—that of not overtaxing our military strength, and playing off one subject race against another—was strikingly exemplified during the Indian Mutiny, when Delhi was reconquered, through the loyal assistance and gallantry

of our Sikh and Goorkha soldiers. So it will be in the future, if wisdom guides our counsels.

In China England has been uniformly successful in all her "little wars," and in South Africa, where our record is a more chequered one, we have acquired enormous tracts of territory, thanks to the valour of our army; and if through gross incompetence we have suffered reverses at the hands of the Boers, our troops, when properly led, as in 1848, by Sir Harry Smith at Boemplatts, easily defeated them, though four-fold their strength. In Afghanistan, again, we suffered reverses in 1842 and 1880, only to be wiped out by striking victories; and the same may be said of our "little war" in New Zealand in 1864.

This work claims to be a consecutive and fairly complete record of the services of the British army. It has been my endeavour to give space proportionate to the relative importance of the campaigns and battles described. We are given to exaggerate the military and political events of our own times, but a due sense of proportion should be one of the guiding principles of an historical work. The great fact that stands out in this record is the stubborn valour of our soldiers and the devotion to duty of our officers. Such as the British officer* is now,

* An Italian paper, the *Adriatico* of Venice, has an article on the British officer, from the pen of a general, Senator Clemente Corte, which will be recognized as an appropriate tribute to his virtues. General Corte spoke from experience, having lived for some months with an officer who had served under Havelock, in his memorable advance on Lucknow. He says:—"The victory of the English at Suakin in 1888, affords a further demonstration—were it still needed—of their great superiority over other Europeans in colonial warfare, and of their marvellous aptitude in organizing and leading in action forces from among conquered peoples. Be their soldiers Hottentots of Africa, Goorkhas of the Himalayas, Sikhs of the Punjaub, or negroes of the Soudan, English officers know how to bring them under control, to discipline and instruct them, and to lead them to victory. Whoever has for any length of time frequented the society of English officers so as thoroughly to know them, must have observed that while they possess, in their full development, the noblest qualities of the soldier, they exhibit in a much less degree, than do those of other nations, those characteristics—certainly not always agreeable—which seem peculiarly to result from the habitudes of a military life. Daring to temerity in the face of danger, the English officer is generally modest and reserved in ordinary intercourse; he, no matter how intimate he may be with you, will never trouble you by talking of himself, his campaigns, his wounds, his honours. It is rarely that he quarrels with any one, but should he do so, and be in the wrong, he does not think it derogatory to ask pardon. Of that arrogant, almost defiant, bearing which the officers of certain continental armies too frequently assume towards their civilian fellow-citizens, there is no trace in the English officer. He may, perhaps, appear haughty on account of national pride of race or family, but he is never so on account of his military rank, which, however elevated it may be, never causes him to forget that, before and above it, he is an English gentleman. With his dependants, even when of subjugated races, he is generally just, cold, dignified; not familiar or expansive in his manner, but positively averse to any word or act which might seem in any way offensive to the decorum of others, and especially to his own self-respect. To terrorize by arbitrary acts, or to gain popularity by means of weak concessions, he deems equally contemptible and unworthy of him."

such were his prototypes, the noble knights who fought at Cressy, Poictiers and Agincourt. We read with a glow of admiration of the gallantry and devotion of Nicholson at Delhi, of Coghill and Melville at Isandlhwana, and of Henn and Slade at Maiwand. The age of chivalry is not dead while the British army produces officers such as these, and leaders like Outram, and Gordon, and Lord Napier, gentle in peace and fiery in war. They are the true successors of the knightly heroes commemorated in the pages of Holinshed, of those doughty paladins of war (to mention only the first of the long line) Sir John Chandos and Sir Thomas Holland, who cut his way through the French forces at Cressy, to carry the appeal for succour from the Black Prince to his father, that most valiant of English kings. It was a favourite expression of the great Duke of Wellington that "Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton." It was the chivalrous spirit and high tone of the English gentleman, he would declare, that made the British regimental officer the best in the world.

Though a love of adventure and a dislike to the irksome monotony of civil life in a highly-civilized community like ours, are among the chief incentives that drive the flower of our youth into the army, patriotism and a sense of duty animate them in the hardships of a campaign and the perils of the battle-field. Many a war-worn veteran and ardent youth in the heyday of life, have, like Quentin Battye at Delhi, with their last breath murmured the noble words of the Latin poet :—"*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" These "inheritors of unfulfilled renown," as Shelley calls such, have died by the sword, or perished miserably of fever in the swamps or jungles of four continents, but they have not rendered up their lives in vain. Their bright example has been like a torch to light the path of duty to those treading in their footsteps, and England's renown and dominion have been extended by their valour and devotion.

C. R. Low.

KENSINGTON,
April, 1890.

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...OUGH OF LEWISHAM
CENTRAL

BATTLES OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY FRENCH WARS.

1066—1513.

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THE British army has gained laurels in every continent and in every clime. It has almost uniformly followed the path that led to victory, and the occasions have been rare when it has met with reverses. If British arms have been worsted at Almanza and Fontenoy, in both fields we were outnumbered. At Fontenoy we owed our defeat to the Irish Legion, while at Almanza, our heterogeneous army of English, Dutch, and Portuguese was led by Lord Galway (a Frenchman whose name was Rouvigny), and the French and Spaniards were commanded by an Englishman, the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James II., and nephew of the Great Marlborough. A French writer observed: "The English certainly fought like lions, and perfectly maintained their reputation for bravery. They might also have the satisfaction in saying that they were commanded by a Frenchman, and beaten by an Englishman." We have experienced defeats in America during the fratricidal conflict with our colonists; at Buenos Ayres, and in Egypt (1807); Colonel Monson's disaster in India; in the passes of Afghanistan in 1841–42, when a handful of British troops—exclusive of Sepoys, our numbers were under 800 men—was sacrificed to divided and imbecile counsels; and the disasters at Maiwand and Isandlwhana, where our soldiers displayed a desperate heroism. All our reverses, from Buckingham's failure at Rochelle to Colley's disaster at Majuba

Hill, were due either to numerical inferiority, to our insular habit of under-rating an enemy, and, chiefly, to the rashness and incapacity of the British general. But these blemishes on the national escutcheon are scarcely more apparent, in the long and brilliant roll of our military successes, than the spots on the face of the sun in its noontide splendour. Victory has almost uniformly crowned our standards, and we have experienced no overwhelming disasters such as overtook the legions of the Roman Varrus, or, in modern times, the armies of Spain, Germany, France, Austria, and Italy, in the various wars that have desolated Europe.

Though the existence of a standing army only dates from 1660, the year of the Restoration of King Charles II., when regular troops were raised and sent abroad to garrison Tangier, yet British soldiers were enrolled for temporary service abroad under the feudal system from the time of the Conquest. William the Conqueror had not long been seated on the throne of England before he conveyed English troops to the Continent to fight against the French king, or his own rebellious subjects in Normandy and Poitou. These soldiers gained great commendation for their steadiness, fidelity and gallantry in the field. The sons of the Conqueror made a still more frequent and extensive use of English troops. On one occasion, when William II., surnamed Rufus, was under the necessity of proclaiming his ban of war in the old Saxon form—"Let every man that is not a man of nothing, whether he live in burgh or out of burgh, leave his home and come"—30,000 stout Englishmen repaired to the place appointed for the muster. In the year 1091, when the Red King went into Normandy, his army consisted chiefly of native English, who appear to have been employed exclusively as infantry.

At a very early period, the English, serving under their Norman and Plantagenet princes, or feudal lords, made their name and prowess known on the Continent. When Duke Robert, brother of William II. and Henry I., repaired to the Holy Land with the Crusaders, who captured Jerusalem on the 15th of July, 1099, a great number of English and some Irish followed his standard, and gained honour in fighting with the turbaned Saracens. Afterwards, at the battle of Tenchebrai, where Robert and his brother Henry I. fought against each other for the Continental dominions of the family, the King owed his decisive victory to his English army. "This battle," observes an old chronicler, "was fought, and Normandy won, upon Saturday, being the vigil of St. Michael, even the same day forty years that William the Bastard set foot on England's shores for his conquest. God so disposing it (saith Malmsbury) that Normandy should be subjected to England that very day, wherein England was subdued to Normandy." Without

leaving their own island, the English, in those days, could have abundance of fighting, for Wales continued unsubdued until the time of Edward I., and with Scotland, we were almost continually at war until the accession of our James I. These circumstances kept up the use of arms, and the habit and spirit of war, in large portions of the population.

During the incessant wars of Henry II. on the Continent, English cowmen, and other English infantry, always formed a considerable portion of his armies, and, with scarcely an exception, these armies defeated the French, and marched from victory to victory. Under the lion-hearted Richard I. hosts of English were again fighting in Palestine, foremost in every assault, and distinguished in every battle. Their blue eyes, fair complexions, and ruddy cheeks, are noticed by all the foreign chroniclers who wrote on the Crusades. More than six centuries before Napoleon Bonaparte was foiled at the siege of Acre by British valour and skill—as he bitterly said, his destiny thwarted by an English post-captain—the English Crusaders signalized themselves under the same old walls and ramparts, and an English army was halted within sight of Jerusalem, after having fought and won the battle of Jaffa.

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the English fully established their reputation as one of the bravest and most warlike nations in Europe. Whatever may have been the evils of the feudal system, as compared with the improved systems of government which have followed it, there is abundant evidence that the English commonalty were better fed than any people on the continent of Europe. Hence, in a great measure, their spirit and alacrity, and that superior muscular strength, which almost invariably gave our infantry the victory. Under that greatest of English Kings, equally renowned in war and statesmanship, Edward I., the English were again engaged in Syria and Palestine, distinguishing themselves by many feats of arms, and adding to the glory of the national name.

In 1274, after Edward's return from the Holy Land, these steady English cross-bowmen saved his life, and overthrew the French foot soldiers and horsemen in the so-called "Little War of Chalons." During the same reign, besides being engaged in Wales and Scotland, the English fought in the Low Countries. But it was under Edward III., whose long reign extended for half a century from the year 1327, that English arms gained their greatest lustre, and to this day the names of Cressy and Poictiers arouse in all of English blood some of our proudest national memories. The rivalry between England and France never allowed any long duration of tranquillity, and in the year 1335, Edward III. claimed the French throne by right of inheritance, proclaiming the French King, Philip VI. (who was then aiding the Scots), a usurper and traitor. Edward went over to the Low Countries, but as long as he fought with foreign mercenaries, and

attacked France from the side of Flanders, he was unsuccessful. However, he soon changed both his troops and his field of action. In 1346, Edward collected a fine army, consisting solely of English, Welsh, and Irish, and landed with them on the coast of Normandy, near Cape la Hogue, about the middle of July. That province was defenceless, for Edward's attack had been expected to fall upon the South. In the latter direction, the Duke of Normandy was endeavouring, with the flower of the French army, to drive the English from Guienne. One of Edward's principal objects was to create a diversion which should draw the French out of that province; while he also intended, by crossing the Seine, to join his allies, the Flemings, who had already passed the French border. Having taken Caen and other places, and plundered the country, Edward marched to the left bank of the Seine, intending to cross that river at Rouen; but, finding the French King, Philip, in superior force, he continued his march, and sacking Nantes, marched to St. Germain, which, together with St. Cloud and Neuilly, was burned to the ground. Still Edward's situation was critical, as he was separated from his auxiliaries, and Philip was reinforced daily.

Having repaired the bridge at Poissy, which Philip had partially destroyed, Edward struck his tents, and advanced as if he would attack Paris, his van even penetrating to the suburbs of that capital. This bold movement obliged the French to march over to the opposite bank, when Edward rapidly crossed to the right bank, with little loss. From the Seine he continued his march towards the river Somme, but found himself confronted by the French, and failed to effect a crossing. Meanwhile, Philip, who had now 100,000 men under his orders, divided his force, and, leaving one division to keep the English in check, marched with the other along the left bank of the Somme, to drive them towards the sea. So close was he upon his enemy that he rested one night where Edward had slept only two hours before. That evening the English reached Oisement, near the coast, where they found themselves cooped up between the sea, the Somme, and the division of the French army with Philip, which was six times more numerous than his whole force. Efforts were made by the English to discover a ford, but without success. Edward then ordered certain prisoners to be brought before him, and questioned them as to any fords across the Somme below Abbeville, offering as a reward to any man his freedom, and that of twenty of his companions. Thereupon a sutler, named Gobin Agace, stepped forward, and said there was a place a little lower down, called Blanche Taque (from the white stones presenting a hard bottom), which was fordable at the ebb tide. "The King of England," says Froissart, "did not sleep much that night, but, rising at midnight, ordered his trumpets to sound."

At the peep of day the army set out from the town of Oisement

under the guidance of Gobin Agace. It soon came to the ford of Blanche Taque, but Edward had the mortification to find, not only that the tide was full, but that the opposite bank of the river was lined with 12,000 men, under the command of a doughty baron named Du Fay. He was obliged, therefore, to wait till the tide was out. Fortunately, the French King, Philip, did not come up, and as soon as the river was fordable, Edward commanded his marshals to cross. Here they were met by the French cavalry, and a fierce conflict took place in the water. When the English had overcome this opposition, they encountered the French, in battle array, in a narrow pass which led from the ford up the right bank of the river. Among others posted there was a strong body of Genoese cross-bowmen, who galled them sorely; but the English archers "shot so well together" that they cleared the bank, and while part of his forces pursued Du Fay, Edward encamped with the rest in the pleasant fields between Crotoy and Crécy, anglicized into Cressy. Philip now appeared on the opposite side of the ford, where Edward had so long waited, but he was too late. As the tide was flowing, he thought it prudent to return up the river, and to cross it by the bridge of Abbeville.

Battle of Cressy.—26th of August, 1346.

The English King, encouraged by the result of the fight at Blanche Taque, resolved to fight the whole French army in his present position. When told that Philip would still pursue him, he merely said, "We will go no further. I have good reason to wait for him on this spot. I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother, upon the lands of Ponthieu, which were given to her as her marriage portion, and I am resolved to defend them against my adversary, Philip de Valois."*

Edward was outnumbered as eight to one, but his generals took up an advantageous position on an eminence a little in rear of the village of Cressy. While his men busied themselves with preparations for the impending conflict, the King gave a supper that evening to the earls and barons, and then entering his oratory, prayed God to bring him off with honour if he should fight on the morrow. Rising at early dawn, he and his son Edward, the renowned Black Prince, heard mass, and then the King ordered his men, who had also confessed, to arm and assemble, each under his proper banner or station, which had been carefully marked out during the preceding day. In the rear of his army he enclosed a large park, near a wood, in which he placed all

* Froissart's "Chronicles."

his baggage-waggons and his horses, for every man-at-arms, as well as every archer, was to fight that day on foot.

The English army was marshalled in three divisions. The first was led by the Prince of Wales, a boy of only fifteen, with those experienced captains, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, Sir John Chandos and Sir Thomas Holland, also Lords Lisle, Stafford, and many other nobles and knights. The division consisted of about 800 men-at-arms, 2,000 archers, and 1,000 Welsh foot. In rear, and rather on their flank, stood the second division of 800 men-at-arms, and 1,200 archers, who were commanded by the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, the Lords de Ros, Willoughby, and others. The third division stood in reserve on the crest of a hill commanding the whole army, and consisted of 700 men-at-arms, and 2,000 archers. The archers of each division formed in front in the shape of a portcullis or harrow. When they were thus all arranged, Edward, mounted on a small palfrey, with a white wand in his hand, rode from rank to rank, exhorting his officers to defend his honour and his rights. And, says the old chronicler, he spoke so gently and cheerfully that those who were disheartened were comforted at hearing him, and looking into his confident countenance. Having partaken of food and wine, the soldiers sat down in their ranks on the ground, with their helmets and bows before them, so that they might be the fresher when their enemies should arrive.

After his march and counter-march on the day of Blanche Taque, Philip rested at Abbeville, where he lost a whole day waiting for reinforcements, among which were a thousand lances of the Count of Savoy, who, says Froissart, "ought to have been there, as the Count had been well paid for them at Troyes, in Champaign, three months in advance." Philip marched rapidly on from Abbeville to give battle, and when he came in sight of the well-ordered divisions of Edward, his men being tired, and his rear-guard far behind, he decided to delay the battle till the morrow. Those that were in front stopped, but those behind rode on, saying that they would not halt until they were as forward as the first. When the van perceived the rear pressing on them they pushed onwards, and neither the King nor the marshals could stop them; but on nearing the English the foremost ranks fell back in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been repulsed. There was then room enough for those behind to pass in front, had they been willing so to do. "Some did so, and some remained very shy." All the roads between Abbeville and Cressy were covered with country people, who, while they were yet three leagues from their enemy, drew their swords, bawling out, "Kill! kill!" and with them were many great lords that were eager to show off their prowess. "There is no man," says Froissart, "unless he had been present, that can imagine, or truly record the confusion of

that day, especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were innumerable."

The nobles of France advanced each as he thought best, and Philip was carried forward by the torrent. When he came in sight of the English he cried out, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle in the name of God and St. Denis!" These Genoese were famous crossbowmen, under the command of a Doria and a Grimaldi, and, according to Froissart, numbered 15,000 strong. But they were quite fatigued, having that day marched six leagues on foot completely armed and carrying their heavy crossbows. Thus they told the Constable that they were not in a state to do any great exploit of battle that day. The Count d'Alençon, King Philip's brother, hearing this, said, "See what we get by employing such scoundrels, who fail us in our need." Nevertheless, the Italians formed up and led the van, supported by the Count d'Alençon with a numerous body of cavalry magnificently equipped.

Meanwhile a heavy storm of rain, accompanied by thunder, which was preceded by a great flight of crows, burst upon the rival armies, and when the storm cleared off, about five in the afternoon, the sun shone forth in full splendour. His rays darted full in the eyes of the French, but the English had the sun at their backs. When the Genoese approached the English army, they set up a terrible shout to strike terror into their hearts; but the English yeomen remained motionless, as though unconcerned. The Genoese sent up a second shout and advanced, but still the English stood in their ranks; they shouted a third time, and, advancing a little, began to discharge their crossbows. Then the English moved, but it was one step forward, and they shot their arrows with such rapidity and vigour that the air was darkened. These well-shot arrows pierced shield and armour, and the Genoese could not stand them.* On seeing these auxiliaries waver and then fall back, the King of France cried out, "Kill me those scoundrels, for they stop our way without doing any good." And at these words the French men-at-arms laid about them, killing and wounding the retreating Genoese. All this increased the confusion; and still the English yeomen shot vigorously into the crowd. Many of their arrows fell among d'Alençon's cavalry, and, killing and wounding many, made the horses dash into the Genoese, "so that they could never rally or get up again." Having freed themselves from the rabble-rout, d'Alençon and the Count of Flanders skirted the English archers, and fell upon the body of 800 men-at-arms, when a fierce fight ensued.

The second division of the English now moved to the support of the Prince of Wales. The King of France was eager to support d'Alençon; but he could not penetrate a hedge of English archers

* Froissart's "Chronicles."

which formed in his front. Without the King's forces, d'Alençon, whose command consisted of French, Germans, Bohemians, and Savoyards, was apparently more than a match for the Prince's division. The conflict seemed doubtful, and the Prince of Wales despatched Sir Thomas Holland, with an escort, to request the King to send a reinforcement, as he could not hold his ground. Cutting a path through the enemy's ranks, the brave knight made his way to the summit of the hill where Edward was stationed with the reserves. The King asked Sir Thomas Holland whether his son was killed, or wounded, or thrown to the ground. The knight replied, "No, sire, please God; but he is hard beset." "Then," said the King, "return to those who sent you, and tell them they shall have no help from me. Let the boy win his spurs, for I am resolved, if it please God, that this day be his, and that the honours of it be given all to him, and to those to whose care I have entrusted him." When Sir Thomas Holland,* on his return, reported this message they were all greatly encouraged, and, says Froissart, repented of having sent him.

Soon after this d'Alençon was killed, and his troops were scattered. The King of France made several brilliant charges, but was repulsed each time with great loss; his horse was killed under him by an English archer, and the bravest of his nobles and knights fell around him. Night now set in, and at the hour of vespers there only remained with him some sixty men. John of Hainault, who had once remounted the King, now said, "Sire, withdraw, it is time; do not sacrifice yourself foolishly. If you have lost this time, you may win on some other occasion." And so saying, says the chronicler, he laid hold of his bridle-rein and led him away by force. And thus ended one of the most memorable days in English history—Saturday, the 26th August, 1346. In all our island story there is no greater military achievement recorded than this first victory of an English army over foes outnumbering them in a ratio that seemed to render success an impossibility.

After their victory, the English soldiers made great fires and lighted torches because of the darkness of the night. And then King Edward

* This "preux Chevallier," described as—

> "The unthrown in a dozen tournaments.
> . . . Stark warrior in siege,
> And combat and pitched battle."

was afterwards created Earl of Kent, by right of his wife the Princess Joan, granddaughter of Edward I., well known in history as the "The Fair Maid of Kent." The Author will be excused for mentioning that he claims this noble knight and his fair wife as ancestors, being fifteenth in direct lineal descent from them. After the death of the Earl of Kent, the "Fair Maid of Kent" married her cousin, the Black Prince, the companion-in-arms of her first husband at Cressy, to whom she bore the unhappy Prince known in history as Richard II.

came down from his post, and, in front of his whole army, took the Prince of Wales in his arms, kissed him, and said, "Sweet son, God give you good perseverance! You are my true son, for loyally have you acquitted yourself this day, and worthy are you of a crown." Young Edward, says Froissart, bowed very lowly, and, humbling himself, gave all the honour to the King his father.

Cannon* were employed at the battle of Cressy, and a contemporary writer, Giovanni Villani, in his "History of Florence," relates the circumstance, and adds, that they did considerable execution, though Froissart makes no mention of them.

On the following Sunday morning a fog arose, so that the English could scarcely see the length of half an acre before them. The King sent out a column of 500 lancers and 2,000 archers to reconnoitre, and learn whether there were any French collecting near them. The English column soon found itself in the midst of a body of militia from Beauvais and Rouen, who, wholly ignorant of what had happened, had marched all night to overtake the French army. Mistaking them for their countrymen, they hastened to join them, and before they found out their mistake the English fell upon them, and slew a large number. Proceeding by a different road, the English encountered a fresh force, under the Archbishop of Rouen and the Grand Prior of France, who were also ignorant of the defeat of the French, for they had heard that the King would not fight till the Sunday. A second battle ensued; but the enemy could not cope with men inspirited with success, who held themselves invincible. The two spiritual lords were killed, and only a few of their men escaped by flight. Other bodies of troops were encountered, and all were put to the sword. On returning to headquarters the English troops found King Edward coming from mass; for during all these scenes of carnage, he never neglected the offices of religion. He then sent to examine the dead, and learn what French lords had fallen. The Lords Cobham and Stafford were charged with this duty, and they took with them three heralds to recognize the arms, and two secretaries to write down the names. They remained all that day on the field, returning as the King was sitting down to supper, when they reported that they had found the bodies of eleven princes, eighty barons, 1,200 knights, and about 30,000 of "the baser sort." Among the princes and nobles that fell

* The late Colonel Duncan, R.A., M.P., says in his painstaking "History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery," that the first record of cannon having been used in the field dates from Henry III.:—"At that time cannon were made of wood, leather, iron bars, and hoops." The first mention of the casting of "great brass cannon and culverins" is in the year 1521, when one John Owen began to make them. Iron guns were first made in 1543 in Sussex. Edward II. and Edward III. first employed cannon in their campaigns in Scotland, and they were used in Flanders and France in 1338–40, at the siege of Vannes in 1343, and at Cressy. Artillery were also employed by Henry V. at the siege of Honfleur in 1415, and at the battle of Agincourt.

were Philip's own brother, the Count d'Alençon, the Dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Counts of Flanders, Blois, St. Pol and Aumale. But the most remarkable of the slain was the old and blind King of Bohemia. On hearing that his son was dangerously wounded and forced to abandon the field, and that nothing could resist the Black Prince, the King resolved to charge; and placing himself between two knights, whose bridles were interlaced on either side of his, he rode into the fray and fell. His crest, three ostrich feathers with the motto "Ich dien" (I serve), was adopted by Prince Edward, and has ever since been borne by the Princes of Wales.

On the Monday morning the King of England ordered the bodies of the nobles and knights to be removed from the ground and carried to a neighbouring monastery, there to be buried in holy ground. And he made it known to the people of the country that he gave them three days' truce, that they might clear the field of Cressy and inter all the dead. Edward then marched off to the north towards Calais, keeping near the coast.

On Thursday, the 31st of August, five days after the great battle of Cressy, Edward sat down before Calais and began his famous siege of that strong and important place—a siege, or rather a blockade, which lasted nearly a year, and was enlivened by many brilliant feats of arms. The English fleet of eighty sail, under the Earl of Warwick, swept the Channel, and the French ships attempting to revictual Calais were defeated, one-half being sunk and the remainder dispersed.

An immediate consequence of the victory at Cressy was the withdrawal of the Duke of Normandy from Guienne, where Henry, Earl of Lancaster,* was almost reduced to extremities, notwithstanding the gallant assistance of Sir Walter Manny of Hainault, who had marched some troops from Brittany to Gascony. The English took possession of Château Neuf, Sauveterre, Poictiers, and many other towns, and the country of Poitou and Aquitaine fell to their arms.

Calais surrendered on the 3rd of August, 1347, and on the following day, Edward and his Queen, Philippa, rode into the city on horseback to the sound of martial music.† Mainly through the intervention and good offices of the Pope, a truce was concluded between France and England, and this truce was gradually prolonged for the space of six years.

* Afterwards Duke of Lancaster. This English General was cousin of Edward III. and father-in-law of John of Gaunt, son of that monarch—"Time-honoured Lancaster," as Shakespeare calls him—who, after his death, assumed the title.

† Major-General Whitworth Porter, R.E., in his "History of the Royal Engineers," records that at the siege of Calais three hundred and fourteen engineers and artillerymen were engaged.

To commemorate the victory of Cressy, and to reward his gallant commanders, King Edward III., on his return to England, instituted the Order of the Garter,* and the first recipients were those two doughty knights, Sir John Chandos and Sir Thomas Holland, and many nobles, including Lancaster, Warwick and Stafford.

In the meantime King Philip died, and was succeeded by his son John, Duke of Normandy. The peace between the two countries was only nominal, and in 1354 war was again declared, John being driven into the fatal struggle by the will of his own subjects.

It is idle to tax our early kings and rulers with being solely responsible for the wars of the past. Their people were in most instances equally to blame. Nearly every unwarlike Sovereign was despised, if not dethroned and murdered. These early wars were due to a popular impulse, and even down to our own days every war has been eminently popular in its commencement, however much the people may have afterwards repined at its duration and expense.

Early in 1355 the Black Prince opened the campaign in the south of France. From Bordeaux he marched to the foot of the Pyrenees, burning and destroying; thence he turned northwards, and ravaged the country as far as Toulouse. He then proceeded to the south-east, to the wealthy cities of Carcassone and Narbonne, both of which he plundered and burned, and thence, loaded with booty, got safely back to Bordeaux. A simultaneous movement made by his father in the north of France proved a failure; for the country was cleared of everything before his approach. King John, though at the head of a numerous army, would not fight, and Edward was obliged to turn back upon Calais through want of provisions.

In July, 1355, the Black Prince took the field with about 14,000 men, including a body of English archers, the rest being chiefly Gascons The Prince's plan seems to have been merely to repeat the

* Such being the circumstances of the institution of "the Most Noble Order of the Garter," the oldest and most highly prized order of knighthood in Europe, it is nothing less than a public scandal that for the last two centuries it should have been wrested from its objects, and devoted by succeeding Prime Ministers (since the time of Sir Robert Walpole, himself a K.G.) to the purpose of rewarding their political followers in the House of Lords, and now it is reserved for the higher ranks of the English Peerage. The measure of its degradation may be gauged by a remark of that good-humoured cynic, Lord Melbourne, the first Premier in the present reign, that "there's no d—d nonsense about merit in the Garter." With the exception of the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Anglesey, none of the great soldiers and sailors, not even Lord Nelson, who achieved our proudest triumphs on sea and land during the Napoleonic wars, were rewarded with the Garter. Most English Dukes, unless they are utterly insignificant, append to their names the once honoured and still highly-prized letters, K.G. This is not as it should be, but, doubtless, with the more democratic form our Government is assuming, the Garter will be reserved for those for whom it was originally intended, and thus regain its lustre in the eyes of the nation.

plundering, devastating expedition of the preceding year. By rapid marches he overran Limousin and Auvergne, and penetrated into Berri, in the very heart of France. He advanced so far that he "came," says the Chronicle, "to the good city of Bourges, where there was a grand skirmish at one of the gates." He found Bourges too strong for him, but took Vierson by storm, and burnt Romorantin, a town about ten leagues from Blois. The King of France advanced from Chartres, and, crossing the Loire at Blois, made for the city of Poictiers. The Black Prince had so exasperated the French, that not a man could be found to give him information of John's march; and in utter ignorance he turned to the south-west, and marched also for Poictiers.

Battle of Poictiers.—19th September, 1355.

On the 17th September the English van came unexpectedly upon the rear of the great French army, at a village within two short leagues of Poictiers; and Edward's scouts soon afterwards discovered that the whole surrounding country swarmed with the enemy, and that his retreat towards Gascony was cut off. "God help us," said the Black Prince, "we must now consider how we can best fight them." The small English army numbered only some 8,000 men, of whom 2,000 were men-at-arms, and 4,000 archers. But the position they had taken up was very strong, and displayed the possession of military skill by the leaders, of whom the chief were Sir John Chandos, Sir James Audley, Sir Walter Manny, and Sir Eustache of Ambreticourt. The small army was posted on the scarped face of a hill tangled with vines twisted into bundles, and strengthened with banks, hedges and ditches, the position being only assailable by a single lane, along which only four horsemen could advance abreast. The banks were lined with the archers, and in the rear the men-at-arms were drawn up.

On the following morning, Sunday, the 18th September, John drew out his host in order of battle, numbering, it is said, 60,000 horse, besides foot. At this moment a legate of the Pope, the Cardinal Perigord, arrived on the field, and implored the French King to avoid the carnage which must inevitably ensue. John reluctantly consented that the Cardinal should proceed to the English camp, and represent to the Prince the great danger in which he stood. "Save my honour," said the Black Prince, "and the honour of my army, and I will listen to any reasonable terms." The Cardinal answered, "Fair son, you say well, and I will endeavour to procure you such conditions." If this prince of the church failed, it was no fault of his; for all that Sunday he rode from one army to the other, exerting himself to the utmost

to procure a truce. The Prince, whose troops had tasted no food for two days, offered to restore all the gold and plunder taken in the foray, with the towns and castles he had captured, also to yield up all prisoners without ransom, and to swear that he would not for the next seven years bear arms against the King of France. But John, too confident in his numerical superiority, would not agree to these terms: but, goaded by Renard, Bishop of Chalons, demanded the surrender, without terms, of the Prince and 100 of his bravest knights.

All Sunday was spent in the negotiations, and meanwhile the English army were engaged digging ditches and throwing up banks. They also arranged their baggage-waggons so as to form a barricade, as had been done at Cressy. On the following morning, Monday, September 19th, the battle began by a charge of 300 picked cavalry along the lane to force the English position; but such a flight of arrows came from the hedges that they were soon brought to a pause, and at last were compelled to turn and flee, leaving the lane choked up with their dead and wounded, and their fallen horses. The two marshals of France, Andrehan and Clermont, led the attack, but the former was unhorsed and taken prisoner at the outset by a bowman, and the latter, who penetrated through the archers, was slain in single combat by Sir John Chandos.

After this success Edward became the assailant. Six hundred English bowmen suddenly showed on the flanks of the division led by the Duke of Normandy, which was advancing to the attack. "To say the truth," quoth Froissart, "these English archers were of infinite service to their army, for they shot so thickly and so well, that the French did not know which way to turn themselves." The Frenchmen reeled under the storm of arrows, then broke and fled, and the Duke of Normandy, accompanied by the lords of Touraine and Poictiers, with 800 horsemen, rode off the field towards Chavigny. Now was the opportunity for the 2,000 knights and men-at-arms, under the Black Prince, who, mounting their horses, gave a shout of "St. George for Guienne!" Sir John Chandos said to the Prince, "Sire, ride forward; the day is yours! Let us address ourselves to our adversary the King of France, for in that part lies all the strength of the enterprise. Well I know that his valiancy will not permit him to flee, and he will remain with us, please God and St. George." Then the Prince said to his standard-bearers, "Advance banners, in the name of God and St. George!" They went through the lane and charged across the open ground with dreadful shock. The King, accompanied by his son Philip, afterwards Duke of Burgundy, stood firm at the head of his dismounted squadrons, the flower of French chivalry, who shouted back their war-cry, "Montjoie St. Denis!" but man and horse went to the ground, and the slaughter was terrible. The Black Prince then charged a body of German cavalry, who were

soon put to flight. But even here it seems to have been rather the arrow of the English yeomanry than the lance of the knight that gained the advantage.

The victory was rendered complete by the capture of the French King himself. John, with his son, a boy of sixteen, by his side, fought desperately, battle-axe in hand, until he received two wounds in the face, and was beaten to the ground. But he rose, and still strove to defend himself, whilst the English and Gascons pressed upon him, crying, "Surrender!" They would have killed him, but a man of gigantic stature, Sir Dennis of Morbecque, an outlawed knight of Picardy, burst through the crowd, and said to the King, in French, "Sire, surrender."

The King replied, "To whom shall I surrender? Show me my cousin, the Prince of Wales!"

"He is not here," replied Sir Dennis, "but surrender to me, and I will conduct you to him."

On learning his name, King John gave him his right-hand glove, and said, "I surrender to you."

There was much crowding and struggling round the King, as many claimed him as their captive, but at length Lords Warwick and Cobham came on the scene, and removed his majesty from a position of much danger. Dismounting from their chargers, these nobles saluted him with profound respect, and conducted him, with his son Philip, to the Prince of Wales, who received his illustrious captive with the greatest modesty and respect, treating him with all the courtesy of the most perfect chivalry. He invited him to supper, waited on him at table, as his superior in age and dignity, cheered his spirits, and praised his valour, which had gained the admiration of both armies.

Among the French leaders killed were Lord Robert of Duras, nephew of Cardinal Perigord, and the two chief French knights, Sir Eustache de Ribaumont and Sir Geoffrey de Chagny. Of the two marshals, d'Andrehan was wounded and taken prisoner, and Clermont was slain. Among the prisoners, besides the King and his son Philip, were the Prince James of Bourbon and John d'Artois, and many nobles, including d'Estampes, Damartin, Gravill, and Partney.

The day after the great victory at Poictiers, the Black Prince continued his march, and passing through Poictiers and Saintonge, without meeting with any resistance, for the French nowhere rallied to rescue their king, crossed the Garonne, and presently came to Bordeaux, where he safely lodged all his prisoners. He then concluded a truce for two years with the Dauphin Charles, now appointed Regent of France, and in the spring returned to England, taking King John and Prince Philip with him.

Their entrance into London, on the 24th of April, 1357, was magnificent. The King of France was mounted on a cream-coloured charger, richly caparisoned; while the Prince of Wales rode by his side, on a small black palfrey. But the former could scarcely be flattered by being made the principal figure in such a procession. The King of England received John with all the honours due to a crowned head. Two legates of the Pope followed King John and the Prince of Wales to London, and there laboured to promote an amicable arrangement.

At length Edward III. consented to waive his claim to the French crown, and to liberate John, on condition of receiving a great ransom and the restoration of all the provinces which had belonged to Henry II., to be held in separate sovereignty, without any feudal dependence on the French King. John hesitated; but meanwhile, during his captivity, France fell into a frightful state of anarchy. The streets of Paris ran with blood, and in the provinces the revolted peasantry were committing their horrible *jacquerie*, massacring the nobles, men, women and children, and plundering and burning their castles.

The stubborn pride of John at length gave way, and he signed the treaty of peace as dictated by Edward. But the French nation, divided as it was, unanimously rejected it. Edward, enraged at what he termed the bad faith of the enemy, passed over into France in the autumn of 1359, with an army more numerous than any he had hitherto employed on the Continent. From his convenient landing-place at Calais, he poured his irresistible forces through Artois and Picardy, and laid siege to Rheims, with the intention, it is said, of being crowned King of France in that city, where such ceremony was usually performed. But the winter season and the strength of the place baffled his efforts, and after losing seven or eight weeks, he raised the siege and fell upon Burgundy. The duke was forced to pay 50,000 marks, and to engage to remain neutral.

From Burgundy Edward marched upon Paris, and, on the last day of March, 1360, the English encamped in front of that capital. They, however, were not strong enough to besiege Paris; and as the Dauphin wisely declined a challenge to come out and fight, and provisions failed, Edward returned towards Brittany. Great numbers of men and horses died from want, and Edward agreed to an armistice; and on the 8th of May, 1360, peace was concluded by the treaty of Bretigny, a village near Chartres.

Battle of Navarette.—3rd April, 1367.

The Black Prince, after a brief interval, repaired to Spain, to reinstate on his throne Pedro, surnamed "the Cruel," King of

Castille, who had been dispossessed by his half-brother, Don Enrique, called "the Bastard." With 30,000 men, Edward crossed the Pyrenees, marching in the midst of winter snow and storms, through Roncesvalles, the famed scene of the "dolorous rout" of Charlemagne and all his paladins—the deep and dangerous valley which, after four centuries and a half, was threaded in a contrary direction by a victorious British army under the Duke of Wellington.

Besides his English and Gascon troops, the Black Prince had under his command "free companions," as they were termed, or mercenaries and adventurers of many European nationalities. The chief English generals, besides Edward, were his young brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Sir John Chandos, Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir Thomas Felton, and others. On the 3rd April, 1367, the Black Prince fought a great battle between Navarette and Najar, with an army three times more numerous than his own. The combat was begun by the young Duke of Lancaster, who, emulous of the military fame of his elder brother, Edward, furiously attacked the French and Arragon troops led by Du Guesclin, Constable of France. The Black Prince, meanwhile, advanced against the division led by Don Tello, and when his impetuous charge broke the allied force, the English and Gascon footmen came up and completed their discomfiture. Edward then routed the third division, commanded by Don Enrique, who three times rallied his hosts, which finally broke and fled, losing thousands in their flight, to the banks of the Ebro. The Castilians, fighting for Don Enrique, had slings similar to those used against the Romans by the ancient inhabitants of Spain, and with which they hurled big stones with such force as to stun horses and men, and break helmets. But the English archers, "as was their wont," shot briskly with their bows, "to the great annoyance and death of the Spaniards." The Spanish King wanted to massacre all the prisoners, but this was prevented by the Black Prince.* Among the leaders taken were Sancho, brother of Enrique, Bertram du Guesclin, Constable of Spain, and Andrehan, Marshal of France.

In the month of July, 1367, Edward recrossed the Pyrenees, and led his army back to Bordeaux, where he governed the southern provinces of France for his father, and with his wife and cousin, Joan,

* Froissart says:—"Don Peter, very much fatigued, coming from the pursuit on a great black courser, with his banner, bearing the Arms of Castille, before him, as soon as he sees the Prince's banner, he alights and goes thither, and when the Prince sees him he goes to meet him and does him great honour; then the King, Don Peter, would have knelt down to thank the Prince, but the Prince hastily takes his hand and prevents him."

"the Fair Maid of Kent,"—her first husband, Sir Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, being dead,—maintained as splendid a court as any in Europe at that period.

So soon as he was able, Charles, the French King, renewed the war, and invaded the territories which had been ceded to Edward by the treaty of Bretigny. Charles carefully avoided a general battle with the English, for so great was the fame of the Black Prince and his troops that no French army would have dared to face them.

But the Black Prince had brought with him from Spain a dreadful fever, which was rapidly undermining his constitution. Hoping to derive benefit from the air of his native country, he returned to England, leaving the command in the south of France to his brother, the young Duke of Lancaster. On their return, the Prince and Princess took up their abode in "the Fair Maid's" county of Kent, where she was greatly beloved by the people, among the friends and the pleasant scenes of her youth. It appears that they resided some time in the vicinity of Canterbury. Tradition has consecrated a humble little well or spring at Harbledown, in the rear of the ancient chapel and hospital of St. Nicholas, as a spot frequented by the hero of Cressy and Poictiers, on account of some healing properties believed to exist in the water. It is still called the "well of the Black Prince," and is visited by those who cherish military virtue and national traditions. But not the sweet native air, nor the pleasant scenery of Kent, nor the water at Harbledown, could effect a cure of the Prince. He died in London on Trinity Sunday, the 8th day of June, 1376. Although the melancholy event had long been expected, his death seemed to toll the knell of his country's glory. "The good fortune of England," says Walsingham, a contemporary chronicler, "as if it had been inherent in his person, flourished in his health, languished in his sickness, and expired on his death; for with him died all the hopes of Englishmen; and during his life they had no fear of invasion of the enemy, nor encounter in battle."

He received a magnificent funeral at Canterbury, the whole Court and Parliament being present, and the body was interred with great pomp on the south side of the cathedral, near to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. The Prince's tomb has escaped better than most others the ravages of time and fanaticism, and that insensate barbarity which derives a pleasure in scratching vulgar names, and in mutilating the most precious objects. The spoliators of Henry VIII.'s time respected the grave of the immortal hero, and it escaped the fury of the fanatical Puritans in the days of Cromwell, and the crow-bars and sledge-hammers of Blue Dick and his crew, who destroyed nearly everything they could reach within the walls of the venerable cathedral. Troops of Cromwell's horse were littered within those walls, but, though soured by fanaticism, the men were soldiers, and had soldiers' hearts. The recumbent figure of the Prince, with the hands joined in prayer,

remains on the monument unmutilated and unhurt; and over it are yet suspended the Prince's gauntlets and a fragment of the coat of mail he wore in many battles.

The son of the hero, who succeeded to the throne on the death of Edward III. in 1377, was the handsome, unwarlike, and most unhappy Richard II.; described by a contemporary writer as "a clever fool," and surnamed, from his birthplace, Richard of Bordeaux. Richard undertook no military expedition, except that fatal one into Ireland, which facilitated the usurpation of his cousin Bolingbroke, Henry of Lancaster. But it was long before the people of England could be weaned from their affection to the son of the Black Prince, and they never ceased to love and cherish that Prince's widow. In the worst time of Richard's reign, when Wat Tyler, with the insurgent peasantry of Kent, and Ball, the mad friar and rhyming demagogue, were marching on London with fire and sword, the mother of the King, trying to escape that way, was stopped by a rabble rout on Blackheath. But as soon as she was known every cap was doffed to "the Fair Maid of Kent," and the fond wife of the hero, who was endeared to the people by their memory of past kindnesses. We are told that among all those rude, untutored, infuriated people, there was not a man who would do her hurt, or permit the slightest wrong to be done to her or to any of her company.

During the reign of Richard's successor, the astute and able Henry IV., if we had no war on the continent, we had foreign invasion and abundance of civil war in England. This, apart from any usurpation or change of dynasty, may be considered as a necessity of the times. There was always war abroad or war at home. But his son and successor, the young, handsome, and heroic Henry V., was scarcely seated on the throne ere the gauntlet of defiance was once more thrown down to France.

There had been no lack of provocation. The French had kept up a correspondence with Owen Glendower in Wales, with the Percies in Northumberland, with every chief that rose in rebellion against Henry IV., and with the Scots whenever they showed a disposition to invade England. They plundered every English ship they could surprise and overpower at sea; they made frequent descents on our coasts; they ravaged the Isle of Wight; and they burned the town of Plymouth. Notwithstanding our naval superiority, they, for years, kept all our maritime counties in a state of alarm. In the year 1406 they succeeded in landing an army, estimated at 12,000 men, in Milford Haven, one of those spots where a French army may be landed in our own day, unless we make adequate preparations. Joining Glendower and his revolted Welshmen, they penetrated almost to the gates of Worcester, plundering the country and burning villages and towns.

Taking advantage of the distracted state of the French monarchy,

then ruled by the insane Charles VI., Henry V., in 1415, laid claim to the crown of France as legitimate representative of Isabella, wife of Edward II., on whose right Edward III. had founded his pretensions.

Henry sailed from Southampton with a fleet of some 1,400 vessels, of from 20 to 300 tons burthen, conveying an army of 6,500 horse, and about 24,000 foot soldiers. Shakespeare describes this vast armament in his noble play of "Henry V.," in which he closely follows the annalist Holinshed:

> ". . . . Oh, do but think
> You stand upon the rivage, and behold
> A city on the inconstant billows dancing,
> For so appears this fleet majestical,
> Holding due course to Harfleur . . . ."

The fleet anchored off Harfleur on the 13th August. On the following day Henry began to land his troops and stores, an operation which lasted three whole days. A proclamation was issued, forbidding, under pain of death, all excesses against the peaceful inhabitants; and it is noted by many contemporary historians, French as well as English, that Henry, with honourable perseverance, enforced the uniform good treatment of the people through whose districts he afterwards passed; and that, too, when suffering the most dreadful privations in his own army.

On the 17th the King laid siege to Harfleur, a very strong fortress with a numerous garrison, situated on the left bank of the river Seine. The conduct of the siege was according to the rules laid down by "Master Giles," the principal military authority of that period.* The loss sustained by the besieging army was very great; not so much from the sword and the awkward artillery of those times, as from dysentery, brought on by the damp, unwholesome nature of the place. The men perished by hundreds, but the garrison equally suffered, and there being no prospect of relief, the town was surrendered on the 22nd September, after a siege of thirty-six days. Henry then shipped his sick and wounded for England, and sent a chivalrous challenge to the Dauphin, offering to decide the contest in personal combat, but the heir to the French throne, who was fonder of fiddling than of fighting, returned no answer.

It is said that a council of war recommended to the King that he should re-embark; but Henry gave it as his opinion, "We must first see, by God's help, a little more of this good land of France, which is all our own. Our mind is made up to endure every peril rather than

* A beautiful manuscript copy of his work is preserved in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum.

they should be able to reproach us with being afraid of them. We will go, an' it please God, without harm or danger; but if they disturb our journey, why, then, we must fight them, and victory and glory will be ours."

With a force not exceeding at the utmost 9,000 men,* Henry, on the 6th October, began his march to Calais. At this time a great army, under the King and Dauphin, lay at Rouen, and another, under the Constable of France, took up a position in front of the English, in Picardy. In his passage through Normandy† Henry met with no great resistance; but detachments more numerous than his whole force watched his movements, and cut off stragglers. The country was laid waste before his approach, so that his troops were in a deplorable state from sickness and want of food, the army having taken only eight days' supplies. But the King gave strict orders, after leaving Harfleur, that "in our marches through the country there be nothing compelled from the villagers, nothing taken but paid for." The garrison of Eu made a sortie, and fell upon Henry's rear, but the leader of the French was killed, and the rest fled back to the cover of their ramparts. On the 12th October he reached the memorable ford of Blanche Taque, where he hoped to pass like Edward III.; but the French resolved to defend the line of the Somme. Taught by experience, they had fortified both banks, had driven palisades across the ford, and placed strong bodies of archers behind them. Henry retreated to Airennes, the little town where his great-grandfather had slept. On the following morning he continued his march along the left bank. The Constable of France had fixed his headquarters at Abbeville. On the opposite side of the river, every bridge was broken down, every ford was fortified, and columns of horse and foot marched in parallel lines along the right bank. "I who write," says an anonymous writer, whom Sir H. Nicolas‡ styles "Chronicler A.," "and many others, looked bitterly up to Heaven, and implored the divine mercy and the protection of the Virgin, and of England's saint, St. George, to save us from the imminent peril by which we were surrounded, and enable us to reach Calais in safety." On the 14th Henry made an attempt to pass at Pont St. Remy, and was repulsed, as Edward had been at the same place. On the following and succeeding days he tried to force a passage at the fords, but met with no better success.

His troops were suffering every possible discomfort, and were dis-

* Sir H. Nicolas, to whose account of the battle we are chiefly indebted, says that not more than 9,000 fighting men could have left Harfleur, and there is "a strong probability" that the force did not much exceed 6,000 men.

† The line of march he chose was by Fécamp, and along the sea-coast till he came to the river Somme. From Blanche Taque he was obliged to strike inland.

‡ The accounts, which have never been printed in full, exist in MS. in the Cottonian and Sloane Collections, in the library of the British Museum.

heartened by their repeated disappointments; but on the morning of the 19th, he was so fortunate as to find a ford, and making a dash, the vanguard established themselves on the right bank, and soon the whole army crossed safely over. Having lost this line of defence, the Constable fell back from the Somme, and marched along the Calais road as far as St. Pol, in Artois. Henry followed by the same road, but while his small force was every hour further reduced by sickness, that of the Constable was continually strengthened, and in a few days the whole of the French troops were concentrated under his command.

On the 20th October three heralds arrived from the Constable and the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to acquaint the King of their resolution to give him battle before he reached Calais. To this Henry replied that he intended marching on Calais, and if the French attempted to stop him, it would be at their peril.

> "The sum of all our answer is but this;
> We would not seek a battle as we are;
> Nor as we are, we say, we will not shun it."

And the King of England was as good as his word. From St. Pol the Constable fell back to the village of Agincourt, determining to make his stand there.

On the 24th Henry crossed the deep and rapid river of Ternois, and soon after came in sight of the enemy. Expecting an attack, he formed in order of battle, but the columns he saw withdrew to Agincourt, and towards evening he marched on to Maisoncelles, a large village which was only a few bow-shots from the enemy's outposts. Here the English rested and refreshed themselves.

As soon as the moon rose, officers were sent out to survey the positions, while the men, though fatigued and suffering from cold and hunger, kept up a cheerful spirit, and maintained what the eccentric Fluellin calls "the disciplines of the wars." But the position was a critical one, and the more thoughtful confessed their sins, took the sacrament, and made their wills. As Shakespeare says:—

> The English soldiers
> "by their watchful fires
> Sit patiently and inly ruminate
> The morning's danger: and their gestures sad,
> Investing lank-lean cheeks and war-worn coats,
> Presenteth them unto the gazing moon
> So many horrid ghosts!'"

On the side of the French there was no want of confidence, but an evident absence of order and discipline. The night was cold and rainy, and the soldiers lit great fires all along their line and caroused freely, calculating the proper ransoms for the King and the great barons of England, whom they made sure of taking on the morrow. There was

continual movement and music all night. Among the leaders of the army were some old officers not quite so confident of success. The Duke of Berri, who had fought at the battle of Poictiers sixty years before, remembered that on that occasion the French had felt sure of victory, and yet his father, King John, had been taken prisoner, and the army destroyed. With these discouraging recollections, the old duke had opposed the plan of giving battle altogether, and had prevented the project of putting Charles in person at the head of his forces. "It is better," said he, "to lose the battle, than to lose both King and the battle."

Battle of Agincourt.—25th October, 1415.

At early dawn King Henry, accompanied by his leading officers—the Dukes of Gloucester and Bedford, his brothers, the Duke of Exeter, his uncle, the Duke of York, his cousin, and the Earls of Suffolk, Westmoreland, and Salisbury—heard matins and mass with his men, and then led them to their positions in person. His bearing was calm and confident, but without any insolent assurance.

> "A largess, universal like the sun,
> His liberal eye doth give to every one."

He formed them, as usual, into three divisions, in close order, with the archers placed in advance of the men-at-arms, in form of a wedge. In addition to his bow and arrows, his bill-hook, hatchet, or hammer, every archer carried a long stake sharpened at both ends, and tipped with iron, for fixing obliquely before him in the ground, so as to serve as a firm pike against the charge of the enemy's cavalry. These stakes formed together an excellent rampart, partaking of the nature of chevaux-de-frise, and easily removable. The baggage and horses—for this battle, like that of Poictiers and Cressy, was to be fought chiefly on foot—were placed in the rear, near the village of Maisoncelles, under the guard of some men-at-arms and a small body of archers.

When these dispositions were made, Henry rode along the lines of each division. He wore a helmet of polished steel, surmounted with a crown of gold set with sparkling gems, and the Arms of England and of France were embroidered on his surcoat; but, brighter and more reassuring than gold and gems, were the lively blue eyes of the hero, whose countenance, like that of his great ancestor at Cressy, was serenely cheerful.

> "For forth he goes, and visits all his host,
> Bids them good morrow, with a modest smile,
> And calls them—brothers, friends and countrymen.
> Upon his royal face there is no note
> How dread an army hath enrounded him."

Henry recalled to their memories the glorious victories gained by their ancestors with an equal disparity of numbers. He told them that he had made up his own mind to conquer or die, and that England should never have to pay a ransom for him.

Shakespeare, in his majestic verse, closely follows the version of Holinshed. Lord Westmoreland expressed a wish for

> "But one ten thousand of those men in England
> That do no work to-day."

But the king cheerfully replied that he would have "not one man more," for, he adds :—

> "If it be a sin to covet honour,
> I am the most offending soul alive."

The disparity of numbers was, indeed, appalling, the French being, at the most moderate calculation, as six to one.*

But the French had learned little from experience; their chiefs had crowded their immense hosts in fields between two roads, where there was not room for them to deploy or manœuvre with any facility. From the Seine to the Somme there was scarcely a position more unfavourable, and the rain, which had fallen in torrents, rendered the clayey soil almost impassable to horses bearing the weight of men in heavy armour, while to the lightly accoutred English foot no such obstacle presented itself.

The French waited to be attacked, but Henry, calculating on the confusion sure to arise at the first movement of so large a force in such close and difficult ground, remained entirely on the defensive for some hours. "The Constable," says M. de Barante, who has described the battle with rare impartiality, "was, by right of his office, the Commander-in-Chief of the French army; but there were with him so many princes who had all wills of their own, that it was not easy for him to obtain obedience." He would fain have waited the arrival of reinforcements, who were on the march, and even sent emissaries to negotiate with Henry, to whom he offered a free passage, if he would, on his part, restore Harfleur, together with all the prisoners he had made, and resign his pretensions to the crown of France.

But the English King rejected these conditions, and at length put in motion two columns of archers, the one to lie in ambush on the left flank of the French, the other to their rear, where, when the battle began, they were to set fire to some buildings, and so create an alarm.

* A contemporary estimates the French at 100,000, which would be more than ten to one, calculating that Henry marched from Harfleur with 9,000 men, and without counting his losses on the march.

These manœuvres were executed, and the two detachments having taken up their positions, Henry, about noon, gave the order, "Banners, advance."

The distance between the two armies was less than a quarter of a mile. The English moved on in gallant array, until the foremost came within bow-shot of the French; then the archers, under their veteran leader, Sir Thomas Erpingham, planted their stakes in the ground before them, and set up a shout. Their loud huzzas were echoed by the men that lay concealed on the left flank of the French, who at once found themselves assailed by showers of arrows, both in front and flank. Drayton says, in his "Ballad of Agincourt," our archers shot—

> "With Spanish yew so strong,
> Arrows a cloth-yard long."

It was a repetition of Cressy and Poictiers.

> "None from his fellow starts,
> But playing manly parts,
> And like true English hearts,
> Strike close together."

The French had few or no bowmen. The Duke of Brabant thought that he could break the English archers with his lances, and charged with 1,200 horse, the best chivalry of France, shouting, "Montjoie St. Denis!" But the ground was soft and slippery; the flight of arrows that met them full in the face was terrific, and not above seven score followed their chief up to the English front, where the archers had thrown aside their leathern jackets, that they might more freely ply their weapons, and this they did with deadly effect, so that only three horsemen penetrated beyond the stakes, and they were instantly slain.

Meanwhile, the French horses, mad with pain and fear, caused the wildest uproar and confusion in their lines. All order was already lost there; the columns got mixed; the words of command were disregarded; and while the timid stole to the rear, the brave rushed to the van, making "confusion worse confounded" in that narrow space. Meanwhile, the English, removing their stakes, came on with shouts. The French made a slight retrograde movement, and then got into some newly-ploughed corn-fields, where their horses sank and stuck fast, or rolled over with their riders.

The English archers, slinging their bows behind them, rushed with their bill-hooks and hatchets into the midst of the steel-clad knights, they themselves being almost without clothing, and many of them both bare-footed and bare-headed. The Constable of France and many of the most illustrious of the knights, were presently killed by these despised plebeians, who, without any assistance from the chivalry of England, dispersed the whole body.

Then the second French division opened to receive the broken remnants of the first—a manœuvre attended with fresh disorder. At this moment, the Duke Anthony of Brabant, freshly arrived on the field, headed a fresh charge of horse, but was instantly slain by the English bowmen. The second division of the French, however, closed up, and kept its ground. Henry now brought up his men-at-arms, and led them in person to the charge. His Majesty freely exposed his person, and when his brother, the Duke of Clarence, was wounded and thrown to the ground, went to his assistance and beat off the assailants. Soon after, he was charged by a band of eighteen knights, bearing the banner of the Lord of Croy, who had bound themselves by an oath to take or kill the King of England. One of these knights struck the King with his mace, or battle-axe, and brought him to his knees, but his body-guard closed round him, and killed every one of the eighteen knights. The Duke of Alençon then charged up, and cutting his way to the royal standard of England, with a stroke of his battle-axe beat the Duke of York to the ground. Henry bestrode the body of his cousin, when Alençon struck him on the helmet, breaking off part of the crown. But it was his last effort, for the English men-at-arms closed upon him, when, seeing his danger, he called to the King, "I surrender to you; I am the Duke of Alençon." Henry held out his hand, but it was too late, and the "flower of France," as Drayton calls him, fell pierced with a dozen wounds.

The fall of Alençon caused dismay throughout the French ranks, and the third division, which had not been engaged, and was in itself more than double the number of the whole English force, retired precipitately. Great numbers of prisoners fell into the hands of the English, but owing to a false alarm of the arrival of reinforcements, Henry ordered a massacre of them, which, however, was stopped as soon as the mistake was discovered. Attended by his principal barons, Henry rode over the field, and sent out the heralds, as usual, to examine the coats of arms of the knights and princes that had fallen, and learning from Montjoie, the French king-at-arms, that the castle near at hand was called Azincourt, gave that name to the battle-field, which has become corrupted to Agincourt.

> "Then call we this the field of Agincourt,
> Fought on the day of Crispin Crispianus."

The loss on the side of the French was enormous; never had so many and such noble men fallen in one battle. Almost the whole chivalry of France and many princes of the blood royal had perished. Among the latter were the Dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, the Count of Nevers, and the Constable of France, Charles de la Bret. Among the great lords were Jaques Chatillon, Admiral of France,

Count Rambures, Master of the Cross-bows, Sir Guischard Dauphin, Master of France, Counts Grandpré, Fauconberg, Foix, Beaumont, Lestrale and Vaudemont, and many others. As Henry said :—"Here was a royal fellowship of death." There perished on the field 10,000 men, besides 8,400 knights and esquires, including 128 nobles, each having a banner of his own. Among the 1,500 French prisoners of high degree, lords, knights, and esquires, was the Duke of Orleans, who was dragged out wounded from a heap of slain, and whom the King went to console; the Duke of Bourbon, Marshal Bouciqualt, the Counts of Eu and Vendôme, and the Lords of Harcourt and Craon. The loss of the English is differently estimated. The highest account places it at only 1,600 men, among whom were the Earl of Suffolk, the Duke of York, the King's cousin, and Sir Richard Ketley.

Shakespeare says only twenty-five were slain besides these three nobles, and puts into the mouth of the King the pious ejaculation :—

> "Oh God, thy arm was here,
> And not to us, but to thy arm alone
> Ascribe we all."

The English heroes returned to Calais, staggering under the weight of their booty. As Drayton says :—

> "Wagons and carts were laden till they crackt,
> With arms and tents there taken on the field;
> Nor need they convoy, fearing to be sackt,
> For all the country to King Henry yields."

Henry passed over to England, where he met with the most enthusiastic reception from all classes of the people, and found the Parliament ready and eager to vote him all the supplies he might require for the prosecution of the wars. Drayton writes :—

> "Oh, when shall English men
> With such acts fill the pen;
> Or England breed again
> Such a King Harry?"

He soon returned to the continent with the finest army that England had ever sent into France. There were 16,000 men-at-arms, from 14,000 to 16,000 archers, besides bodies of artificers and sappers. The French Court sent humbly to propose a peace or truce, but Henry's conditions were that the Princess Catherine of France should become his wife, and that he should be proclaimed Regent of France and successor to the throne upon the death of Charles.

Henry commenced operations by laying siege to the fortresses and

castles of Normandy, and on the 16th January, 1419, entered Rouen in triumph. Having in his front no French army at all capable of opposing him, and nothing to fear in his rear, he then struck into the heart of France, and imposed his will on the Court and Government.

Henry was acknowledged Regent and successor to Charles, and on the 2nd June, 1420, was married to the Princess Catherine in the city of Troyes, the old capital of Champagne. On the great festival of Whitsuntide, in the following year, the two Courts of Henry and Charles made a solemn entry into their good city of Paris, and on that day King Henry and Queen Catherine kept their Court. But his triumphs were brief-lived, for on the 31st August, 1422, the heroic King breathed his last. As Shakespeare says of his life, it was "brief but brilliant as a meteor."

Henry was succeeded on the throne by an infant known to history as the hapless Henry VI. His uncle, the Duke of Bedford, was appointed Regent of France; but on the Dauphin coming to the throne, the French rose against their invaders, and disaster followed disaster. Some English leaders notably displayed generalship of the highest order in their struggles against overwhelming odds and ever-accumulating difficulties. But fortune was against them. The stars in their courses appeared to fight against the alien race who strove to hold in bondage a great people, and that remarkable woman, Joan of Arc, called "la Pucelle," startled the world by her heroic achievements. Her cruel fate at the stake inflicted an indelible stigma on the English name, and this, too, in the century which is regarded as the golden age of chivalry. Thus the "Hundred Years' War" with France ended in disaster.

Notwithstanding the victories of Crevant in 1423, Verneuil in the succeeding year, Rouvrai in 1428, and Patay in 1429, England steadily lost ground, until only Calais remained to this country, whose sovereigns, however, continued for centuries to arrogate the title of Kings of France.

The English archers still remained pre-eminent, as witness the testimony of Philip de Comines, who, writing half a century after the battle of Agincourt, says: "I am of opinion the chiefest strength of an army in the day of battle consists of the archers; and in this I agree with the English, who, without dispute, are the best archers in the world." The successors of the English bowmen of the time of our Edwards and Henries are the equally invincible British Infantry of Marlborough and Wellington, of whom Marshal Bugeaud said in words that have become historical: "L'infanterie Anglaise est la plus redoutable de l'Europe; hereusement il n'y en a beaucoup."

During the minority of Henry VI., and equally during the reign of that weak prince, England was torn by internecine war under the fierce rivalry for supreme power of the Houses of York and Lancaster.

During the Wars of the Roses, which may be said to have lasted from the first battle at St. Albans, in 1455, to the battle of Bosworth Field, in 1485, the English were too busily engaged in mutual destruction at home to have time or means to bestow upon foreign wars. Never were battles fought with more determination and fury than some of these among the hills and dales of merry England. At the combat at Wakefield, the Yorkists, who brought 5,000 men into the field, left 2,000 on the ground. At Mortimer's Cross the struggle was equally stern; at Towton, where the armies were numerous, there are said to have perished, between Yorkists and Lancastrians, 38,000 men. An old poet, who has versified these wars, says of the desolation caused by them that they

> "Made the very heart of England bleed:
> For see what resolution both sides bring,
> And with what deadly rancour they proceed."*

The ancient nobility of England was almost totally destroyed during this fratricidal contest, and the commonalty suffered almost equally. The country was impoverished, and agriculture so neglected that whole districts almost presented the appearance of a desert. Peace was restored to this disturbed realm of England by the decisive victory achieved by Henry of Richmond on Bosworth Field over the usurper and tyrant Richard III., who at least died like a brave man, sword in hand. The conqueror was hailed king as Henry VII., and his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., at length united the parties of the Red and White Roses. Henry's prudence and statesmanlike qualities conciliated his subjects, and at his death, in 1509, he left an undisputed throne, a loyal people, and a well-filled treasury to his son, the eighth of his name.

* *See* Daniels' "Historie of the Civil Warres between the Houses of York and Lancaster."

CHAPTER II.

ENGLISH CONTINENTAL EXPEDITIONS.

1513—1704.

Expeditions of Henry VIII. to France—Battle of the Spurs—English Armies on the Continent under the Stuarts—Sir Philip Sidney at Zutphen—Expeditions to France and the Low Countries in Elizabeth's Reign—Lord Essex's Expeditions to the Tagus, Cadiz, and the Azores—The Duke of Buckingham's Attempt on Rochelle—Services of English Troops in the Campaigns in Holland under William III.—John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, takes the Field in the Low Countries.

IN the earlier part of his reign Henry VIII. was eager for military glory, but possessed few of the warlike qualities of his ancestors, and preferred the glitter and parade of the field to the stern ordeal of battle. In the year 1512, influenced by Pope Julius II. and his own father-in-law, Ferdinand of Arragon, he entered into a continental league against France, and despatched an army of 10,000 men in a Spanish fleet to the Bidassoa, under the command of the Marquis of Dorset. But the expedition was mismanaged, and effected nothing.

In the following year Henry determined to take the field in person, and proceeding to Calais, which still remained in our possession, marched thence with 15,000 men to lay siege to Terouenne. Here he was joined by the Emperor Maximilian, one of the confederates who had received an advance of 120,000 crowns from the English treasury, to enable him to raise troops, but who brought with him only a small force indifferently equipped. On the other hand, the English camp was on a scale of prodigal magnificence, and the king and his nobles were clothed in costly robes and armour.

But there was no reality in all this glitter, and nearly six weeks were wasted in the siege of an insignificant town. At length a French army of 12,000 men approached, with a view of throwing in provisions under cover of a feigned battle. Upon this, Henry and Maximilian crossed the river on the 18th August, 1513, and formed in order of battle. The emperor, who had won a victory over the French on the same ground thirty-four years before, directed the operations of the English, wearing the red cross of England over his armour.

The French horse, led by the illustrious Bayard—*le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*—charged in a brilliant manner, but, after throw-

ing some powder within reach of the besieged, wheeled round to fall back upon their main body. Being hotly followed by the mounted English archers and a few squadrons of German horse, they quickened their pace to a downright flight, galloped into the lines of their main body, and threw the whole into uproar and confusion. As the English charged with loud shouts of "St. George! St. George!" the panic became complete; and every French soldier who was mounted struck spurs into his horse, and galloped from the field. In vain the bravest of their officers tried to rally them; and at length, disdaining to flee, the Duke of Longueville and many other captains of high rank, were taken prisoners by the English.

Upon Henry congratulating his captives on the great speed the men got out of their horses, the light-hearted Frenchmen joined in the laugh, and said that it had been nothing but "a battle of spurs," and by this name the affair came afterwards to be popularly known.

But Henry displayed a lack of generalship, and though a Swiss army of 20,000 men, subsidized by English money, had crossed the Jura mountains, and were laying siege to Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, Henry, instead of advancing on Paris, remained another week before Terouenne, and at the end of August received the capitulation of the town, which was dismantled and burnt.

The weather continued to be very rainy, and Henry, by this time, says Bishop Godwin, "had so much of war that he began to be weary of the toil thereof, and so cast his mind on the pleasures of the court." Instead of advancing into France, he turned back to lay siege to Tournay, which, being *enclavé* in the territory of Flanders, the Emperor Maximilian was desirous to possess without risk or cost to himself. Tournay capitulated after a few days' siege, and on the 22nd of September Henry rode into the town with as much pomp and triumph as if he had taken the capital of France. Meanwhile the Swiss, disgusted with their allies, concluded a favourable treaty with the King of France, and marched back to their own mountains.

Henry, after indulging in jousts and tournaments, returned, well satisfied, to England, where he arrived on the 22nd October.

This year (1513) was also memorable for the sanguinary battle of Flodden, in which James IV. of Scotland, Henry's brother-in-law, and many of his nobility, fell on the field of battle.

A few years later, Henry, jealous of the glory acquired by the chivalrous young French king, Francis I., beyond the Alps, allied himself with the Emperor Charles V.: but the idea of war was soon abandoned by the pleasure-loving king, who only went over to France, in 1520, to participate in the costly pageantry of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. After the lapse of a few years, Henry broke with Francis, and again allied himself with the emperor. In conjunction with corps of Flemings, Dutch, and Germans, English troops were sent more than

once to invade France; but these motley armies achieved but little, and gained no honour. Yet it was noticeable that in these campaigns, so many years after the battle of Agincourt, the French remembered the lesson taught them on that day, and carefully shunned any close combat with the English, even when they were in full retreat.

In the latter years of his reign, Henry VIII. took Boulogne, and had with him in France an army of 30,000 men; but his allies were as faithless to him as he had been to them, and Henry was deficient in all the requirements of a successful military leader. Nevertheless, the quality of the troops had not deteriorated, and among the officers were skilful generals, such as the Earl of Surrey, alike renowned as poet and soldier, of whom Pope says, in his poem, "Windsor Forest,"—

"Matchless his pen, victorious was his lance."

For the space of two centuries England ceased to figure as a great military power on the Continent. Her arms were chiefly employed against the Scots, or in civil wars within her own borders. Such fratricidal conflicts do not fall within the scope of this work. For national glory, the space is well filled up by the victories gained by our seamen.

During this period British valour was illustrated by the deeds of the English Navy, which, instituted by Henry VII., gave evidence of a vigorous adolescence under the reign of his grand-daughter, the great Elizabeth, when Drake, Frobisher, Cavendish, Raleigh, and other naval heroes, gained victories quite equal in splendour and in romantic incidents to those which had been obtained on shore during the earlier reigns.

At no period, however, did England resign herself to the rôle of a merely maritime power. Her alliances and her interests, no less than her ambition, rendered this impossible. A great blow was inflicted on her, in the reign of Mary, by the loss of Calais, which was taken after a siege of only eight days. England thus lost her base of operations for the Continental wars which she waged during the reign of the great Elizabeth and her successors.

In 1477, the government of the Low Countries—which, from its becoming during the next three centuries, up to and including the campaign of Waterloo, the scene of the chief European wars, gained the name of the "Cockpit of Europe;"—devolved on the House of Austria by marriage, and, in 1555, the Emperor Charles V. assigned the sovereignty to his son Philip. That gloomy and bigoted tyrant so coerced the unhappy country, that the people of North Holland rose in arms, and after a prolonged and, considering the odds, almost unparalleled resistance, with the assistance of the two greatest sovereigns in Europe—Henry IV. of France, and Elizabeth of England—

the "Seven United Provinces," in 1609, wrested from Philip III. their independence, and William the Silent, Prince of Orange, became the first Stadtholder. During the struggle for freedom, English troops acted as auxiliaries, and were subject to the command, and too often to the caprice, of the foreign officers under whom they wer serving.

In 1585, Elizabeth dispatched 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse to assist the Dutch against the Spaniards, under the command of her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, who started with very ambitious projects, but displayed a lack both of military and civil ability, and carefully avoided a battle with the then-renowned Spanish infantry under Parma. This campaign is chiefly remarkable for the military capacity displayed by Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, whom, says Camden, the queen regarded as "the jewel of her times." Sidney was appointed Governor of Flushing. His chief exploit was the capture of Axel, which was executed with skill and daring. The battle of Zutphen, fought on 22nd September, 1586, is famous in English history only as the occasion of Sidney's death, in his thirty-second year. It was an attempt on the part of the English to intercept a convoy of provisions for the besieged town. It was a rash undertaking, and proved a disastrous failure, but the failure was more honourable than many a victory. A few hundred English found themselves face to face with 3,000 of the enemy. There being among them a large proportion of gentlemen, the English horsemen felt it a shame to retire, and charged again and again. In the third charge, Sir Philip, mounted on a second horse, received a bullet in the left thigh. Whilst quitting the field, the memorable incident occurred with which Sidney's name will ever be associated. Thirsty with loss of blood, he asked for water, but just as the bottle was put to his parched lips, seeing a dying soldier regarding it wistfully, he resigned the precious draught with the words: "This man's necessity is yet greater than mine!"

Sidney lingered three weeks at Arnheim, nursed by his wife and friends, and died universally regretted. By direction of Elizabeth, who used to call him "My Philip," he was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral.*

* As a poet, Sir Philip Sidney was named by Sir Walter Raleigh "the English Petrarch." His friend Spenser sings his praises under the name of "Astrophel," and Sidney's sonnets, "Astrophel and Stella"—the latter being Penelope Devereux, daughter of Lord Essex, whom he loved—were much admired in the Augustan age of English literature. His prose had even higher merit, especially his "Apology for Poesy," and his romance, "Arcadia," of which Young speaks as "the charm of ages," and Cowper calls the writer, "warbler of poetic prose." Sidney was not less distinguished as a diplomatist, having at the age of twenty-two fulfilled missions to the Emperor Rudolph at Prague, the Count Palatine at Heidelberg, and the great Stadtholder, William the Silent, who spoke of him as "one of the ripest and greatest counsellors of estate in Europe." Such was the man of whom Lord Essex predicted in his youth that he would be "as famous and worthy a gentleman as ever England had," an estimate which succeeding generations have endorsed.

After the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, the English retaliated on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, the two kingdoms being at this period united under one sovereign, Elizabeth's implacable enemy, Philip II. In 1589 Drake assembled about 200 ships of all sizes, on board of which was embarked an army, led by Sir John Morris, the young Earl of Essex, and other brave officers. But the troops were raw, and the expedition was badly planned, and miserably supplied. Landing at Corunna, the English soldiery defeated a body of Spaniards strongly intrenched in the neighbourhood; but, for want of ammunition and guns, failed to take the upper town. Drake captured four ships-of-war, and burned the lower town. The troops were then re-embarked and carried to a point on the Portuguese coast, about thirty miles to the north of Lisbon. Here the little army was again thrown ashore, while Drake, with his shipping, proceeded to the mouth of the Tagus. The troops boldly marched through Torres Vedras, destined to be the scene of one of the Duke of Wellington's greatest achievements, to the walls of Lisbon. That city was defended by a weak Spanish garrison, but their want of artillery obliged the English to give up the siege, and re-embarking, to return homeward. In the course of their voyage they plundered the towns of Cascaes and Vigo, and finally reached Plymouth with much booty. In this expedition no less than 20,000 seamen and landsmen embarked. One-half perished, or were missing. The young Earl of Essex displayed valour, but was lacking in both forethought and judgment. Moreover, the land and sea commanders disagreed, with the inevitable result—failure.

In the year 1596, when the Spaniards were again fitting out an armada for the invasion of England, the Lord Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, suggested another attack upon the Spanish coast; and, in the month of June, a fleet of 150 sail, with 14,000 land troops, sailed from Plymouth. Lord Howard had the command of the fleet, and the Earl of Essex of the army; but, to make up for the inexperience of the young earl, the Queen's favourite, the admiral was ordered to submit all important measures to a council of war, composed of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Carew, and other experienced officers. The fleet sailed into Cadiz Bay, and, in face of a heavy fire from the forts and batteries and fifteen men-of-war, forced an entrance into the harbour, where, after a fierce fight, which lasted six hours, three of the largest of the Spanish ships were taken, and about fifty sail were plundered and burned. Essex at once landed a part of the land force, and on the day following Cadiz capitulated. The inhabitants paid 12,000 crowns for their lives; their houses, merchandise, and goods of all kinds, were plundered by the conquerors, and the whole loss sustained by the Spaniards on this occasion was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. Essex would have kept the footing gained in Spain, and offered to retain Cadiz and the Isle de Leon with only 3,000 men, but

he was overruled, and re-embarked his army, having first caused the fortifications to be razed, and the town burned.

In the course of the following year, 1597, another military and naval expedition was equipped, and the command given to the Earl of Essex, who had with him Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh. Instead of going to the Spanish coast, Essex made for the Azores. He easily reduced the islands of Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, and then, with the booty, and three Spanish ships captured on their voyage from the Havannah, the armament sailed for England.

That pacific and parsimonious monarch, James I., kept the peace with the Spaniards, but, towards the close of his reign, was induced to embark in hostilities, owing to complications arising in the dominions of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who was married to his daughter Elizabeth.

Frederick had been elected to the Bohemian throne by the Protestant portion of that nation, but his claim was opposed by the great confederacy of the Catholics and the house of Austria. When the Elector Palatine was menaced by the superior forces of the Papists, a war-cry was raised throughout England and Scotland, and James was forced into sending 4,000 troops into the Palatinate, to secure at least the hereditary dominions of his son-in-law. This small English force remained a considerable time on the Rhine, occupying Heidelberg, Manheim, and other places; but it was too weak to effect anything of consequence, much less to decide those differences which were ended only by the "Thirty Years' War." As James was told, our army ought to have been greater, or none at all.

Having once entered into continental quarrels, James could not rest there; and shortly afterwards he was induced by the national feeling, by his son Charles, and by his favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, to send 6,000 men to assist the Dutch against the Spaniards. Acting merely as auxiliaries, and being commanded by foreigners, these English soldiers, though they fought well, gained little honour or credit in the campaign.

In Charles I.'s reign, perhaps the most abortive of all expeditions hitherto despatched from the shores of England, was sent to Cadiz, under the command of Lord Wimbledon, a man totally deficient of military skill. The armament returned to Plymouth, *re infectâ*, having lost by a virulent disease a large portion of the soldiers and sailors.

In 1627 Charles I. involved himself in a war with France, and 7,000 troops were embarked at Portsmouth to capture the Isle of Rhé and the strong town of Rochelle. The command was conferred on his favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, a self-confident, vain-glorious man, having no knowledge of the art of war himself, and scorning the advice of experienced officers. In July a landing was effected in presence of an inferior French force, and the island was taken; but this

was the solitary success that attended this inglorious expedition. After a siege, undertaken with inadequate means, and an attempt to storm a citadel which had not been breached, the infatuated commander was compelled to retreat to his ships. But Marshal Schomberg, with a considerable French army, had thrown himself between the duke and the fleet, and it was only by dint of the bravery of his troops, who had to cross a narrow causeway, swept by a cross-fire of artillery and musketry, that one-half of the English force was enabled to re-embark.

The assassination of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton prevented another expedition under the same leader, and the intestine feud, terminating in civil war between Charles and his Parliament, interrupted all further projects of war on the continent.

During the Commonwealth, under the Great Protector, Cromwell, our navy, led by Blake, was paramount, and made the name of England feared throughout Europe, but no military operations were undertaken. Charles II., by a bribe from Louis XVI., sent 6,000 English troops to the Netherlands to assist the French in their unprovoked war against the Dutch. Our soldiers displayed bravery in action; but the campaigns in which they served are chiefly remarkable as having been the practical school of John Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough. Charles II. obtained as part of his dowry with his Queen, Catherine of Braganza, the island of Bombay (which gave us our first footing in India, for our possessions elsewhere were mere factories), and Tangier, in Morocco, to which a British garrison was despatched. Few in number, and often badly supplied, the latter sustained a long siege with great credit, and beat the Moors in many sallies and skirmishes. But Charles grew weary of a possession which rendered no immediate advantage to his already empty treasury, and Tangier was abandoned. During this reign the standing army was first established, many regiments, including the Guards, being raised at the restoration of 1660. James II. also considerably increased the army during his brief reign of three years.

The revolution of 1688 gave to these islands a warlike king in the person of William III., "of pious, glorious, and immortal memory," the champion of the reformed faith, and the steadfast enemy of French encroachment, and of the measureless ambition of Louis XIV., who was, for the full space of fifty years, as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as Napoleon Bonaparte proved himself to be at a later period. William led large bodies of English troops to join the armies of the Dutch and other confederates in the Netherlands, and our soldiers were distinguished in every battle and at every siege in which they were employed. Though his efforts were not attended by invariable success, William displayed good generalship, and obtained many advantages, and checked for the space of fourteen years a power which had seemed irresistible when he first took the field against it.

Retreat has its honours as well as victory. When, on Sunday, the 24th of July, 1692, William was worsted in the great battle of Steinkirk, the English grenadiers formed the rear, and so covered the retreat that it was effected in excellent order, the French infantry not venturing to come to close quarters. In the course of the same year, a small English corps, which had been sent into Italy, accompanied the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene into the south of France, levied large contributions, and threatened Grenoble, and even Lyons, the second city in the kingdom. On the approach of winter the Duke of Savoy was obliged to retire to his own country; but he demonstrated that France could be successfully invaded.

In 1694 an ill-fated attempt was made against Brest by a fleet under Lord Berkeley, and a small land force under General Tollemache. Before he had landed a third part of his men the General was defeated and slain. It was long before our government recovered from the mania of detaching insufficient armaments to the coast of France. During the long siege of Namur, in 1695, William III. witnessed with intense admiration the valour of his English troops. In storming the first counterscarp on the 27th of July, our soldiers, under Major-General Ramsay and Brigadier Hamilton, were left alone under fire in the midst of mines on the glacis; they were three several times repulsed, yet they still returned to the charge, and at last made themselves master of the counterscarp. During the stern contest, William, always phlegmatic, repeatedly exclaimed, "See my brave English! See my brave English!" On the 30th of August, when a general assault was made by Dutch, Bavarians, Brandenburgers, and other troops, the English headed the attack under the brave Lord Cutts. They suffered great loss, but forced the barriers at the point of the bayonet, and made a lodgment in the covered way. On the 5th of September Namur surrendered.

Whenever they met the historic foe in the old battle-field of Western Europe, the French had good reason to conclude that these were the same manner of men who had fought at Cressy and Agincourt. But the qualities of an English army were not developed until they were led by a general who combined with the advantage of being a countryman, military genius of the highest order. Such an one appeared in the person of John Churchill, the Great Duke of Marlborough.

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CHAPTER III.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S CAMPAIGNS.

1702—1704.

Early Life and Services of the Duke of Marlborough—His Campaigns of 1702 and 1703—Marlborough's Advance into Germany in 1704—Battle of Schellenberg—Marlborough is joined by Prince Eugene of Savoy—Battle of Blenheim—Results of the Victory.

JOHN CHURCHILL, Duke of Marlborough, was born in 1650, and first saw service as a youth at the defence of Tangier. In 1672, when England joined France against the Dutch, he accompanied the force of 6,000 men sent to Holland, and by his valour attracted the attention of that great commander, Marshal Turenne, who spoke of him as "my handsome Englishman." Captain Churchill specially distinguished himself at the siege of Maestricht, and received the thanks of Louis XIV. at the head of the army. In 1674 he was present during the German campaign of Turenne, and participated in the battle of Singheim, and also assisted at the operations between 1675 and 1677, after the death of his patron, Turenne. In 1682 Colonel Churchill was raised to the Scotch peerage as Lord Churchill, and three years later, on the accession to the throne of his friend and patron, James, Duke of York, he was created an English noble, and promoted to the rank of major-general. Lord Churchill materially contributed to the suppression of the rebellion of his old commander, the Duke of Monmouth, and to his vigilance and decision is mainly due the successful issue of the battle of Sedgmoor.

When William of Orange was invited over by the people of England to ascend the throne, Lord Churchill threw in his lot with the new king, and on the 16th of February, 1688, two days before the coronation of William and Mary, he was rewarded for his services by promotion to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough.

Shortly before the death of William III., in 1702, a grand alliance had been formed against Louis XIV., who, through the extinction of the Austrian line of Spanish monarchs, claimed for his grandson, Philip, not only all Spain, but also the greater part of Italy, Sicily, the Spanish Netherlands, and the vast colonies and settlements Spain possessed in either hemisphere. William appointed Marlborough to

the command of the English forces in Holland, and ambassador to the States, who chose him captain-general of their troops. Our military forces were augmented, and from this time, with an English generalissimo, they constituted the most considerable, as well as the most formidable, portion of the confederate hosts.

When Marlborough passed over to the continent, a few weeks after the death of King William, he found the French in the Netherlands with a very great force, and inspired with a sense of their invincibility. It was for Churchill and our incomparable infantry to correct that error.

In his first campaign as commander-in-chief, Marlborough outmanœuvred Marshals Boufflers and Tallard, and reduced Venloo, Liege, and other strong towns. In his second campaign, in 1703, though thwarted by the obstinate Dutch generals, and the deputies they sent into the field to control the operations of the army, he captured Limburg and Guelder, and gained various advantages, which proved to the French marshals that they were in presence of a military genius. In 1704 the dominions of our close ally, the Emperor of Austria, and even Vienna, his capital, were threatened by a united army of French and Bavarians. Marlborough boldly determined to push on to the Danube, and effect the relief of the Emperor, a determination that led to the great victory at Blenheim. The preparations were as complete, and the march as admirably conducted, as the strategy of the battle he fought was skilful. By paying the closest attention to the commissariat and the supply services, on which the well-being of the private soldier depends, the army, after so long a march through different states, was brought into the field in an efficient condition. Wherever they passed, the English attracted universal admiration, so well disciplined were they, and so well clad and fed,* while they won the goodwill of the inhabitants by their behaviour, taking nothing without payment. It was this rare discipline, which was afterwards still further improved, that gave Marlborough much of his superiority over the generals of France.

When Marlborough took the field in 1704, the French were as fully confident of success as in 1808, when Wellington landed on the coast of Portugal to contend with their best troops and most famous generals. They had almost invariably beaten the armies to which they had been opposed. They claimed to be invincible, and many people on the Continent were disposed to take them at their own estimation.

For some time Marlborough was hampered by Louis, Margrave of Baden, a brave old soldier, but jealous and obstinate, who divided authority with him in the allied army.

* *See* Coxe's Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough, to which we are indebted for the account of his campaigns.

Battle of Schellenberg.—2nd July, 1704.

The Franco-Bavarian army, under Generals d'Arco and Maffei, took up a commanding position on the hills of Schellenberg, near Donawerth, on the Danube. Marlborough proposed an immediate attack, as the enemy were straining every nerve to strengthen their position; but his colleague, the Margrave of Baden, counselled delay. Marlborough, however, overruled the prince, saying, "Every hour we lose will cost us a thousand men!"

A large portion of the English infantry—the corps which suffered most in this sanguinary engagement—were young troops who had not been under fire, but veterans could not have behaved better.

On the hill of Schellenberg alone the enemy had twenty-two battalions and nine squadrons of horse, making 12,000 men. The height overhangs Donawerth and the left bank of the Danube, and rises in a gradual, though unequal ascent. The summit forms a flat space, half a mile wide, on which the enemy was encamped in several lines, having their right thrown back on one of the channels into which the Danube is divided. In front of the position, which was defended by an intrenchment only partially completed, was open ground; that on the left, or side of Donawerth, being mostly uneven, broken by a ravine, and washed by a rivulet, which, after skirting the foot of the hill, flows through the exterior works of Donawerth into the Danube. Opposite the centre, the Boschberg, a thick wood, stretched from the verge of the intrenchment. To the west of the Schellenberg ran the great road leading from Nordlingen through Donawerth to Augsburg.

The enemy had planted two batteries; one near the old fort on the brow of the hill, the other near the point of the Boschberg. On the approach of the allied vanguard their outposts set fire to the hamlet of Berg, situated on a gentle elevation beyond the rivulet, and fell back towards the main body.

Marlborough attentively noted the disposition of the enemy, as well as the local peculiarities, and descried, across the Danube, a camp with tents pitched on each wing, occupied by a detachment of cavalry. Having completed his survey, he returned to meet his advanced troops, which, from the bad state of the roads, did not reach Wernitz till mid-day.

After a short halt, to give rest to his troops, and allow the army to approach, Marlborough at three o'clock directed the advanced guard to cross the Wernitz, over the stone bridge at Obermorgen. Pontoon bridges were at the same time thrown across the stream below, and some squadrons of cavalry were sent into the Boschberg to form

fascines, for the purpose of facilitating an entrance into the enemy's works. In the midst of these preparations a messenger arrived from Prince Eugene, commanding the allied army of the Rhine, with the news that Marshals Villeroi and Tallard were then at Strasburg, making arrangements for detaching a powerful reinforcement to the Elector of Bavaria. Incited by this intelligence, Marlborough did not even wait for the arrival of his Imperialist allies, who were yet in the rear, but issued orders for the attack. Marlborough himself led the infantry to the verge of the Boschberg, ranged them in four lines, and drew from the main body eight new battalions, who were either to act as a reserve, or prolong the attack to the right, if the first column did not embrace a sufficient extent of the enemy's line. Eight other battalions were ordered forward to reinforce them, and the cavalry formed two lines in the rear. A battery was opened by the English beyond the houses of Berg; and soon afterwards the fire was increased by several pieces of German artillery.

The command of the attack was consigned to General Goor, a Dutch officer, and the first line was led by Brigadier Ferguson. The whole was preceded by a forlorn hope of fifty chosen grenadiers, under the chivalrous Lord Mordaunt.

The promptitude and decision of Marlborough confounded the Franco-Bavarian commanders. On the first appearance of the allied Anglo-Dutch army, they advanced beyond their outposts to reconnoitre, and descrying only some scattered parties of cavalry on the heights beyond the Wernitz, considered them only as detachments sent out to explore the country. Perceiving, however, fresh squadrons to emerge from the woods, and the body increase without advancing, they concluded that a camp was forming on the spot, and retired to Donawerth to dine. Scarcely had they sat down to table before intelligence arrived which indicated the approach of the English-Dutch army. The two generals remounted their horses, and riding to the heights, were surprised to observe the opposite hills covered with troops, and columns filing over the Wernitz, or ascending the foot of the Schellenberg. Still they did not imagine that an army, fatigued by a tedious and difficult march, could hazard an attack towards the close of day. Supposing that the allies would spend the remainder of the evening in preparation, they hastened the progress of the works, hoping in the night to complete their defences, and receive the expected reinforcements.

General d'Arco, however, did not contemplate his situation with confidence or tranquillity. He surveyed the increasing mass of the allies in anxious silence, and appeared to hesitate whether he should defend or abandon the post committed to his care. At length the advance and the development of the allied columns, and the thunder of the artillery, roused him from his reflections. He ordered his

troops to desist from work, and resume their arms, and made dispositions for a vigorous resistance.

Within a few minutes the conflict began. Marlborough at first intended to penetrate through the Boschberg, and form a double attack against both faces of the intrenchment; but this design being frustrated by the thickness of the wood, the principal effort was made on the portion stretching from the fort to the point of the Boschberg. At six in the evening the signal was given, and the assailants advanced with a firm and deliberate step, under a heavy fire from every point of the enemy's works commanding the line of their approach. When they arrived within range of grape the carnage became dreadful. General Goor and many brave officers fell, and a momentary halt ensued. Order was speedily restored; other leaders supplied the places of the killed and disabled; and the assailants again moved forward with firmness. On reaching the ravine the foremost troops mistook it for the ditch of the intrenchment, and threw in their fascines; but being unable to pass, and the fire of the enemy increasing, they began to give way. The Franco-Bavarians took advantage of the confusion, rushed from their works, and charged the broken ranks with the bayonet. They were repulsed principally by a battalion of English guards, who maintained their ground, although most of the officers were either killed or wounded.

The assaulting columns, however, continued to draw near the foot of the works; but General d'Arco, who had at first distributed his force along the whole front, recalled the troops from the right and left to the principal point of attack. By this combined effort their resistance was vigorous and obstinate, and sallying forth from the trenches, they more than once became the assailants. Exhausted by repeated struggles, and thinned by a destructive fire, the Anglo-Dutch infantry began once more to give way, when General Lumley, with equal gallantry and decision, led forward the horse, closed up the ranks to sustain the discouraged and suffering troops, and by his example and support, prevented a repulse. However heavy the loss of the allies, the strength of the enemy was equally shaken by this protracted conflict. The accidental explosion of some reserve powder spread a sudden panic, and though the troops were led back to their posts, their numbers were rapidly diminishing, and their spirits sank under an assault which was continually renewed. At length the Anglo-Dutch infantry were on the point of breaking into the intrenchment when they were cheered by the advance of their Imperialist allies, led by the Margrave in person. These troops, passing the Wernitz below Berg, to prolong the attack on the right, drew up under the walls of Donawerth with little annoyance from the scattered fire of two Bavarian battalions, who were unskilfully posted on the ramparts, instead of lining the covered way. Advancing against the unfinished portion of

the works between the fort and the town, they easily dispersed two French battalions left on the spot. The infantry experienced a trifling check from a charge of French cavalry; but the horse, striking in, repulsed the assailants, while the foot, wheeling to the left, bore on the flanks of the troops engaged with the English and Dutch.

When the attention of the enemy was called to another quarter, the final effort was made at the principal attack. The regiment of dragoons, commanded by Lord Hay, dismounted to aid the infantry; but before they could scale the intrenchment the Franco-Bavarians broke up and fled in the utmost disorder, some towards the bridge on the Danube, and others towards Donawerth.

Marlborough, who had displayed equal calmness and courage throughout the conflict, entered the works at the head of the first squadron. He recalled the infantry, who were in pursuit of the fugitives, and ordered the horse to charge and complete the victory. Great was the rout and carnage which ensued. Many were intercepted on their way to Donawerth, while a great mass of fugitives, hurrying to the bridge, broke it down by their weight and were drowned in the Danube. D'Arco himself escaped with difficulty, and his son was among those who perished in the river. Of the whole body, only 3,000 men rejoined the Elector, while sixteen pieces of artillery and all the tents were taken.

In this desperate conflict, the Anglo-Dutch army suffered heavily, losing 1,500 killed and 4,000 wounded. The loss in officers was specially heavy, the killed amounting to eight generals, eleven colonels, and twenty-six captains. Besides General Goor, the Dutch general, Beinheim, was among the slain; and the Prince of Bevern and Count Stirum were mortally wounded. Marlborough much regretted the fate of General Goor, who, to great military talents and bravery, added equal zeal and integrity, and had rendered himself eminently useful during the preceding operations.

The sufferings of the wounded were greatly aggravated by the heavy rain which set in on the night succeeding the battle. The Duke of Marlborough left a considerable body of troops to maintain possession of the intrenchment, and withdrawing with the remainder to the camp on the Wernitz, took up his quarters at Obermorgen.

At Vienna the victory was hailed by the people with transports of joy, and the Emperor Leopold, a cold, impassive man, declared in a letter in his own hand to the Duke, that "my generals and ministers declare that the success of the enterprise was chiefly owing to your counsel, prudence, and conduct, as well as to the bravery of the troops who fought under your command;" and he concluded with the declaration, "This will be an eternal trophy to your most serene queen in Upper Germany, whither the victorious arms of the English nation have never penetrated since the memory of living man."

The old Margrave of Baden, who received a contusion in the foot at Schellenberg, now quitted the army, to the infinite delight and advantage of Marlborough, who, crossing the Danube, effected a junction on the Kessel with Prince Eugene of Savoy, one of the most able and talented soldiers of the time, who brought with him a reinforcement of 18,000 men. At the same time Marshal Tallard, with a French army, joined the Elector of Bavaria. The Duke and Prince Eugene were determined to fight the enemy wherever they might find them, and soon they encountered them at the village of Blenheim, in numbers superior to their own.

Battle of Blenheim.—13th August, 1704.

It is difficult, says the biographer of Marlborough, to discover the respective numbers of the two armies in this great battle, which, in some degree, arises from the uncertain mode of computation by battalions and squadrons. The order of battle, which is preserved in the King's Library, states the Confederate army at sixty-six battalions, and 166 squadrons, but of these some are admitted to have been absent, and thus unaccounted for.

Marlborough, in his despatch to Godolphin, written on the 10th August, computes his own and Eugene's army at "160 squadrons, and 65 battalions." In his letter to the States he puts his and Eugene's forces at 64 battalions and 166 squadrons, of which 1,500 horse were not present at the battle, making 32,000 infantry, and 18,420 cavalry, allowing 500 for each battalion, and 120 for each squadron; to which number may be added about 1,500 men, in consequence of the superior strength of the German squadrons. This statement justifies an estimate for the whole army of 52,000 men.*

The Franco-Bavarians, under the Elector of Bavaria and Marshals Tallard and Marsin, numbered about 56,000 men of all arms, so that the two armies were fairly well matched from a numerical point of view. Tallard admits that his own force consisted of 82 battalions and 152 squadrons.

On the memorable 13th of August, at two in the morning, the allied generals, having detached their baggage to Reitlingen, broke up their camp, leaving the tents standing; and at three the troops passed the Kessel in eight columns. The right wing was commanded by Eugene, the left by Marlborough, and the aggregate force amounted to 52,000 men, with 52 pieces of artillery, and a train of pontoons.

* Tallard computes the army of Marlborough at 49 battalions of 500 men each, and 88 squadrons of 160; and that of Eugene at 18 battalions and 78 squadrons; in all 38,000 infantry and 26,500 cavalry.

Prince Eugene's command, filing by the right, was divided into two columns of infantry, and two of cavalry, the artillery following the infantry, and the cavalry closing the march. The army of Marlborough, filing by the left, broke up also into two columns of infantry and two of cavalry, the cavalry being on the left, and the artillery following the infantry.

On reaching the bank of the Reichin, the whole army came into parallel order, and halted. Here the outposts joined their respective corps. The two brigades of Wilkes and Rowe were formed into a ninth column, and reinforced with eleven battalions from the first line, and fifteen squadrons of cavalry. This column was designed to cover the march of the English and Dutch artillery along the great road, and to attack the village of Blenheim, the possession of which would facilitate the passage of the main army across the Nebel, and open the right flank of the enemy.

Marlborough's troops were directed to form on the ground stretching from Weilheim to Kremheim, while those of Eugene, passing along the skirts of the hills in the rear of Wolperstetten, Berghausen, and Schwenenbach, were to prolong the line to the extremity of the valley, as far as Eichberg. From these general arrangements, it appears that the allied commanders intended to make their first efforts against Blenheim and Lutzingen, which covered the flanks of the enemy. The subsequent changes arose from the locality of the ground, and the order adopted by their antagonists. After these preliminary dispositions the troops resumed their march in silence.

Meanwhile, Marlborough and Eugene, escorted by forty squadrons, rode forward to observe the position of the enemy, and at seven, on reaching the higher ground near Wolperstetten, they came in full view of the hostile camp.

The morning being hitherto partially hazy, the Franco-Bavarians did not even suspect the approach of an enemy. Deceived by the intelligence obtained from the prisoners taken on the preceding evening, they detached their cavalry to forage, and persuaded that the allies were falling back on Nordlingen, they considered the guard which attended the allied generals as a body of cavalry pushed forward to cover this retrograde movement. On the fog dispersing about seven, the heads of Eugene's columns were descried behind Berghausen, and the alarm was instantly given. Signal guns were fired to recall the foragers, and the advanced corps, committing Berghausen, Schwenenbach, and Weilheim to the flames, fell back on the main body. Confusion pervaded the lines; the artillery was hurried forward, and the troops were observed hastening to form at the head of the camp.

The united troops of the Elector and General Marsin formed on

the left, with the cavalry on their right, the army of Marshal Tallard on the right, with the cavalry on the left, so that the centre consisted of horse, and the wings of foot.

Marshal Tallard now proceeded to make ulterior arrangements Hastening to Blenheim, he ordered a brigade of dragoons, under the Count d'Hautefeuille, to dismount, and form between the village and the Danube, behind a barricade of waggons. He then directed all the infantry of the first line, and part of the second, to enter the village, and distributed a battalion of artillery on the high ground above Blenheim, along the front of this brigade. General de Clerambault, who was placed in command of the troops, was enjoined to maintain the village to the last extremity.

Eight squadrons of gens-d'armes drew up to the left of Blenheim, and from thence the line, including the right wing of the Electoral army, amounting to about fifty squadrons, was prolonged to near Oberglauh. Behind this village was the infantry of Marsin, consisting of two brigades, and the Irish Brigade, in all about thirty battalions. Beyond were more battalions extending to the left, and covering the flank of the cavalry, who were drawn up in front of Lutzingen. Strong pickets of infantry occupied Oberglauh, and eighteen French and Bavarian battalions, who had at first been posted in Lutzingen, were stationed among the woods, on the extreme left of the cavalry. The second line of the united troops, under the Elector and Marsin, was formed in the same order as the first, but in that of Tallard three brigades of infantry were posted in the centre of the cavalry. In rear of all was a reserve of horse. Tallard, observing the increasing mass of the allies in the centre, sent an aide-de-camp to his colleague, requesting that his reserve might likewise be posted behind the centre, to resist the attack which he foresaw was meditated on that point; but this proposal was declined by Marsin, from an apprehension that his whole force would be required to withstand Eugene's attack.

The artillery defending Blenheim was distributed with judgment. Zurlauben, who commanded the right wing of Tallard's cavalry, was directed to charge the allies whenever a certain number should have crossed the Nebel. Tallard rode along the line to the left, and communicated his arrangements to the Elector and Marsin. The three generals then visited the other points of their position to prepare to receive Eugene.

At seven Marlborough's troops reached their respective points of formation, and began to deploy. Officers were detached to sound the Nebel, and indicate the spots which were best fordable, and the principal generals assembled round the commanders to receive their orders.

Two defects in the position of the enemy did not escape the vigilant

eyes of the confederate commanders. Blenheim and Oberglauh were too distant from each other to sweep the intervening space with a cross fire, and the lines of cavalry on the elevated ground were too remote from the rivulet to obstruct the passage. Of these defects they prepared to take advantage. While Eugene bore on the front and left flank of the troops under the Elector and Marsin, Marlborough was to push his cavalry across the Nebel, under the protection of his infantry, and to charge the hostile cavalry at the same time that the effort was made to carry Blenheim. With this view he ordered General Churchill to draw up the infantry in two lines—the first of seventeen, and the second of eleven battalions—in the direction of Weilheim, and between them an interval was left for two lines of cavalary, the first of thirty-six, and the second of thirty-five squadrons. By this skilful disposition, the first line of infantry, by traversing the Nebel, would cover the passage of the cavalry; while the second, acting as a reserve, would support the manœuvre from the hither bank. The pontoons being brought forward, the construction of five bridges was begun, while the stone bridge, which had been damaged by the enemy, was repaired.

During these preparations, the ninth column, destined for the attack on Blenheim, had filed through Schweningen, and inclining to the left above Kremheim, drew up in four lines of infantry and two of cavalry. The first line consisted of Rowe's brigade, the second of Hessians, the third of Ferguson's, and the fourth of Hanoverians. The first line of cavalry was formed by Ross's dragoons, and the second by part of Wood's brigade. The battle was commenced at eight, by a heavy cannonade from every part of the enemy's right wing. Marlborough thereupon ordered Colonel Blood to plant counter-batteries on the most advantageous spots, and himself visited each battery, as it opened, to mark the effect.

On taking leave of his colleague Eugene promised to give notice as soon as his lines were formed, that the battle might begin on both wings at the same instant. While Marlborough waited for this communication, he ordered the chaplains to perform the usual service at the head of each regiment, and implore the favour of Heaven; and he was observed to join with peculiar fervour in his appeal to the God of battles. He then rode along the lines, and found officers and men impatient for the signal of attack. As he passed along the front, a ball from one of the opposite batteries glanced under his horse, and covered him with earth. With perfect *sang froid* he continued his survey, and finding his dispositions perfect, partook of some refreshment, while he waited for Eugene's report.

At this period the cannonade grew warm and general. On the left the fire of the enemy was answered with spirit and effect; but on the right great difficulty occurred in bringing up the artillery. The ground at this point was so broken, covered with brushwood, and intersected

by ravines and rivulets, that Eugene's troops were obliged to make a considerable circuit before they could gain their position, and during their formation were exposed to a destructive fire. Unaware of these obstacles, and impatient of delay, Marlborough sent repeated messengers to learn the situation of his colleague. He was apprised that, owing to the enemy presenting a very extended front, the Imperialist commander had found it necessary to place his reserve in the interval between the infantry on his right and cavalry on the left.

At length, about mid-day, an aide-de-camp arrived with the joyfu intelligence that Eugene was ready. Marlborough instantly mounted his horse, and ordered Lord Cutts to begin the attack on Blenheim, while he led the main body towards the Nebel, where the bridges were nearly completed.

At one the attack on Blenheim commenced. The troops selected for this service inclined to the right, and, descending to the bank of the Nebel, took possession of two mills under a heavy fire of grape. Crossing to the further bank, they steadily advanced towards the enclosures, and at the distance of thirty paces received the first discharge of the enemy. Many brave officers and soldiers fell; but the gallant General Rowe, who commanded the leading brigade, struck his sword into the palisades before he gave the word to fire. In a few minutes one-third of the troops composing the first line were either killed or wounded, and all efforts to force their way against an enemy superior in number, and advantageously posted, were ineffectual. General Rowe himself was mortally wounded by a musket ball, and a lieutenant-colonel and major were killed in attempting to remove the body. Upon this the line, discouraged and broken, fell back on the Hessians, who were advancing. At this critical moment three squadrons of gens-d'armes charged the right flank of the disordered troops, and seized their colours, but were repulsed by the Hessians, who, after recovering the colours, drove the assailants back to their line. Lord Cutts* observing fresh squadrons preparing to advance, sent for a reinforcement of cavalry to cover his exposed flank; upon which General Lumley detached five squadrons across the Nebel.

Having cleared the swamp with difficulty, they had scarcely formed before five squadrons of gens-d'armes saluted them with musketry fire. The allied horse instantly charging, drove them back through the intervals of the second line. They, however, suffered severely, and being galled in flank by the musketry from Blenheim, and assailed by the brigades in front, were repulsed in disorder, and must have recrossed the Nebel, had not the brave Hessians a second time repelled the French horse.

* Lieutenant-General Lord Cutts was one of the best English officers of the period. He had had much experience in war. He began his apprenticeship in Hungary, under the Duke of Lorraine. He served in the wars of William III., who conferred on him the second regiment of footguards, or Coldstreams.

The enemy swept the fords of the Nebel with grapeshot, and notwithstanding this destructive fire, the brigades of Ferguson and Hulsen crossed near the lower water mill, and advanced in front of the village. The enemy, therefore, withdrew their guns within their defences, and met the attack with such vigour that after three successive repulses, the assailants halted under cover of the rising ground.

From the border of the Nebel Marlborough anxiously surveyed this unequal conflict. Finding that Blenheim was occupied by the enemy in force, and observing that they were drawing down towards the Nebel, to prevent his cavalry from forming on the further bank, he ordered Lord Cutts to keep up a feigned attack, by firing in platoons over the crest of the rising ground, while he himself hastened the dispositions for the execution of his grand design.

During this interval the passage of the Nebel was already begun by General Churchill, who pushed a part of the infantry over the bridges in the vicinity of Unterglauh, which was still in flames. As soon as they began to form on the further bank, the first line of cavalry broke into columns, and descended to the fords. Some threw fascines, previously collected by them, into the stream, or formed bridges with the planks of the pontoons, while others plunged into the water, and waded through the swamp towards the point of the islet. The enemy observed them struggling for a passage, and removing a part of the guns from Blenheim, enfiladed their crowded columns.

Scarcely had the Confederate horse disengaged themselves, and begun to advance their right beyond the front of the infantry, before they were attacked by Zurlauben with the first line of cavalry, supported by the fire of artillery and musketry from Blenheim. Exhausted by their preceding efforts, and unable to present a connected line, they were borne down by the weight of the charge, and several squadrons on the left were driven to the very brink of the rivulet. Fortunately a part of the infantry was now sufficiently formed to check the pursuit of the enemy by a heavy fire, as soon as the broken troops had cleared their front, while the second line of cavalry advancing, several squadrons wheeled on the right of the French, and drove them behind the sources of the Meulweyer. These were incorporated with the first line; five additional squadrons were instantly led up to prolong to the left; and the whole body in compact order halted on the hither bank of the Meulweyer, with the left flank stretching towards the outer hedges of Blenheim. They did not, however, long maintain their advantage; for two battalions of the Royal Brigade, filing along the enclosures to the left of the village, opened a galling fire on their flank. The nearest squadrons gave way, and the hostile cavalry, except the gens-d'armes, resumed their original position.

Meanwhile the passage of the Nebel was nearly completed in the centre. The broken squadrons again rallied, notwithstanding the concen-

trated fire of the enemy on the fords; and by the exertions of General Lumley, the whole left was drawn up beyond the Nebel. Hompesch, with the Dutch cavalry, was likewise in line, and the Duke of Wurtemberg began to extend the Danes and Hanoverians in the direction of Oberglauh. The remaining battalions of infantry were also rapidly moving into the assigned position.

In proportion as the lines extended, the conflict, which had commenced in the vicinity of Blenheim, spread towards Oberglauh. The Danish and Hanoverian cavalry being charged by General Marsin's right wing, many squadrons were driven across the Nebel; and, though the former resumed the attack, yet being outflanked and enfiladed by the fire of the troops in and near Oberglauh, they were again repulsed. While the battle fluctuated on this point, the Prince of Holstein Beck, who had cannonaded the enemy from the elevation near Weilheim, descended to the Nebel, and with eleven battalions commenced the passage above Oberglauh. Scarcely, however, had the head of this column appeared beyond the rivulet before it was charged by nine battalions, including the Irish brigade, which particularly distinguished itself. Application for assistance was made to a large body of Imperial horse, which were drawn up within musket shot; but the demand being refused, the two foremost battalions were nearly cut to pieces, and the Duke of Holstein Beck himself mortally wounded and made prisoner.

Marlborough observed the disaster, and was conscious that not a moment was to be lost in gaining a point upon which the success of his plan depended. He galloped to the spot, led the brigade of Bernsdorf across the rivulet below Oberglauh, and posted them himself. He then ordered the artillery to be brought down from Weilheim for their support, and directed some squadrons of Danes and Hanoverians to cover their left. As Marsin's cavalry evinced a disposition to charge, the Duke led forward several squadrons of the Imperialists, and finally compelled the enemy to retire to Oberglauh, or to fall back beyond. By this prompt and masterly movement he established a connection with the army of Eugene; for while this small body of infantry divided the attention of the enemy, and protected the left of the Imperialists, who were forming above Oberglauh, they covered the right of our great line of cavalry, and masked the offensive movement which Marlborough meditated against Tallard.

It was now three in the afternoon, and the Duke returned to the centre, after dispatching Lord Tunbridge to announce his success, and learn the situation of his colleague.

Meanwhile, let us turn our attention to the army of Eugene on the right. About one the first onset commenced. The Prince of Anhalt, who commanded the infantry, prolonged his line towards the gorge of the mountains, in order to take the enemy in flank, and his columns,

filing across the main stream of the Nebel, formed as they advanced. The Danes attacked the enemy posted near the skirt of the wood, and the Prussians drove back the hostile infantry, after a sanguinary conflict. At this moment the Imperial horse, breaking into columns, forded the stream, and pushed back the first line of the Bavarian cavalry through the intervals of the second. Being, however, broken in their turn by the second, they were pursued across the Nebel, to their original position on the border of the wood. Some of the hostile squadrons then wheeled to the left, and falling on the flank of the Prussian infantry, forced them to retreat with heavy loss.

The Danes also relinquished the ground they had gained, and a total rout might have ensued had not the Prince of Anhalt rallied his men, and drawn them back to the point where they were covered by the wood. Meanwhile, Eugene, rallying the cavalry, led them again to the charge. They were at first successful, but being unsupported by the infantry, and enfiladed by artillery fire, were a second time broken, and fell back in disorder across the Nebel. A third time Eugene led his cavalry across the river, and advanced towards the enemy. But, discouraged by the double repulse, their onset was feeble, their line was again broken, and they fled in utter confusion a third time beyond the Nebel. In despair, Eugene left the Prince of Hanover and the Duke of Wurtemberg to rally the horse, and flew to the infantry, who still maintained the attack with resolution. Spurred by the daring example of their chief, who recklessly exposed his person, they at length turned the left flank of the enemy, and, after a sanguinary struggle, drove them back through the woods and across the ravine beyond Lutzingen. Still, unsupported by the horse, their very success had placed them in a position from which it was difficult to retreat, and dangerous to advance, had the enemy been enabled to resume the attack.

In the midst of this protracted contest the battle drew to a crisis on the left. The troops of Marlborough had finally effected the passage of the Nebel, and at five P.M. his dispositions were complete. The cavalry were formed in two strong lines, fronting the enemy, and the infantry ranged in their rear towards the left, with intervals between the battalions to favour the retreat of such squadrons as should experience a repulse. In the course of the successive efforts made by one side to maintain their ground, and by the other to advance, Tallard had interlaced the cavalry with nine battalions of infantry, originally posted in the second line. This skilful disposition was copied by the allied officers, who placed three battalions of Hanoverians in a similar manner, supported by several pieces of artillery. Amidst a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, the allies, moving up the ascent, made a charge, but were unable to break the firm order of the enemy, and fell back sixty paces, though they still maintained themselves on the brow of the acclivity. After another brief pause, the conflict was renewed with

artillery and small arms; the fire of the enemy was gradually overpowered, and their infantry showed signs of wavering under the terrible storm of bullets. Marlborough, with the genius of a great commander, seized the moment to make a fresh charge, and the troops pressed forward with so much impetuosity that the French horse were again broken, and the nine battalions, being abandoned, were cut to pieces or made prisoners.

The consequence of this shock was fatal, for the right wing of Marsin's cavalry fell back to avoid a flank attack, and left an interval in the centre of the line. Tallard, perceiving his situation hopeless, made a desperate effort, not for victory, but for safety. He drew up his shattered squadrons behind the tents in a single line, with their right extended towards Blenheim, to extricate the infantry posted in the village, the evacuation of which he ordered; and dispatched messengers to the Elector and Marsin for assistance, or, at least, to effect a diversion. But they were too closely pressed to comply with his request; and Marlborough, observing the weakness of the enemy, and the exposed position of his right flank, saw that the decisive moment of victory was arrived. The trumpet sounded the charge, and the allies rushed forward with tremendous force. The hostile cavalry did not await the shock; but, after a scattered volley, fled in the utmost dismay—the left towards Hochstadt, and the right, reduced to thirty squadrons, in the direction of Sonderheim. Marlborough instantly detached Hompesch, with thirty squadrons, in pursuit of the first, and himself, with the rest of the cavalry, following the remainder, drove many down the declivity near Blenheim into the Danube and the Schwanbach. Numbers were killed or taken in the rout, and many perished in the attempt to swim across the Danube.

Still, however, Marshal Tallard and several of his principal officers, with a body of cavalry who had followed them in the rout, remained near Sonderheim. Cut off on one side by the allied horse, and with the Danube on the other, they had no alternative but to surrender, and Tallard delivered his sword to the Prince of Hesse, and, with many officers of distinction, was conducted to the victorious Marlborough, who received him with the courtesy due to his character and misfortune

During these events Hompesch had continued to press on the broken squadrons of the retreating enemy, and received the submission of two battalions of infantry.

Meanwhile, Eugene, on witnessing the final advance of his colleague, advanced with his infantry, supported only by two squadrons, through the woods and ravines to Lutzingen, which, as well as Oberglauh, had been fired and abandoned.

The attention of Marlborough was now turned to the movements of the Elector and Marsin. Perceiving the advance of Eugene, he recalled the cavalry of Hompesch, and prepared to charge the enemy,

who were rapidly filing in good order along the skirt of the wood towards Morselingen. But owing to the increasing darkness he mistook Eugene's troops in their rear for a portion of the Electoral army, and countermanded the order for harassing the Franco-Bavarians in their retreat. To this accident it was due that they were able to retire in the direction of Dillingen.

The fate of the troops posted in Blenheim still remained undecided. Finding themselves isolated by the defeat of the cavalry, and having lost their commander, General de Clerambault, who perished in the Danube, they were left without a chief and without orders, but awaited their destiny with a firmness which merited a better fate. As soon as the plain was cleared, General Churchill led his infantry towards the rear of the village, and extended his right flank to the Danube; while General Meredith took possession of a small barrier which had been formed to preserve a communication along the bank with Hochstadt. The enemy, seeing the toils closing round them, first attempted to escape by the rear of the village, and being repulsed, rushed towards the road leading to Sonderheim. Here they were again checked by the Scots Greys, who had been led forward to the crest of the acclivity by General Lumley. They finally attempted to emerge by the opening towards Oberglauh, when eight squadrons of horse, under General Ross, compelled them again to take refuge behind the houses and enclosures.

A general attack upon them was only averted by an unconditional surrender, which was demanded by General Churchill. The great day of Blenheim, one of the decisive battles of history, closed with the surrender of twenty-four battalions of infantry, and twelve squadrons of cavalry.

The field being cleared of the enemy, and night approaching, Marlborough* ordered the army to be drawn up, with the left extending to Sonderheim, and the right towards Morselingen, the soldiers to lie all night under arms on the field of battle. They quickly possessed themselves of the enemy's tents, with great quantities of vegetables, and about a hundred oxen, which were no unwelcome booty to the victorious soldiers, after their long and hard services.

The Franco-Bavarian loss amounted to between 11,000 and 12,000 men, killed and wounded, and 15,000 men and 1,200 officers taken prisoners. The loss of the allied army in dislodging such brave

* There is still preserved in the family archives at Blenheim Palace a slip of paper, torn from a memorandum book, in which Marlborough wrote a hasty note to his wife announcing his victory. The following is the wording of it:—"August 13, 1704,—I have not time to say more, but I beg you will give my duty to the Queen, and let her know her army has had a glorious victory. M. Tallard and two other generals are in my coach, and I am following the rest. The bearer, my aide-de-camp, Colonel Parke, will give her an account of what has passed. I shall do it in a day or two, by another more at large —MARLBOROUGH."

troops from a very strong position was heavy, numbering about 4,500 killed, and about 7,500 wounded. Among the former were the Prince of Holstein and Brigadier Rowe, and Lords North and Mordaunt were among the wounded. In subsequent letters Marlborough places the total loss of the enemy at not less than 40,000 men, including deserters and those killed in the retreat. Much of the success was due to the frank cordiality with which Marlborough and Eugene co-operated. "If Prince Eugene," he says, "could have succeeded equal to his merit, we should in that day have gone a great way in making an end of the war; but the Elector was so posted that it was seven o'clock at night before he could break into his line, which gave the Elector time to draw off the greater part of his army."

The effect of this victory was even more important from a moral than a military point, as it dispelled the legend of French invincibility, and the name of Marlborough became a watchword of fear throughout France, where despondency succeeded to the presumption that had been engendered by the victories achieved by the armies of the French king.

Marlborough marched to the Rhine and Moselle with his victorious troops, and by his masterly dispositions obtained the surrender of Treves and Landau. In November he proceeded on a mission to Berlin, and thence passing through Hanover and the Hague, landed on the 14th of December in England, bringing with him Marshal Tallard and other prisoners of distinction. He was greeted with acclamations by his countrymen, and received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. He was always a special favourite with the Queen, who erected at her own expense, for presentation to him, the splendid palace of Blenheim, of which the architect was Sir John Vanbrugh, and in conformity with the application of the House of Commons, conveyed to his Grace and his heirs for ever, the "manor and honour of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton," the sole condition of tenure being the annual presentation to the sovereign of a standard emblazoned with "three fleur-de-lis on a field argent," the achievement of France. The young Emperor of Austria, Joseph, also displayed his gratitude to the great commander, by conferring on him the title of Prince of Mindelsheim, created by patent, dated 14th November, 1705, with a seat in the German Diet.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH'S CAMPAIGNS.

1705—1709.

The Campaign of 1705 in the Low Countries—Forcing of the French Lines between Namur and Antwerp—The Campaign of 1706—Battle of Ramillies—Submission of Brabant and Surrender of the chief Cities of Flanders—The Campaign of 1708—Battle of Oudenarde—Results of the Battle—Siege of Lisle and Action at Wynendale—The Campaign of 1709—Siege of Tournay—Battle of Malplaquet—End of the War.

On the 31st of March, 1705, Marlborough proceeded to the Hague, where he encountered much factious opposition, while his far-reaching plans were but coldly received by the Court of Vienna. The Duke crossed the Moselle in July with the Anglo-Dutch army, which reinforcements from his German allies brought up to a strength of 42,000, his opponent, Marshal Villars, having at his disposal 55,000. Owing to the supineness of the Margrave of Baden the campaign flagged, and Marlborough was unable to effect much beyond forcing the formidable lines defended by 70,000 French troops under Marshal Villeroi, extending from the Meuse to the east of Namur to Antwerp. In this operation Marlborough displayed military skill of a high order, as the lines were not only defended by an army superior in numbers, but were strengthened by artificial defences, and covered by rivers and marshes.

In 1706 Marlborough took the field on the 9th of May, his departure from the Hague being hastened by news that Villars and Marsin had forced the German lines, and were about to overrun the Palatinate. Accompanied by Overkirk, he joined the Dutch forces on the Meuse, and advancing towards Tirlement, on the 20th of May a junction was effected between the English and Dutch troops. Villeroi and the Elector of Bavaria, who held a formidable position on the Dyle, now marched thence and encamped at Tirlement. Marlborough rejoiced at this new disposition of the enemy's forces, and being reinforced on the 22nd of May by the Danish cavalry, under the Duke of Wurtemburg, contemplated the result of the impending battle with confidence. The Duke places the combined forces at 73 battalions and 123 squadrons, and that of the enemy at 74 battalions and 128

squadrons. Coxe estimates the numerical strength of the allies at 60,000, and that of the French at 62,000.

Learning that the enemy had crossed the Great Gheet, and were moving on Judoigne, Marlborough resolved to attack them, and gave orders to march by the left, in eight columns, intending to pass round the sources of the Little Gheet.

Battle of Ramillies.—23rd May, 1706.

On the morning of the 23rd May, the army was again in motion, but a heavy rain which had fallen during the night retarded the advance of the infantry, and a thick fog also set in, and further added to the difficulties of the march. On reaching the uplands near Mierdorp, at eight A.M. he descried the French traversing the plain of St. André, and stretching their right by Ramillies towards the Mehaigne, on the very ground he had hoped to occupy. For some time it could not be ascertained whether the squadrons in sight were pushed forward to cover the advance of the main body, or merely to protect a lateral movement towards their new lines. But the heads of the eight columns, in which formation the allies were marching, had no sooner passed the demolished lines than the fog dispersed, the two armies were in sight of each other, and the enemy made dispositions to receive the attack in the strong camp of Mont St. André. This ground was rendered memorable by the battle which decided the fate of the Netherlands.

When the heads of the allied columns had cleared the village of Mierdorp, they diverged into the adjacent open plain, and formed in order of battle between Boneffe and Foulz, in two lines, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings, except twenty squadrons of Danes, who were posted behind the left centre as they arrived. This formation began at ten in the morning, and was completed at one.

The enemy's light troops having gradually fallen back before the advancing columns, the allied commanders proceeded to reconnoitre more closely the hostile position, and found them posted in two lines. The left, consisting of infantry, stretched nearly from Autreglise to Offuz, between the two branches which form the Little Gheet; the centre, in similar order, extended from the enclosures of Offuz to the high ground behind Ramillies; and the right, comprising almost the whole cavalry, in number 100 squadrons, in two lines, with intervals between, occupied the open space in front of the tomb of Ottomond, between Ramillies and the Mehaigne. The first line was composed of gardes-du-corps, gens-d'armes, mousquetaires, and horse grenadiers, with the Bavarian cuirassiers on the left extreme; the second entirely of French horse. Into Ramillies, which is surrounded by enclosures,

were thrown twenty battalions; and Offuz and Autreglise were likewise occupied. To protect their right the enemy posted a brigade of infantry at the bridge of Tavieres, situated about a quarter of a mile in front, amidst marshes and enclosures; and scattered parties of light infantry lined the hedges about Franquinay; the marsh of Mehaigne being everywhere impassable, excepting at the bridge.

Although this order of battle was formidable, the defects of the position were too obvious to escape the penetrating eye of the British commander. From its concave shape it afforded great advantages to an assailant, who, performing his manœuvres on the chord, while the enemy must traverse the arc, could bring a superior force into action on a given spot, and in a given time. He saw, also, that the left wing would be cramped in its movements by the nature of its situation, and prevented from attacking by the morass which protected it from aggression. He perceived, likewise, that the tomb of Ottomond was the key of the field, and that Tavieres was too far in advance either to give or receive protection. He judged, therefore, that to facilitate an attack upon the hostile right, it would be requisite to induce the enemy to derange their dispositions by making a feint against their left, a manœuvre which would compel them to strengthen the point menaced, and weaken that which was the real object of attack. Finally, by carrying Tavieres, he would uncover the flank of their horse, and, by gaining the commanding point, which is crowned by the tomb of Ottomond, enfilade the whole position.

With these objects in view the Duke formed his plan. He ordered the British, Dutch, and German infantry, composing the right, to march down from the heights of Foulz in two lines, supported by cavalry, and feign an attack on the villages of Autreglise and Offuz. The stratagem produced the desired effect; for no sooner did Villeroi discover his left to be menaced, than he drew a considerable body of infantry from his centre, which marched with the greatest celerity to reinforce the detached troops about Autreglise. While these were being replaced by part of his infantry of the right, and the hasty movement had somewhat disordered the hostile lines, Marlborough directed his own right to face about, and reascend the high elevation, from whence the first line alone would be visible to the enemy. As soon as the second, now foremost in retiring to the first position, had passed the crest of the ground, and was no longer in view, he directed most of his battalions to march rapidly to the left, and to form in rear of the left centre. The twenty squadrons of Danes were placed in a third line, behind the cavalry of the left wing. Four battalions, including the Dutch guards, with two pieces of cannon, were detached from the left of the infantry, and joined near Boneffe, with orders to march parallel to the cavalry, and dislodge the enemy from Franquinay and Tavieres; and twelve battalions, under General Schultz, were also

selected from the infantry on the left, to form an attack on Ramillies.

About half-past one, the artillery of the Confederate army opened fire, and was immediately answered by the enemy. Colonel Wertmuller, who commanded the detachment against Tavieres, dislodged the hostile parties of infantry lining the hedges near Franquinay, and, as he advanced along the valley of the Mehaigne, the horse of the left wing, headed by Overkirk, moved gradually and perpendicularly upon the right of the enemy. On approaching Tavieres, the Dutch guards encountered considerable resistance, the enemy being covered by the enclosures.

The vigour of the assault on Tavieres having now convinced Villeroi that the real design of the allies was to gain his right flank, he ordered fourteen squadrons of dragoons to dismount, and leaving their horses on the rise, behind a streamlet opposite the tomb of Ottomond, to hasten to the support of the troops in the village. To these were joined two battalions of Swiss infantry. But before they could arrive, the Confederates carried Tavieres by storm, and the Danish horse, wheeling round, intercepted, and either cut them in pieces or drove them into the Mehaigne.

In the midst of this masterly movement, which frustrated the enemy's reliance on the protection of a flank fire from Tavieres, Overkirk charged their cavalry. His troops, pressed into compact order by their advance, overbore the first line of the enemy, but being assailed in turn by the second line, the foremost ranks were driven back on those behind, and the whole body thrown into confusion. The Bavarian cuirassiers profited by this disorder to bear on their right, under the protection of the battery at Ramillies; but the Duke in person coming up with seventeen squadrons from the right, and the Danes prolonging the left, the efforts of the enemy were checked by the danger which menaced both their flanks.

In the height of this conflict the twelve battalions under General Schultz, supported by the contiguous lines of infantry, commenced the attack on Ramillies, the fire from which had hitherto impeded the movement of the left wing. Advancing his troops in four columns on the front and flank of the village, he drew the concentrated fire from the batteries on his own corps, and thus enabled the left wing to regain their formation.

Marlborough, perceiving the confusion of the horse, ordered up from the right wing every remaining squadron, except the British, to give efficiency to the attack, which still continued in suspense, and hurried forward himself to encourage his soldiery. In this effort he was exposed to the most imminent danger. His person being recognized, some of the French dragoons, advancing from their ranks, closed round him, while he was entangled with his own recoiling troops. Attempt-

ing to disengage himself by leaping a ditch, he was thrown to the ground, and in danger of being made prisoner. At this moment his aide-de-camp, Captain Molesworth, dismounted and supplied him with his own horse, and while his grace was in the act of remounting, a cannon-ball struck off the head of Colonel Bingfield, his equerry, who held the stirrup. He, however, succeeded in escaping, and regaining his own lines in safety, though severely bruised.

At this crisis twenty squadrons arrived at top speed from the right, and formed a fourth line on the right flank in the rear. Before this reinforcement could come into action, the Danish squadrons, led by the Duke of Wurtemberg, penetrated between the morass of the Mehaigne and the right flank of the household troops; while the Prince of Hesse Cassel, with the Dutch guards, and Dutch dragoons pressing upon their rear, drove them round Ramillies, notwithstanding that Villeroi and the Elector exposed their persons, and used their utmost exertions to rally the fugitives.

After this, the allied horse crowned the height of Ottomond, and the success of the day was no longer doubtful. General Schultz meantime had advanced with his columns, under the protection of a heavy artillery fire. He first forced back some battalions of Swiss, and gained the skirts of the houses. He then took the Bavarian grenadiers, who were on the right, in flank, and drove them, together with their foot guards, though the centre of the village. Still the two battalions of the Cologne guard stood firm, and the Marquis de Maffei, who commanded the Bavarians stationed in the valley, ordered them to occupy the reverse of the hollow road which leads out of Ramillies towards Ottomond, in hopes that the Franco-Bavarian cavalry was still in possession of the plateau behind him. By this manœuvre he regained part of the village; but the allied infantry, reinforced by twenty battalions of their centre, pressed with redoubled vigour upon the disordered troops, and the whole took to flight. Maffei was taken prisoner, and his infantry was cut to pieces or captured, except the French and Swiss guards, who, being more to the left, escaped the general destruction.

The Elector and Villeroi, with part of the cavalry of their left, in vain endeavoured to cover the formation of the broken troops.

The British commander, seeing the confusion and dismay which pervaded their ranks, seized the moment to strike the final and decisive blow. By his direction, the troops who had made the attack on Ramillies, penetrated through the swamp towards Offuz, and were supported by General Wood, who had been ordered up from the right, with part of the British horse. The enemy, however, gave way without waiting their approach; and Wood, finding Offuz evacuated, advanced upon the rising ground behind the village at the head of his own and Wyndham's regiments.

In the midst of this rout the infantry regiments of Churchill and

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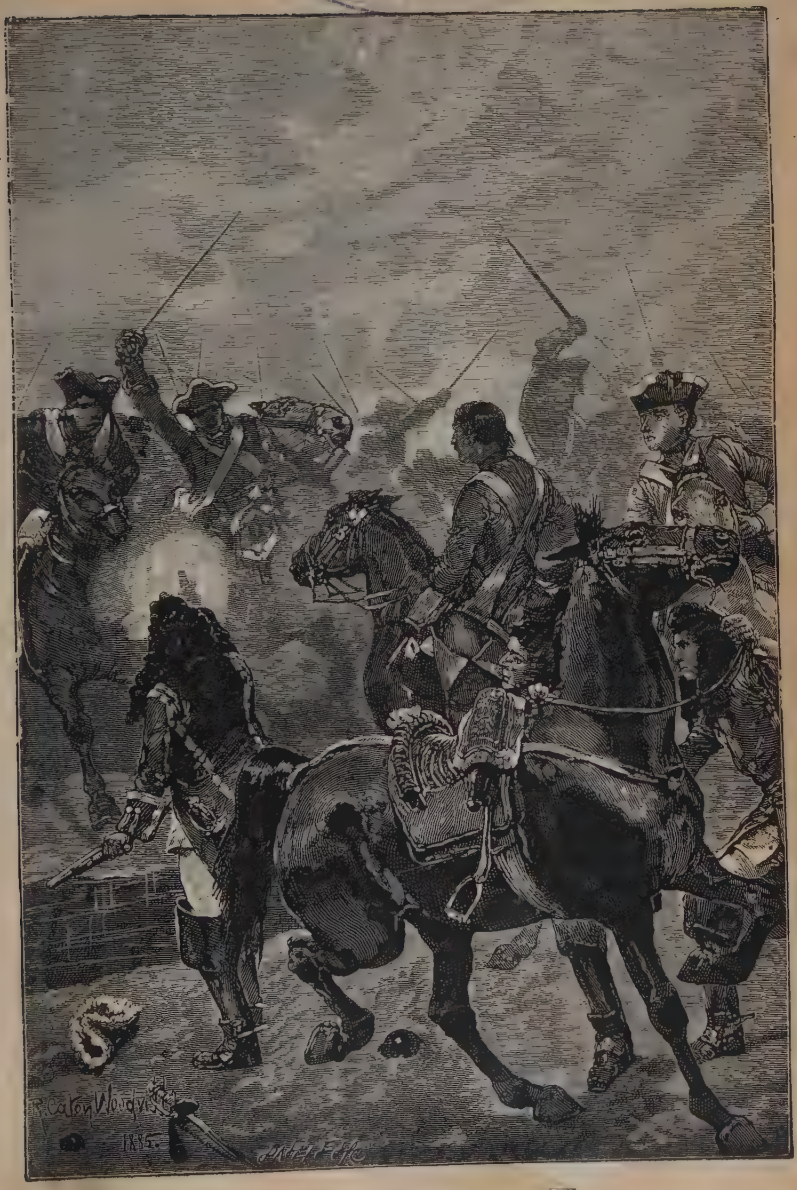

Marlborough at Ramilies. p. 74

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Mordaunt, who, with five squadrons of Lumley, Hay and Ross, had hitherto continued on the heights of Foulz, forced their way through the morass, ascended the acclivity between the Jauche and the Gheet, and coming in the rear of Autreglise, charged and defeated the troops which remained on the left flank of the enemy. The five squadrons who accompanied them now joined in the pursuit, and overtaking the regiment du Roi, compelled them to throw down their arms and surrender. This regiment counted five strong battalions, and had not yet fired a shot in the battle.

Meanwhile General Wood continued to press the retreating enemy, and came in view of the Spanish and Bavarian horse-guards, who, being animated by the Elector in person, preserved a good order while covering the retreat of the artillery of the left wing. With his own regiment General Wood instantly charged the Bavarians, who formed the left, while Wyndham attacked the Spaniards. The attack was successful. Many were killed or made prisoners; the standards and kettle-drums became the trophies of the victors, and even the Elector himself escaped with difficulty.

Struck with consternation, the French army suddenly broke and fled. Throwing themselves headlong down the descent leading to the Great Gheet, they strove to gain Judoigne, or spread in all directions, and the British cavalry, being quite fresh, overtook and captured vast numbers. Almost all the cannon, and the whole of the baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, who continued the pursuit with unabated vigour through Judoigne till two in the morning. At this time the Duke and Overkirk, with the main army, halted at Meldert, five leagues from the field of battle, and two leagues from Louvain, whither Lord Orkney, with some squadrons of light horse, continued the pursuit, the enemy still flying in the greatest confusion.

This brilliant victory was principally owing to the skilful dispositions of the Duke of Marlborough, to his presence and activity in every quarter where danger or disorder threatened, and to the firmness and perseverance of the Dutch infantry and cavalry, who bore the brunt of the first onset. The German infantry also sustained their national character in the attack of Ramillies; and the British cavalry on the right, who came late into action, are entitled to the merit of having rendered the victory complete.

Marshal Overkirk vied with his illustrious colleague in skill, and fought gallantly at the head of the Dutch troops.

The enemy lost 13,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, among whom were the Princes of Soubise and Rohan, and a son of Marshal Tallard, who was mortally wounded. The spoils of this memorable day consisted of eighty colours and standards, and almost the whole French artillery with the baggage which had not been sent to the rear. The allies acknowledged to 1,066 killed, and 2,567 wounded. Of these,

eighty-two officers were killed, and 283 wounded, but none of distinction fell, except the Prince of Hesse Cassel, and five colonels.

The Elector and Marshal Villeroi fled to Louvain, where they held a hasty council in the market-place by torch-light, at which they resolved to abandon the fortified towns and open country, and save their discomfited army by a rapid retreat behind the canal of Brussels.

Marlborough, as on all previous occasions, displayed great humanity towards his prisoners, as well as to the sick and wounded, who were lodged in hospitals, and treated with the same care and attention as the troops of the allies.*

The victory of Ramillies was productive of great results. The king of Prussia, who had hitherto kept aloof and suspended the march of his troops, effected a reconciliation with the Dutch and the court of Vienna, and the Elector of Hanover threw himself heartily into the alliance against Louis XIV. and the Elector of Bavaria. Marlborough displayed the promptitude and activity of a great commander in pressing home his victory.

Crossing the Dyle with his whole army, he received the submission of Brussels, the capital of Brabant, whose inhabitants expressed their satisfaction at their deliverance from the French, and their submission to Charles III. of Spain as their legitimate sovereign. Mechlin, Alost, and other cities of Brabant submitted to the conqueror, who, crossing the Scheldt into Flanders, received the surrender of Ghent, Bruges and Oudenarde, a very strong place which had successfully stood a siege in the last campaign against 60,000 men. These successes were followed, on the 6th June, by the submission of Antwerp, whence Marlborough marched with fifty battalions of infantry, and ninety-nine squadrons of horse to lay siege to Ostend, a place of such strength that, in the previous century, it had sustained a siege of three years against Spinola, the first warrior of his age, who lost heavily in reducing the place. Assisted by the fleet, the batteries opened fire on 3rd July, and within three days the garrison of 5,000 men capitulated, the loss of the besiegers being only 500 men.

The campaign of 1706 was closed by the surrender, on the 25th August, of Menin, considered one of the masterpieces of the celebrated engineer, Vauban, after a desperate conflict, in which 300 men were slain, the loss of the garrison being 1,500. With the surrender of the minor towns of Dendermond and Ath, operations ceased for the winter, and the Duke, distributing his troops in quarters, proceeded to

* The Duke of Marlborough, says a French writer, always showed the utmost attention to his prisoners, and set the example of that humanity which has since soothed the horrors and calamities of war.

London, where he received an enthusiastic reception from the populace, and the thanks of Parliament were voted to him.

Nothing of importance was effected by Marlborough during the campaign of 1707, but the following year was memorable for the great victory of Oudenarde. On the 2nd April, 1708, Marlborough landed at the Hague, where he met his old colleague, Prince Eugene of Savoy, with whom he concerted plans for the ensuing campaign. The ostensible object was to form two armies, one in the Netherlands, under Marlborough, the other on the Moselle, led by Eugene, as though with the purpose of penetrating Loraine, but the real project was to unite their forces by a rapid march, and give battle to the French in the Netherlands. At this point Louis had concentrated a great force, under the Duke of Burgundy, who was placed under the tutelage of the skilful and famous Marshal Vendôme; while the command in Dauphiné was entrusted to Marshal Villars, and that on the Upper Rhine to the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Berwick. Having paid a visit to Hanover, in company with Prince Eugene, to conciliate the Elector, who was jealous of the latter commander, Marlborough joined the army at Ghent on the 9th May, and having completed his arrangements, proceeded to Brussels to concert measures with the veteran General Overkirk. Eugene, acting on the plan previously arranged, made forced marches for the Moselle, in order to effect a junction with Marlborough at Terbank.

Vendôme, meantime, put into execution a plan displaying equal audacity and skill. Having diverted the attention of Marlborough by feints on the side of Louvain, on the 5th July he surprised Ghent, which commanded the course of the Lys and the Scheldt, and Bruges, and crossing the Dender, invested Oudenarde on the 9th July. At this crisis of events Eugene joined his illustrious colleague, and was welcomed by Marlborough with the words, "I am not without hopes of congratulating your highness on a great victory, for my troops will be animated by the presence of so distinguished a commander." With characteristic promptitude, Marlborough marched from Asch at two in the morning on the 9th July, and after covering five leagues before noon, halted until the evening, when the march was continued all night, and the Duke anticipated Vendôme's intention to cover the siege of Oudenarde by occupying the strong camp of Lessines on the Dender, by crossing that stream just as the heads of the hostile columns prepared to descend the heights with that object. Foiled by the more rapid strategy of his antagonist, Vendôme turned to the right and hastened towards Gavre, with a view to shelter behind the line of the Scheldt.

Battle of Oudenarde.—11th July, 1708.

During the night of the 10th July, Marlborough and Eugene prepared for the engagement, although they had a space of no less than fifteen miles to march, and a broad and rapid stream to cross, and were in doubt what course the enemy would pursue. These illustrious men evinced the same promptitude, decision and public spirit which had marked their operations on the Danube, and they were ably seconded by their veteran colleague, Overkirk. Acting on the military axiom that an army attacked in retreat, or in crossing a river, loses all the advantages of order and discipline, they pushed forward to the Scheldt, to come in contact with the enemy at the moment of their passage.

Preparatory to this movement, Cadogan, one of the most trusted of the Duke's generals, and Rantzau were detached with a strong advanced guard of sixteen battalions, consisting of the brigades of Sabine, Plettenberg, and Evans, eight squadrons of German dragoons, and thirty-two pieces of artillery, with orders to clear the roads and throw bridges over the Scheldt in the vicinity of Oudenarde. Departing at the dawn of the 11th, they were followed at eight in the morning by the whole army, which marched in four columns by the left, each line forming two columns, the cavalry leading the way, and the artillery in the rear.

At half-past ten General Cadogan reached the right bank of the Scheldt, and commenced the construction of bridges. About the same time, the hostile columns drew towards Gavre, two leagues below. Their bridges being already prepared, the French advanced guard, led on by the Marquis de Biron, passed leisurely over, without suspecting the approach of the allies; and some of the soldiers were even detached to collect forage.

The bridges were completed about midday. As the heads of the columns of cavalry were drawing near, Rantzau passed the Scheldt with the horse, and was followed by Cadogan with twelve battalions, the other four being left to guard the pontoons. They advanced to the top of the high ground, between Eyne and Bevere, and formed at the extremity of the amphitheatre, the infantry opposite Eyne and the cavalry extending on the left towards the inclosures near Schaerken.

Cadogan, proceeding to reconnoitre, saw several squadrons of the enemy on the farther side of the plain, and observed their foraging parties scattered about Heurne and Ruybroek. Thereupon he sent the cavalry to attack them, and drove them towards Synghem, taking several prisoners. But the alarm being given, Biron advanced with twelve squadrons, repulsed the assailants, and reached the windmill behind the village of Eyne. Here he saw the allied advanced force in position, and observing at the same time the battalions posted near the

bridges, and the columns of cavalry in the act of crossing, he withdrew, to avoid the shock of the whole Confederate army, the greater part of which, he supposed, had already crossed the river.

The celerity of Marlborough, indeed, gave colour to this conjecture, for, hearing on his way that the enemy were crossing at Gavre, he became alarmed for the safety of his advance. Directing the flank column of cavalry to guard against the movements which he supposed the enemy might make on his line of march, he and Eugene pressed forward at the head of the second column, which consisted entirely of Prussians. They proceeded part of the way at full gallop, and reached the bridges at the moment when the Marquis de Biron had advanced to reconnoitre the assailants by whom his foragers had been so unexpectedly attacked.

The apparition of the allies created a great sensation throughout the French ranks. Vendôme, however, did not partake of the alarm which seems to have seized the rest of the Commanders. From the distant clouds of dust which marked the course of the moving columns, he judged that the main body was yet half a league from the Scheldt, and that there was still sufficient time to attack the Confederates before they could form in order of battle. To secure the plain of Heurne, and cover the deployment of his lines, he directed Pfeffer with seven battalions to occupy the village; and the cavalry of the right, composed of part of the household troops, to draw up near the windmill. This was done with the object of making further dispositions, which, however, the Duke of Burgundy countermanded.

Meanwhile Pfeffer, instead of occupying Heurne, advanced and took post at Eyne, thus placing himself beyond the reach of protection; and the household horse, who had orders to cover him, were afterwards recalled, and only a few squadrons left in their stead.

Marlborough and Eugene lost no time in taking advantage of the enemy's indecision, and jointly superintended the passage of the Scheldt, posting the troops as fast as they arrived. About 3 P.M. the head of the first column of cavalry, and the whole infantry of the right wing, reached the bridges. The four battalions, who had hitherto guarded the bridges, marched to join the advanced guard, and General Cadogan seized the favourable moment to strike the first blow. Observing the insulated position of Pfeffer's brigade, he advanced with twelve battalions and the cavalry of Rantzau. Brigadier Sabine, at the head of four English battalions, led the attack. They descended the hill and forded the rivulet near Eyne, while the cavalry passed above, and turned the rear of the village. A sharp conflict ensued, but the enemy were soon beaten, and three battalions, with the Brigadier, were made prisoners. The rest were either killed or intercepted in their flight near the windmill. Rantzau, with his eight squadrons of Hanoverians, then advanced upon the plain of Heurne, to charge the cavalry, who

were driven across the Norken, on to their own army, which was forming on the farther side. Twelve standards fell into the hands of the visitors. The Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George II., animated the troops by charging at the head of a squadron, and had a horse shot under him, while Count Lusky was killed in the charge.

As a general action could not now be evaded, the enemy drew up on some high ground, in two lines, with a reserve. The greater part of the cavalry was posted on the right, opposite Oycke, the left extended to behind Mullem, the front being covered by the Norken and the defiles along its bank. Had they remained in this position, it is doubtful whether the allies, fatigued by a long march of five leagues, would have ventured to risk an attack that evening, and they might have retired in the night. But the Duke of Burgundy and other officers, who had intrigued against Marshal Vendôme, were now as impatient to attack as they were before desirous to remain on the defensive. Accordingly, at four in the afternoon, the allies not yet being in position, the Duke of Burgundy directed General Grimaldi to lead sixteen squadrons across the Norken, apparently for the purpose of reconnoitring. Grimaldi came to the brink of a rivulet, but observing the Prussian cavalry already formed, and the British advancing, fell back, though Vendôme, disapproving of this movement, directed his left to advance simultaneously, with the view of bringing both wings into action together. But the Duke of Burgundy again countermanded his order, and the left wing of the French remained in position.

Marlborough, observing the right wing and centre of the enemy passing the defiles in their front, and forming irregularly, judged that they intended to attack him by the right, and, under cover of this manœuvre, bring their left into the plain of Heurne, where Rantzau's cavalry, and some infantry of General Cadogan, were yet unsupported. Two battalions of the four, who had covered the bridges, had been already posted in the hedges near Groenevelde, where the first attack was expected. To keep the hostile right in check, they were reinforced by the twelve battalions of Cadogan, who had partly occupied Eyne and Heurne. Marlborough himself advanced by Heurne, with the Prussian horse, and drew them up in front of the enemy. While this movement was in progress, the whole first column of the first line of the right wing, consisting entirely of British, formed rapidly on the height of Bevere, where the Duke anticipated an attack in force by the enemy's right and centre.

At this moment thirty battalions of the enemy's right, among whom were the French and Swiss foot guards, and other choice troops, debouched, as had been expected ; and, after some hesitation, attacked the four battalions posted at Groenevelde, before Cadogan's corps could arrive to sustain them. This small force, however, disputed the edge of the streamlet, and maintained their ground until the other battalions

arrived on their right, and boldly attacked the enemy's centre. The Duke of Argyle, who led the British infantry, now hastened into action with twenty battalions and a few guns.* His left took post near Schaerken, and his right joined the infantry already engaged near Ruybroek and Groenevelde. A heavy musketry combat ensued, each battalion being engaged separately in the fields and enclosures which border the rivulet. The remaining part of the enemy's right, following the direction of the corps engaged, gradually prolonged their line, till they outflanked some Prussian infantry on the left of the British, and after pushing them back, occupied Barwaen and the farm of Banlancy. But Count Lottum, with the second column of infantry, consisting of Prussians and Hanoverians, had now formed, and at six o'clock advanced in his turn, recovered the lost ground, and drove the enemy across the rivulet. As the lines extended, and the number of troops augmented, the action became general.

Marlborough and Eugene, who had hitherto remained together, now separated, the Duke placing under his orders the right, comprising the British troops, whose valour the Prince had often witnessed and applauded. His Grace foresaw that the stress of the action would lie in this quarter, and therefore ordered Count Lottum, with twenty battalions, to prolong his right, and strengthen the wing under Eugene. The opening which this movement occasioned between the castle of Bevere and Schaerken, was filled up by eighteen battalions, drawn from the right of the left wing, who had just reached the scene of action. Thus, nearly sixty battalions fought under Eugene, while only twenty remained under the personal direction of the Duke in the centre.

The Prince was hard pressed when the reinforcement arrived; for Cadogan's corps, occupying a kind of focus in the centre of the hostile position, had been driven out of the courts and avenues near Harleham into the plain. With this accession of strength Eugene, however, again advanced and broke the first line of the enemy. General Natzmer took immediate advantage of the disorder, and charged at the head of the Prussian cavalry, through the second line into the small plain. Here his career was checked by the household squadrons, and his ranks swept by a terrible fire of musketry. After losing half his men, and receiving himself several wounds, he escaped with the utmost difficulty by leaping over a broad ditch.

While the action thus raged with various success on the right, Marlborough, with the Hanoverian and Dutch battalions, pressed forward from the farm of Banlancy and the hamlet of Barwaen. The enemy

* It is a remarkable feature of this great battle that artillery played a most unimportant part on either side, these few guns and some six French field-pieces being all that were employed. For this reason no allusion is made to the artillery force in the Gazette.

disputed every inch of ground, and set fire to some houses which they could no longer defend; but the Duke passed the rivulet, and firing one enclosure after another, reached the hamlet of Diepenbeck. Here he encountered such an obstinate resistance that his troops were compelled to pause. But now his military instinct came to his aid. His quick eye discovered that the right of the enemy extended only to the steep acclivity of the hill of Oycke, and that they had quite neglected to occupy the commanding ground above. Concluding that their right might be turned and cut off from the main body, he requested Marshal Overkirk, who had brought up the rear with nearly all the cavalry of the left, and twenty battalions of Dutch and Danes, to execute the bold manœuvre.

This veteran, unmindful of his age and bodily infirmities, obeyed with equal alacrity and spirit. On the last column of infantry reaching its ground, and deploying for battle, he directed General Week, with the brigade of Dutch guards, to force the ravines near the castle of Bevere. The troops moved rapidly to the attack, and, after a vigorous conflict, drove the enemy into the coppices which fringe the banks of the rivulet. The Prince of Orange and General Oxenstiern instantly followed with the remainder of the twenty battalions, ascended the hill, sustained by the cavalry under Overkirk and Count Tilly, and formed with the left behind the hill of Oycke. Finding no enemy on the summit, the whole mass charged front to the right, and extended their left towards De Keele. The allied army thus formed a vast semicircle round the right wing of the enemy, who could only partially communicate with their centre and left through the ravines and passes of Marolen.

This manœuvre being announced to the Duke, he urged Marshal Overkirk to make a further effort with his left, and cut off the remaining communications of the enemy. The execution of this movement was entrusted to the young Prince of Orange, whose impetuous spirit panted for distinction. Accompanied by General Oxenstiern, he rushed with the infantry down the height overlooking Marolen, penetrated the defiles, and forming in two lines, was sustained by twelve squadrons of Danes, under Count Tilly. Here they encountered a corps of French grenadiers, supported by the household cavalry, and covered by the hedges which skirted the extremity of the plain. A series of volleys and charges ensued, and the enemy were struck with dismay by the unexpected attack in their rear

Cut off from their own army, the hostile troops slackened in their resistance, and were at length broken and driven back on each other. At this moment the French dragoons made a noble effort to cover the retreat of the infantry and of the household squadrons, but their valour was in vain, and the greater part of seven regiments were either

killed or taken, while the gendarmerie suffered no less severely from the charge of the Danes.

Meanwhile Marlborough had continued to gain ground, and at length established his line between Chobon and Diepenbeck. Vendome, indeed, made a personal effort to avert the fate of his army by dismounting from his horse, and leading the infantry near Mullem; but his exertions were unavailing. Inferior in numbers, and entangled by the intricacy of the ground, they could make no impression; while the left wing was thrown out of action by the defiles and river in their front, and held in check by the British cavalry, which was drawn up in perfect order on the plain of Heurne.

In this crisis, darkness enveloped the contending hosts, and the positions were discernible only by the flashes of musketry which rolled round the narrowing circle of the devoted army, till the right of Eugene and the left of the Prince of Orange approached the same point. They mistook each other for enemies, and the result might have been deplorable had not the generals put a timely stop to the fire. About nine, orders were given for the troops to halt as they stood, and suffer the enemy to escape, rather than expose themselves to mutual destruction. To this order numbers of the enemy owed their safety. Favoured by the increasing darkness, some thousands slipped unperceived through an opening in the allied lines, near the castle of Bevere, and directed their flight towards the French frontier; others endeavoured to rejoin their left wing in the direction of Mullem, and a considerable number lost their way and were captured.

When Vendome perceived the destruction of his right wing inevitable, he retired with the infantry which was still posted on the banks of the Norken, near Mullem, and joined the left wing, which was in great disorder. A retreat now commenced, marked by panic, for, notwithstanding all Vendome's efforts, the Duke of Burgundy and many generals quite lost their heads. While the mass of fugitives hurried in the utmost disorder towards Ghent, the marshal covered the retreat with twenty-five squadrons and some battalions.

At dawn Marlborough detached forty squadrons from the right wing, under Generals Bulow and Lumley, and a corps of infantry, commanded by Major-General Meredith, to pursue the enemy; while, with characteristic humanity, he directed his attention to collect the mass of wounded strewed over the battle-field, in order to bestow on all, without distinction of nationality, the care and relief which circumstances would permit.

Various and contradictory accounts have been given of the loss of the combatants in this memorable battle. But we may estimate that of the allies at about 3,000 killed and wounded, and that of the enemy at no less than 4,000 killed, 2,000 wounded, and 9,000 prisoners,

including 700 officers. In a letter to his duchess, written the day of the battle,* Marlborough says :—"The English have suffered less than any of the other troops, none of our English horse having been engaged. The artillery on either side also were scarcely engaged."

Marlborough pushed the advantages of his great victory at Oudenarde. At midnight on the 13th a force was detached to capture the enemy's lines at Ypres and Warneton, which was effected, and Marlborough, crossing the Lys, established his headquarters at Wernick. He now proposed to mask Lille and invade France, but Prince Eugene opposed the measure as too bold, and ultimately it was resolved to lay siege to Lille, the capital of French Flanders, and the key of the country between the Lys and the Scheldt. Marshal Boufflers held the place with nearly 15,000 men, and while Eugene conducted the siege with fifty battalions, and a siege train of ninety-four guns and sixty mortars, Marlborough covered the operation. Trenches were opened on the 13th of August, and on the 30th, Vendome and the Duke of Burgundy, leaving a force of 20,000 men to protect Ghent and Bruges, passed the Scheldt and effected a junction with Berwick between Gramont and Lessines, the combined army of 140 battalions and 250 squadrons exceeding 110,000 men. Meantime the siege of Lille was continued by Eugene, who, reinforced by 5,000 English troops from the covering army, assaulted the place and succeeded in establishing a lodgment. In this desperate affair 2,000 of the besiegers fell, and Eugene was wounded. Marlborough now superintended in person the siege operations, which flagged somewhat. At his request troops, under General Erle, with an abundant supply of ammunition and stores, were despatched from England for the prosecution of the siege. Vendome and Berwick despatched 22,000 men, under General de la Motte, to cut off these supplies in their passage from the coast, and Marlborough detached, first twelve battalions and 1,500 horse, and then a reinforcement of twelve battalions, under General Webb, in order to protect the march of the convoy through the wood of Wynendale, and soon afterwards, a further force of twenty-six squadrons and twelve battalions, under Cadogan, marched to Hoghlede, to cover the passage of the convoy between Tourout and the camp.

On the 27th of September the convoy departed from Ostend, and General Webb, at Tourout, detached 1,600 infantry, under the com-

* On the same day he writes to Godolphin, the Prime Minister :—"Lord Stair will tell you they were in as strong a post as it was possible to find, but you know when I left England I was positively resolved to endeavour by all means to bring about a battle, thinking nothing else would make the Queen's business go on well. This reason only made me venture the battle yesterday, otherwise I did give them too much advantage."

mand of Brigadier Landsberg, which arrived in time to prevent the occupation of Oudenberg by the enemy. Meanwhile, the cavalry under Cadogan had reached Hoghlede, and the enemy being discovered by a reconnoitring party, General Webb moved forward with the infantry in the direction of Wynendale.

The troops formed two lines, the left wing extending beyond a coppice, to prevent the enemy from turning that flank, and the right resting on the wood and castle of Wynendale. In the wood, on the right, was a regiment in ambuscade, and another regiment was thrown into the coppice, on the left. Parties of grenadiers were posted among the brushwood on each side, for the same purpose, with orders to take the assailants in flank. The regiments which escorted the convoy were formed in a third line as they arrived.

On the first news that the convoy had departed, Count de la Motte advanced to Oudenberg, but the post being already occupied, he hastened to intercept it at the defile of Wynendale. Finding himself anticipated by the allies, at five o'clock in the afternoon he opened a cannonade, which lasted two hours. In the interval he formed his troops in several lines, the infantry in front, the cavalry in the rear; and then he advanced, in full confidence, to overwhelm a force which did not amount to one-half of his own. But when they approached the allied lines, they were received by such a fire from the ambuscade in the wood, that their left wing gave way in the centre. The fire of the opposite ambuscade was then opened, but, though thrown into confusion, they continued to advance, and broke two battalions, when they were repulsed by reinforcements drawn from the rear. The enemy made a third attempt, but the fire in front and flanks again throwing back their wings on the centre, they retired, and after some distant and scattered volleys, relinquished the contest.

Towards the close of the action, General Cadogan came up with some squadrons of horse, and proposed to charge the retreating enemy, but General Webb deemed it inadvisable to encounter so superior a force of cavalry, and contented himself with securing the convoy, which, during the action, had passed in rear of the wood. The next day it reached Menin, where it was welcomed with exultation; and on the last day of September, Marlborough was gratified by its passage through the lines of his camp, now established between Pont a Marque and Menin.

The Duke writes to Lord Godolphin:—"Our loss in killed and wounded is very near 1,000; by what the enemy left dead on the place, they must have lost at least three times as many as we. They had above double our number. Webb and Cadogan have behaved themselves extremely well." Marlborough and the allied army sustained a great loss by the death, on the 18th of October, of General

Overkirk, at the age of sixty-seven. He was succeeded in the command of the Dutch forces by Count Tilly.

Vendome, thwarted in his endeavours to raise the siege of Lille, opened the sluices, thus flooding the country from Ostend to the border of the Dyke. But the allied generals conveyed their ammunition and supplies in flat-bottomed boats, and a species of amphibious warfare now ensued. But all the efforts of the French marshal were fruitless, and on the 23rd of October, after sustaining sixty days' siege, Boufflers surrendered the city and retired to the citadel, where he maintained himself until the 9th of December. The loss of the garrison during this memorable siege amounted to 8,000, and that of the besiegers, under Prince Eugene, in killed, wounded and sick, to no less than 14,000.

The allied commanders now undertook the investment of Ghent, Marlborough directing the siege operations, and Eugene commanding the covering army. On the 2nd of January, 1709, General de la Motte surrendered the place, and the same day Bruges was delivered up to the allies, an example followed by other towns in occupation of the French, and thus ended the successful and glorious campaign of 1708. During the year Marlborough displayed his talent as a diplomatist, which was almost as great as his military qualities, in striving to negotiate a treaty of peace, but Louis XIV. refused to ratify the preliminaries, and Marlborough entered upon his last campaign, which, like many of its predecessors, was conducted in what came to be called the "cock-pit of Europe."

The campaign was inaugurated by an advance upon Tournay by the allied commanders, whose forces amounted to 110,000 men, the French army in the field being commanded by Marlborough's old antagonist, Marshal Villars, whom he again out-generalled. The siege of Tournay was pressed with such energy by Marlborough that General de Surville surrendered the town on the 28th of July, after only four weeks' investment, and the citadel on the 3rd of September. The losses on both sides had been very heavy, owing to the mining and countermining, in which hundreds were blown into the air in what a French historian calls "this infernal labyrinth." At this time Marshal Villars was entrenched on the Scheldt, but this skilful commander soon had the same experience as his brother French marshals—that of being out-manœuvred by his English antagonist. The Prince of Hesse, detached by Marlborough, by forced marches succeeded in investing Mons on the side of France.

At a council of war held on the 8th September, the allied commanders determined to secure the plain of Mons, and put in motion the whole army of 129 battalions of infantry, 252 squadrons of horse, numbering 93,000 men, with 101 guns and four mortars. The French

army, under Marshals Villars and Boufflers, with the best officers France could boast, had about the same number of combatants. The French generals failing to attack, Marlborough and Eugene resolved to take the initiative as soon as the eighteen battalions of the latter and nineteen from Tournay had joined.

Battle of Malplaquet.—11th September, 1709.

As the morning of the eventful 11th September began to dawn a mist overspread the woods, and concealed the armies from each other.

Divine service was performed in the allied camp at 3 A.M., and silence and order reigned throughout all ranks as they steadily marched from the bivouac to their posts. The enemy, finding that the allies were making their dispositions for the attack, discontinued working at the intrenchments, and stood to their arms. Both sides gave unbounded proofs of confidence in their leaders, and in the result of this eagerly-expected engagement. The French soldiers cheered Marshal Villars as he rode along their ranks, and many of them, though ill-supplied with provisions for several days, even threw away their rations of bread in the eagerness to begin the engagement. At seven Villars mounted his horse, and requested Marshal Boufflers to assume the command of the right wing, while he himself superintended the movements of the left.

The allied army was in readiness to advance before dawn, and were waiting not less eager for the fray than their antagonists, as they had for their leaders the same two invincible generals who had triumphed in eight campaigns. The commanders-in-chief, with the Prince Royal of Prussia, and the Dutch deputy, Goslinga, surveyed the execution of the preparatory dispositions in every part of the field.

At half-past seven the rays of the sun dissipated the fog, and as soon as the artillery could aim with precision, the fire opened on both sides with great animation and effect, although the two armies were almost concealed from each other by the intrenchments and inequalities of the ground. Soon after the opening of the cannonade, Villars and Boufflers repaired to their respective posts, and the two Confederate generals also separated—Eugene to direct the movements of the right, and Marlborough those of the centre and left.

The attack commenced on the side of the allies, against the right and centre of the French, in two columns; the first under the Prince of Orange, and the other under the Prussian Count Lottum. Suddenly the Dutch column halted, according to orders, and drew up in several lines beyond the reach of grape, while that of Lottum moved

forward, regardless of the fire, to the rear of the principal allied battery, and, wheeling to the right, formed in three lines. As these columns took their stations, General Schulemberg advanced at the head of forty battalions, ranged in three lines.

After a short pause in the cannonade, the signal of onset was given at nine, by a general volley from a battery in the allied centre. Schulemberg instantly advanced along the edge of the wood of Sart, direct upon the head of the enemy's left wing, while Lottum marched round the battery, to attack the other side; and, as he cleared the ground, Lord Orkney deployed his fifteen battalions to cover his left, and face the hostile centre. Three battalions, drawn from the blockading corps before Mons, likewise pressed forward, under the orders of Gauvain, and entered the wood of Sart unperceived. Schulemberg's column approached within pistol-shot of the enemy, and then received a volley which forced several battalions to recoil more than 200 yards.

Marlborough, meantime, advancing towards the centre, led on in person the troops of Count Lottum. At some distance they were greeted by volleys of musketry from the brigade du Roi; without wavering they passed some enclosures, descended the hollow bank of the rivulet, and waded through the swamp, under a galling fire. Reaching the foot of the intrenchment, though disordered by the difficulty of the approach and the loss they had sustained, they made the most furious effort to ascend the breastwork, but were repulsed by the French troops, now encouraged by the presence of Villars himself.

Meanwhile General Withers, with the battalions drawn from Tournay, advanced in silence through the woods, in the direction of La Folie, but without a single shot being fired on that side. Both the first lines of attack on the right having suffered severely, Eugene and Schulemberg filled up the intervals, and extended the flanks with part of the second; they then advanced again, and dislodged the brigades of La Reine and Charost, but could not force those of Picardie and La Marine, notwithstanding the great exertions of the Danes, Saxons, and Hessians.

Count Lottum now returned to the attack, while Marlborough placed himself at the head of d'Auvergne's cavalry to sustain him. At this moment the Duke of Argyle ordered a British brigade of the second line to extend the left, and the whole renewed the charge. As the attacks embraced a wider front, this fresh brigade came opposite an opening in the intrenchment; but the access was through a marshy spot, almost impassable. While they were entangled in the swamp, General Chemerault, with twelve battalions drawn from the second line of the French left centre, passed the intrenchments, and prepared to charge their left flank. But Villars, who was on the border of the wood, remarking Marlborough, with his staff, at the head of d'Au-

vergne's cavalry, galloped forward, and stopped them at the moment when their further advance would have been fatal. Free on the flank, the left of Count Lottum then penetrated the intrenchment, turned the right of the brigade du Roi, and forced the French to gradually fall back in the wood.

The brigades of Champagne and Picardie, pressed by the double assault of Schulemberg on one side and of Lottum on the other, found a momentary asylum behind an abatis; and the Marine brigade, after a vigorous stand, was compelled to follow their example. The rest retired in disorder through the wood, which was so close that the lines were broken into parties, and every tree was disputed.

Meantime, the appointed half-hour of the first onset had elapsed, when the Prince of Orange, impatient of delay, resolved to attack, although not supported by Withers' corps, and without waiting the consent of his nominal superior, Marshal Tilly.

In obedience to the particular disposition issued the preceding evening, the left of the whole front was led by Major-General Hamilton and Brigadier Douglas, with four battalions, among whom was the Scottish brigade, in four lines, with orders to enter the wood and attack the grenadiers who covered the right flank of the enemy. Nine battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals Saar and Oxenstiern were to advance against the salient angle of the intrenchment next the wood; and to the right of these, six battalions, in three lines, led by Lieutenant-Generals Dohna and Heyden, were to carry the battery on the road to Malplaquet. Generals Welderen and Rank, with four battalions, in two lines, received directions to skirt the hedges of Bleron, and force the intrenchment to the right of the battery. Beyond these, in the enclosures of Bleron, seven battalions, under Major-Generals Pallant and Ammama, were ordered to advance in three lines, and attack the apex of the projecting intrenchments, defended by two brigades. The whole was supported by the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, with twenty-one squadrons, in two lines, and preceded by some guns.

On the word to march all were instantly in motion, led on by the eager young Prince of Orange at the head of the first nine battalions, under a tremendous shower of grape and musketry. He had moved only a few paces when the brave Oxenstiern was killed by his side; and several aides-de-camp and attendants successively dropped as he advanced. His own horse being killed, he advanced on foot, and as he passed the opening of the great flanking battery, whole ranks were swept away; yet he reached the intrenchment, and, waving his hat, in an instant the breastwork was forced at the point of the bayonet by the Dutch guards and Highlanders. But before they could deploy, they were driven back from the post by an impetuous

charge from the troops of the French left, who had been rallied by Marshal Boufflers. At this moment the corps under Dohna moved gallantly against the battery on the road, penetrated into the embrasures, and took some colours; but ere they reached the front of the breastwork, were mowed down by the battery on their flank. A dreadful carnage took place among the troops in this concerted attack. Spaar lay dead upon the field; Hamilton was carried off wounded; and the lines, beginning to waver, recoiled a few paces. Deriving fresh spirit from this repulse, the heroic Prince of Orange rallied the nearest troops, and planted the colours on the bank. Foremost among the assailants at his side was the heir of Athol, the gallant Marquis of Tullibardine, who, with his faithful Highlanders, had sought honour under a foreign flag. The Marquis was slain, and Lieutenant-General Week shared his glorious fate, and the Swiss Brigadier Mey was severely wounded. Again the onset was renewed, but it was no longer possible to force the enemy, for their second line had closed up, and the whole breastwork bristled with bayonets and blazed with fire. The brigade of Navarre, which had been sent to reinforce the centre, was recalled, and the French soldiers, disregarding the control of their officers, quitted the intrenchment and made a furious charge. The disordered ranks of the Dutch battalions were driven back over heaps of slain companions; they lost several columns, and their advanced battery fell into the hands of the French.

They soon rallied, and were supported by the Prince of Hesse, at the head of his squadrons. In these attacks nearly 2,000 men were killed, and the number of wounded was still greater. The seven battalions, under Lieutenant-General Pallant, also sought to storm the projecting intrenchment near the farm of Bleron, but after temporary success, were compelled to relinquish a breastwork they had carried.

During this unequal conflict, the Deputy Goslinga, witnessing the danger of his gallant countrymen, galloped towards the right to demand assistance. Meeting Lieutenant-General Rantzau, who, with four battalions of Hanoverians, was posted on the edge of the rivulet near the wood of Tiry, he obtained from him a reinforcement of two battalions. While the deputy, not satisfied with this relief, hastened across the field in search of Marlborough, the attack on the left was renewed, and the intrenchment carried; but again the assailants were repulsed with prodigious loss. All the Hanoverian officers, except three, were killed or wounded, and the French lost, among other officers, their veteran brigadier, Steckenberg.

In this anxious crisis, Goslinga met Marlborough, who, leaving Lottum to continue his successful attack, was himself hastening to remedy the disorder on the left. They rode together to join the Prince of Orange, and were joined by Eugene. While giving the necessary

orders to the left wing, a British officer arrived from the right to inform them that the enemy were attacking in turn with great fury and evident advantage.

During this time Villars had ineffectually summoned reinforcements from his right, for Boufflers was too much weakened, even by his successful resistance, to detach a part of his infantry. Thus reduced to the necessity of drawing troops from his own centre, he reluctantly called the Irish brigade and that of Bretagne to his assistance, and was soon afterwards joined by the brigade of La Sarre. With the aid of these and other reinforcements, a furious charge was made into the wood of Taisniere upon the British and Prussians, who recoiled a considerable way before the impetuous onset of the Irish; but the nature of the spot upon which they fought soon divided their ranks and retarded their progress.

At this moment the allied troops were cheered by the return of Marlborough, who, on the intelligence of their critical situation, again hastened to the right of his centre, to co-operate with the attack from the army of Eugene. Meanwhile, Schulemberg, having forced his way round the marsh, pushed the enemy gradually before him, into the wood, where the fighting was obscured by a thick foliage and dense smoke.

The troops of the right were also animated by the return of Eugene, who, as he was rallying his men, was struck by a musket ball behind the ear; but the wound was not serious, and he refused to quit the field. His example roused the German battalions, and they recovered the lost ground, pressing forward in great numbers; and his efforts were seconded by General Withers, from his station at La Folie. Posting four battalions on their left flank, with the remaining fifteen, Withers passed the little rivulet, crossed a small coppice, and took post in the hedges of La Folie.

Notwithstanding the repulse of six Danish and Saxon squadrons of horse, belonging to this corps, it was the progress of General Withers which hastened the retreat of the enemy's left out of the wood at Taisniere, and alarmed Villars. In the carnage, Chemerault and Pallavicini fell; and Villars made a fresh disposition, and also formed a corps of twelve battalions, in two lines, at fifty paces from the wood. At this moment Eugene advanced at the head of five German regiments, and opened a destructive fire. They were charged by the French with bayonets, under the immediate direction of Villars; but, in the heat of the combat, his horse was shot, and a second musket ball struck him above the knee, compelling him to quit the field in a senseless condition. Notwithstanding his loss, the allied battalions were driven back to the edge of the wood of Taisniere, from whence they did not again attempt to advance.

Thus, after an obstinate conflict of four hours, the Confederate commanders only obtained possession of the intrenchments and wood on the enemy's left, but they were now at liberty to execute the ulterior object of their plans by attacking the hostile centre.

As soon as the enemy began to remove their cannon from the intrenchments, Marlborough, whose right formed the allied centre, ordered Lord Orkney to make a decisive effort upon the works in the centre. This gallant officer, assisted by Rantzau, Vink, and other generals, had gradually advanced in proportion as Lottum gained ground; and behind him was the Prince d'Auvergne, with thirty squadrons of Dutch cavalry in two lines. In their rear was the British cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Wood, and the Prussian and Hanoverian horse, commanded by General Bulau; and the whole Imperial cavalry, under the Duke of Wurtemberg and Count de Vehlen, formed in columns, stood ready to move at the first order. Lord Orkney, advancing in one line, at a single onset took possession of all the enemy's works, overpowering the Bavarian and Cologne guards, who were left almost unsupported, in consequence of the draughts from the centre to reinforce the left. The heavy battery of the British centre had meanwhile been brought forward and turned against these troops, and now the guns of the central battery, which had been directed upon the works, moved rapidly to the right and left, and opened a tremendous cannonade across the rear, upon the lines of hostile cavalry drawn up along the plain. The French horse falling back, Rantzau, with his two battalions, turned the left flank of the French and Swiss guards and dislodged them. At the same moment, the Prince of Orange, undaunted by his former repulse, renewed the attack, and the French brigades were driven out of the intrenchments.

The crisis of this sanguinary battle had now arrived. The Prince d'Auvergne, while forming his horsemen on the further side of the French works, was charged by the hostile cavalry, but succeeded in repulsing them. The wave of attack was quickly followed by another. Marshal Boufflers, on hearing that the allies had broken through the centre, ordered the household horse to follow, and flew to the spot, where he found the gens-d'armes ready to charge. After a short and cheering address, he placed himself at their head, and charged his antagonists, who were extending their lines through the openings of the captured works. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the gallant d'Auvergne, the allied squadrons were driven back to the intrenchments; but Lord Orkney, who had taken the precaution to post his infantry upon the parapets, poured in a most destructive fire, which repulsed the gens-d'armes in their turn. Thrice these charges were repeated, and thrice the impetuous assailants were repulsed by the combined fire of the musketry and cross-batteries on the flanks.

In the midst of this arduous struggle, Marlborough came up and led forward a second line of British and Prussian cavalry, under the command of Bulau and Wood. They fell on the discomfited squadrons, who were attempting to withdraw, and would have swept them from the field but for the advance of a formidable body of 2,000 men, consisting of the choicest troops of the royal household.

These brave horsemen had hastened from the right to share the dangers of the centre, and were also led to the charge by Marshal Boufflers. Their onset was irresistible; they broke through the first and second lines, and threw the third into confusion. But the force of the allies on this point was now opportunely augmented, the whole of Eugene's cavalry having followed, at a full gallop, in rear of Marlborough's right wing. The presence of this illustrious hero animated the troops; and, by the judicious dispositions of the two commanders, the assailants were outflanked, and, being galled by a cross fire from the infantry, retreated to the plain. Their spirit, however, was unbroken; again they rallied, and renewed the charge several times, though without making any considerable impression. The allied cavalry, on their part, moved forward with redoubled ardour, and being superior in numbers, finally drove back this intrepid body of horsemen. Observing Lord Orkney's advance, and Rantzau's manœuvre upon the flanks of the French guards, the Prince of Hesse pushed forward in column, passed the works, and, wheeling to the left, took the right of the hostile infantry in flank. This daring manœuvre had the desired effect; the enemy crowded to their right, and were again attacked by the Prince of Orange, who had re-occupied the intrenchments with little resistance.

Boufflers now beheld his centre pierced, his right dislodged, the communication with his left cut off, and the ablest officers under his command killed or wounded. Finally, he learned that Legal, who commanded the left, was in full retreat with his cavalry and about fifty battalions, and therefore reluctantly ordered a general retreat in the direction of Bavai. D'Artagnan marched off in close column through the woods; Boufflers crossed the Hon at Taisniere and the neighbouring hamlet; and Luxembourg covered the rear with the reserve. Beyond the woods, on the plain in front of Bavai, the infantry and cavalry rejoined, and after halting to collect the stragglers, and break down the bridges, passed the Honeau in the vicinity of that town. Their left withdrew towards Quevrain, and effected their retreat with little loss, as the allies were too much exhausted and reduced to pursue them in force, and gradually re-assembled at a camp between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. This has been justly considered a masterly retreat, and was applauded by Eugene and Marlborough. The allied forces halted

near the field of battle, on the plain stretching from Malplaquet beyond Taisniere. Not more than 500 prisoners were taken by the allies, exclusive of those who were left wounded on the field, amounting to about 3,000. Few cannon or colours were captured, and the victory was only manifested by the retreat of the French, and the subsequent investment of Mons.

The respective losses in this desperate engagement have been, as usual, variously stated, but, without doubt, Malplaquet was a Pyrrhic victory, and a few more such and the English army would have disappeared. The official accounts of the allies return their loss in infantry alone as 5,544 killed, and 12,706 wounded and missing, making a total of 18,250; and among these, 286 officers killed, and 762 wounded. Including the loss of the cavalry, the total casualties probably did not fall short of 20,000 men.* Villars, while placing our losses at 35,000, sought to minimize that of the French army. He puts it, in a letter to Louis XIV., at 6,000 men, and the highest estimate by other French writers gives only 8,137 killed, wounded, and prisoners; though the biographers of the Duke of Marlborough calculate their loss at not less than 14,000 men, exclusive of deserters. Marlborough allows that the French fought with great spirit, and made a most obstinate resistance, though Villars rather exaggerates when he said that "the enemy would have been annihilated by such another victory," and so does Boufflers, in asserting "that the French officers performed such wonders as even surpassed human nature." No eulogium can be too great as regards the skill of the two Confederate generals, and of the bravery of their troops. The result of the battle proves the foresight of Marlborough, who earnestly pressed for a reinforcement of 10,000 men.

The campaign was brought to an end by the capitulation of Mons after a brief siege, conducted under the Duke's guidance. Malplaquet was the last great battle fought by Marlborough, who gained successes in the campaigns of 1710 and 1711, against his old antagonist, Villars, in the Netherlands. The treaty of Utrecht in 1713, a dishonourable

* The battle of Waterloo was, in proportion to the number of the victors, still more destructive. According to Siborne (Waterloo, ii. 352–519) Wellington's army at Waterloo numbered 69,686 men, and the loss was 22,469, or one in three nearly; at Malplaquet, it was one in five; at Talavera, one in four—5,000 being killed and wounded out of 19,800 engaged. Among the British regiments which bear on their colours the names of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, are the following:—1st, 3rd, 5th, 6th, and 7th Dragoon Guards, the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), and 5th Lancers, the Grenadier and Coldstream Guards (the latter Oudenarde and Malplaquet only), and the following regiments of the line:—The 1st (Royal Scots), 3rd (The Buffs), 8th (The King's), 10th (Lincolnshire), 15th (East Yorkshire), 16th (Bedfordshire), 18th (Royal Irish), 19th (Yorkshire) (Malplaquet only), 21st (Royal Scots Fusiliers), 23rd (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), 24th (South Wales Borderers), 26th (Cameronians), 28th (Gloucestershire) (Ramillies only), 29th (Worcestershire) (Ramillies only), 37th (Hampshire).

compact, due to Court intrigue and party faction, at length put an end to the War of the Spanish Succession, which had so long desolated Europe. The Emperor Charles of Austria refused to accede to the terms of the treaty, and Prince Eugene continued the war with France, but, unsupported by the genius of Marlborough, the Germanic forces were no match for those led by Villars, and Charles now signed a separate treaty with France, retaining the Low Countries, though he refused to recognize the claims of his rival, Philip, to the crown of Spain. Owing to the restitution of his dominions to the Elector of Bavaria, Marlborough was deprived by the Emperor of his principality of Mindlesheim, with its revenue of £2,000, conferred on him by Joseph, when he saved his empire at Blenheim.

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CHAPTER V.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1704–1783.

The War of Succession in Spain—The Career of the Earl of Peterborough—Capture of Barcelona—Battle of Almanza—British Reverses in Spain—Battle of Dettingen—Battle of Fontenoy—British Troops on the Coast of France and in Flanders—Battle of Laffeldt—England's part in the "Seven Years' War"—Battle of Minden—Actions at Emsdorf, Warburg, and Wilhelmsthal—Capture of Belleisle—English Successes in the West Indies—End of the "Seven Years' War."

WHILE Marlborough was battling with success on the banks of the Danube and in the Low Countries for the Archduke Charles, who, as we have seen, eventually succeeded to the Imperial dignity, another English general of original genius, though of widely different character and capabilities, was also fighting in the peninsula itself, for the succession to the Spanish throne of the same prince, whose pretensions, as against Philip's grandson and the candidate of Louis XIV., deluged Europe in blood for so many years. The general alluded to was the eccentric and accomplished Earl of Peterborough—so well known to English readers through Macaulay's brilliant essay—around whose achievements there is something of the halo of romance that surrounds the deeds of one of Charlemagne's paladins, or King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table. Not since the days of the Black Prince had an English army set foot in Spain, though the thunder of Drake's guns had shown "the Dons," as he contemptuously called the race, that a power had arisen whose naval superiority was soon to be undisputed in European waters.

In Spain and Portugal the Confederate armies were also successful. On July 23rd, 1704, the British fleet, under Sir George Rooke, having on board some regiments, under the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, captured Gibraltar, our loss being three officers and sixty seamen killed, and nine officers and 216 men wounded. From that day, "the Rock," as the world-renowned stronghold is called by the Services, has remained one of the proudest, and, by foreigners, most highly-envied, possession of the British crown. The French and Spaniards made great efforts to retake the fortress, and though, in speaking of the siege of Gibraltar, one's mind reverts to the great event that marked the closing years of our struggle with America, France, and Spain, in 1780, when General Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield, defended the

place against overwhelming odds, yet Gibraltar had not been in our possession many months before Spain, at the close of 1704, recognizing the greatness of the loss she had sustained, and the injury to Spanish honour implied in its retention by a foreign power, strained every nerve to repossess herself of the key to the Mediterranean. But the English fleet, under Sir John Leake, relieved the place, and the garrison was reinforced with four battalions.

At this time, a mixed force of English, Dutch, and Portuguese, under Lord Galway,* was assembled on the western frontier of Spain, to enforce the claim of the Archduke Charles, who arrived at Lisbon; but the allies were held in check by the adherents of Philip until, in June, 1705, Lord Peterborough arrived with 5,000 Dutch and English soldiers at Lisbon, where they were embarked, together with the Archduke Charles. On arriving at Gibraltar, the Prince of Hesse and three regiments of the garrison were taken on board, and the whole armament sailed for Barcelona, on the coast of Catalonia, where the soldiers were disembarked.

This city was strongly fortified and defended by a garrison more numerous than the assailants. But, nothing daunted, Lord Peterborough effected by sheer audacity what could not be accomplished by regular approaches. Affecting to be discouraged by the insurmountable difficulties, he began to re-embark his troops, and having lulled the enemy into security, he, at midnight of the 12th September, with 800 men, assailed the fort of Montjuich, which commanded Barcelona, and carried the place by storm. Lord Peterborough writes to his wife on the 6th of October, 1705:—"I can now give you joy upon taking Barcelona, which is effected. I can modestly say such an attempt was never made by such a handful of men. We have taken, in three days, the castle of Montjuich, sword in hand, that resisted 30,000 men three months. There were five hundred men in it. We marched with a thousand men thirteen hours, and with scaling-ladders took a place upon a rock, much stronger than Portsmouth, and had but 800 men, 200 having lost us in the night. This enterprise, which some people would reckon impossible or rash, will save many thousand lives. I was forced to lead them on with the Prince of Hesse, who was killed. I escaped without hurt, though both my aide-de-camps were much wounded."

On the 9th October Charles entered Barcelona in triumph, and was hailed by the inhabitants with acclamation. The towns of Tarragona, Tortosa, Gerona, Lerida and San Mateo threw open their gates, whereupon the Spanish Government sent the Count of Las Torres with 7,000 men to reduce San Mateo. The Earl of Peterborough,

* Lord Galway was a French refugee who came over to England with William III., then Prince of Orange, and was raised to the peerage. He was a gallant and skilful soldier, and had frequently received wounds in the service of his adopted country.

with only 1,200 men, raised the siege. His officers advised him to be content with this extraordinary success, and Charles urged him to return to Barcelona, but, as Macaulay says, "no remonstrance could stop such a spirit in the midst of such a career." It was the depth of winter, the country was mountainous and the roads almost impassable, while the retreating army was far more numerous than its prisoners. But difficulties and dangers vanished before the energy of Peterborough, who pushed on, driving Las Torres before him, and on the 4th February, 1706, he arrived in triumph at Valencia. There he learnt that a body of 4,000 men was on the march to join Las Torres; upon which he set out at dead of night from Valencia, passed the Xucar, and surprising the enemy, slaughtered, dispersed, or took the whole reinforcement.

In the meantime the Courts of Madrid and Versailles despatched to Catalonia a large army, commanded by Marshal Tessé, and a fleet, under the Count of Toulouse, one of the natural children of Louis XIV., appeared before Barcelona, which was attacked at once by sea and land. Peterborough, at the head of about 3,000 men, marched with great rapidity from Valencia, and proceeded to harass the enemy, whose superior force made a direct attack impossible. He saw, however, that the only hope of the besieged was from the side of the sea, and as his commission from the British government gave him supreme power, not only over the army, but, whenever he should be actually on board, over the navy also, he put to sea at night in an open boat, and was picked up, several leagues from the shore, by one of the ships of the English squadron. As soon as he was on board, he announced himself as first in command, and sent a pinnace with his orders to Admiral Leake. Upon this the Count of Toulouse quitted the port, and the town was relieved. On the following night the enemy raised the siege, and Peterborough returned to Valencia.

Inspired by Peterborough's brilliant example, Lord Galway marched with 24,000 men from the frontiers of Portugal into Spain, the Duke of Berwick* retreating before him. Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca, names associated, a century later, with England's greatest general, fell in succession, and Madrid was entered in triumph. Arragon now joined the Archduke Charles, and Saragossa, Carthagena and Toledo revolted in his favour. It seemed as if his cause was assured, but, as Napoleon found to his cost, there is no country in Europe so easily overrun as Spain, or more difficult to conquer. Castile, Leon, and Andalusia rose upon the invader, and meanwhile, Lord Galway remained in Madrid, and Charles declined to proceed to his capital, as

* This officer was the natural son of James II., King of England, and Arabella Churchill, sister of the Duke of Marlborough, and inherited much of the military genius of his great uncle.

urged by Peterborough, who proposed to march from Valencia and effect a junction with the English general.

At length Charles advanced into Castile, and ordered Peterborough to join him, but it was too late, for Berwick had compelled Galway to evacuate Madrid. On the forces of the allies being assembled, Peterborough formed a plan for regaining possession of the capital, which Charles rejected, whereupon the English general, filled with disappointed ambition and pique at the reception he received from Charles, and dissatisfied with Spain and everything Spanish,* quitted the camp for Valencia, whence he sailed for Genoa, with the object of collecting pecuniary supplies from the Duke of Savoy. At least this was his ostensible reason, for Lord Godolphin writes of him to Marlborough that "he had left the army and court, pretending he had orders from the Queen to go to Italy."

Meanwhile, Lord Galway and Das Minas retreated to the borders of New Castile, and King Charles repaired to Valencia. The army, reduced by losses sustained during the retreat, was reinforced by 10,000 men from England, under Lord Rivers, which arrived at Lisbon in October, and at Alicante on the 28th January, 1707.

Lord Peterborough now returned from Genoa, when there were no less than three commanders, but he and Lord Rivers resigned the command to Lord Galway, who, hearing of the despatch of large reinforcements from France for the Franco-Spanish army, under the command of Berwick, took the field in company with Das Minas, Charles having departed for Catalonia with a portion of the army, contrary to the advice of the British Cabinet.

After a fruitless attempt to reduce Villena, the allies descended into the plains of Almanza, under the walls of which town they found the army of Berwick encamped. They hurried to the attack on ground highly favourable for the manœuvres of cavalry, in which the enemy were greatly superior. This desperate, but ill-judged, effort was repelled, and the Portuguese cavalry, being seized with a panic, abandoned the field in the utmost confusion. The foot, left without support, were broken on all sides, and the rout became complete. Thirteen battalions of infantry, after cutting their way through the hostile lines, took post in a wood, but were surrounded and reduced to surrender. Great part of the baggage and artillery, with 120 standards, fell into the hands of the enemy. Galway was severely wounded in the

* Lord Peterborough writes to the Duchess of Marlborough on September 4, 1706:—"The most disagreeable country in the world is Spain; the most pleasing England; our German ministers and Spanish statesmen much alike; the officers the greatest robbers, and the soldiers the greatest cowards; the only tolerable thing, 'your sex.'" In his views of Spanish statesmen and officers, a successor in the command of English troops in Spain, the Duke of Wellington, had cause, a century later, to agree.

outset of the battle; and the remainder of the army, amounting to about 6,000 men, effected its escape in disorderly retreat towards Tortosa. This complete victory was purchased by the enemy with the loss of only 2,000 men.

A more striking picture of the rout cannot be drawn than in the words of the defeated commander in a letter to Lord Sunderland:—"Alegre, April 27. My Lord,—Your Lordship will have heard by my letters, as well as by Mr. Stanhope's, that in all the councils held at Valencia this winter it was resolved we should march to clear this frontier, ruin the enemy's magazines, and destroy the country between them and us, in case they retired, thereby to secure this kingdom and our march into Arragon; but that if the enemy did assemble upon this frontier, we should fight them. Accordingly our forces moved from their garrisons on the 6th instant; we were all joined on the 10th. We marched to Yecla, and from thence to Montealeyre, the enemy's troops retiring before us. We consumed and destroyed their magazines in both these places. We afterwards marched to Villena; the enemy, in the meantime, joined all their forces, and marched to Almanza. All the generals were of opinion to attack them there, our army being then in a better condition than it would be any time during the campaign, for it was daily weakened by sickness. So we marched on the 25th April, and fought the enemy close to Almanza.

"I am under deep concern to be obliged to tell your lordship we were entirely defeated. Both our wings were broke, and let in the enemy's horse, which surrounded our foot, so that none could get off. I received a cut on the forehead in the first charge. The enemy did not pursue their advantage, so that all our baggage got off. Major-General Shrimpton, Count Dohna, and some other officers got into the mountains with a body of English, Dutch, and Portuguese foot, where they surrendered the day after the battle, being, I suppose, surrounded by the enemy's horse. I have sent a trumpet to inquire after the prisoners. I cannot, my lord, but look upon the affairs of Spain as lost by this bad disaster; our foot, which was our main strength, being gone, and the horse we have left chiefly Portuguese, which is not good at all. Most of our English horse that got off were of the two new-raised regiments of dragoons, who did not do their duty. All the generals here are of opinion that we cannot continue in this kingdom, so I have desired Sir George Byng to take on board again the recruits he has just landed at Alicante, and to call at Denia or Valencia for our sick, wounded, and baggage, and have all sent to Tortosa, where we shall march with the remainder of our horse."

Before a month had elapsed, the Bourbon commanders recovered Valencia, Mercia, and Arragon, except the strongholds of Lerida and Tortosa, and the maritime fortresses of Denia and Alicante. The authority of Charles was confined to the province of Catalonia, where

his collective force did not exceed 10,000 regular troops. The only satisfaction in this sad affair was that the English infantry sustained their reputation for dogged bravery, and the dragoons who incurred Galway's censure consisted of raw recruits. The veteran commander displayed his accustomed valour, and Marlborough was justly indignant at the aspersions cast on his character in England, and said: "It is somewhat strange that generals, who have acted to the best of their understanding, and have lost their limbs in the service, should be examined like common criminals about insignificant things."

General Stanhope took command of the English troops in Catalonia, and in 1710 gained a success near Alforey, over the troops of Philip, who retreated precipitately to Madrid, and thence removed to Valladolid, the ancient capital of Castile, while Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, retook possession of Arragon, and occupied Madrid.

But the inactivity of the Portuguese again wrecked the Royal cause, and Philip re-entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his subjects, while the Austrian prince withdrew to Barcelona. During the retreat of the army, pursued by the Duke of Vendome, a column of 6,000 British troops, under General Stanhope, was, on 6th December, overtaken at Brihuega, and the Imperialist and Dutch allies being far in advance, they were surprised by Vendome, owing to Stanhope's neglect to place outposts, and, after a desperate resistance of two days in an almost defenceless town, surrendered as prisoners of war.

"Nobody with me," says Stanhope, "imagined that they had any foot within some days' march of us; and our misfortune is owing to the incredible diligence which their army made." Staremberg, commanding the main column of the allied army, returned and inflicted a defeat on Vendome, but his victory bore no fruits, and the allies returned to Arragon, and thence to Catalonia, pursued by the guerilla parties and a French force. At length, 6,000 men, the remnant of the allied army, took refuge in Barcelona, which, with the maritime fortress of Tarragona, was almost Charles's only possession. Defeated in the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy, by Marlborough, Eugene, and the allied commanders, Louis offered to abandon the cause of his grandson, when Queen Anne dismissed her Whig ministers, called Harley and St. John to power, and summoned a new Parliament, which supported the Tory policy of peace with France. Fortune also favoured Louis in the opportune death of the Emperor Joseph, when Charles, the *fons et origo mali*, became head of the house of Austria. On the 27th September, accordingly, he quitted Barcelona, thanking his faithful Catalans for their loyalty, embarked on board the British fleet, and on arriving at Milan, learned that he had been elected to the Imperial dignity, and was crowned at Frankfort on the 22nd December. By the treaty of Utrecht, after so many years of fruitless bloodshed, the crown of Spain remained in the possession of Philip, and England, for all her sacrifices

in life and treasure, retained possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, while the house of Austria held the Spanish Netherlands, Naples, Milan, and Sardinia. There was much truth in Lord Peterborough's saying, that "men were great fools to fight for such blockheads as the Austrian Charles and the Bourbon Philip."

Battle of Dettingen.—27th June, 1743.

The two great battles fought on the continent during the reign of George II.—Dettingen and Fontenoy—though not very creditable to those who commanded our forces on the field, were highly honourable to the troops. Both of them proved that the men only wanted a Marlborough to lead them, and that our soldiers had in no way degenerated since the days of Queen Anne, when they marched from one decisive victory to another.

In 1743, Louis XV. sent the Duke de Noailles into Germany to reinforce Marshal de Broglie, who was advancing to the neighbourhood of Frankfort, then threatened by a united army of English, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Austrians. When the French commanders joined their forces they had from 50,000 to 60,000 men. The supreme command of the Confederates was in the hands of the Earl of Stair, who had fought with bravery and distinction under the Duke of Marlborough, and had grown aged since the days of Ramillies and Oudenarde. Being greatly outnumbered, Stair retreated before Noailles, who followed him so closely, and so completely out-manœuvred him, that he cut him off from his magazines at Hanau, and left him almost wholly without bread for his men or forage for his horses. There were also divided councils in the allied army, Lord Stair disagreeing with the Duke d'Aremberg as to the course of operations. Affairs were in this critical state, the allies having their communications interrupted, and being cooped up in a narrow valley that runs along the River Maine from the town of Aschaffenburg to the large village of Dettingen—when King George II., with his son, the Duke of Cumberland, and Lord Carteret, arrived at headquarters from Hanover. The force of the allies was reduced to 37,000 men, and these were put upon half rations, while the horses of the cavalry were starving. The Hessians and Hanoverians that were to join them, had marched upon Hanover.

Still, however, the soldiers were full of heart, and George II., who, in his young days, had seen service under Marlborough, was remarkable, at least, for his personal courage. After holding several councils of war, the king resolved to extricate his army from the narrow valley at all hazards, and to free his way to Hanau and its well-stocked magazines. The Duke de Noailles, as soon as he saw the allies in

George II. at Dettingen.

movement, altered his dispositions so as to attack their flank and rear, and he detached his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, with 23,000 men, to secure the defile of Dettingen. He also threw up batteries on the opposite bank of the Maine, having previously made two bridges across that river, which served for the advance of de Grammont, and kept open the communication between him and his uncle. Before daybreak on the 27th June, the allies marched towards Dettingen in two columns. The king commanded in person in the rear, which he considered the post of danger, being as yet ignorant of the movement of the Duke de Grammont; nor did he find out his mistake till he saw the front suddenly halt, and his advanced posts fall back from the defile of Dettingen. The French now showed themselves in great force in that pass. George instantly rode from the rear to the front, and made his arrangements for the battle, placing his infantry in front and the cavalry in rear. He was by this time completely shut up in the valley, for a French division of 12,000 men had pushed into Aschaffenburg in his rear, and his flank was now exposed to the French batteries on the other side of the Maine. Nothing was left but to surrender or cut his way through the pass of Dettingen, which was fully occupied by de Grammont, and covered in front by a morass and a small rivulet.

But the rashness of de Grammont relieved King George from his jeopardy. While his uncle, the Marshal de Noailles, who had given him strict orders not to move, was bringing up other divisions from the opposite side of the Maine, de Grammont advanced rapidly from the defile of Dettingen, crossed the rivulet, deployed on the plain, and engaged the allies in front. Dismounting, the king put himself at the head of his British and Hanoverian infantry, addressing a few encouraging words to his men. The Duke of Cumberland was also in front, on the left wing, and behaved as bravely as his sire. At the first onset of the French cavalry, the allies were thrown into some confusion; but the infantry soon rallied, and, at the critical moment, the French batteries across the Maine suspended their fire, as the combatants were mingled in the fray. Seeing his opportunity, George, in person, formed his infantry into one dense column, and charged with them till they broke de Grammont's squadrons, and pushed both horse and foot before them. Noailles, from the opposite side of the river, beheld the fatal mistake of his nephew, and tried to redeem it; but before he could get to Dettingen, the affair was decided, and de Grammont's men were in headlong retreat. The French, closely pursued by the allies, made for the bridges across the Maine, where hundreds were killed or drowned. Altogether the loss of the French, in killed and wounded, was between 5,000 and 6,000 men, and many officers, including General Mariol and the Duke de Rochechouart and eleven generals wounded. The allies lost 2,000 men, among whom were

Generals Clayton and Monroy killed, and the Duke of Cumberland, —known in Scotch history as "the Butcher," from his barbarous conduct at the battle of Culloden—the Earl of Albemarle, and General Huske, were wounded.

The battle of Dettingen is chiefly famous as the last in which an English sovereign commanded in person, and as the theme for Handel's famous "Te Deum." The merit of the victory—for as to generalship there was little to boast—rested with the infantry of England, who were ably seconded by the Hanoverian footmen. It was still about four in the afternoon, and Lord Stair proposed that the enemy should be pursued; but the allied army was in a half-famished condition, while half of the French army had not been engaged, so that doubtless the king was wise in rejecting this advice. Not long after, Voltaire met the Earl of Stair at the Hague, and asked his lordship what he thought of the battle of Dettingen. "I think," said the Scotch nobleman, "that the French made one great mistake, and the English two. Yours was in not standing still; our first, entangling ourselves in a dangerous position; our second, failing to pursue our victory."

The road to the well-furnished magazines of Hanau was now opened, and thither marched the half-famished allied army, after a short rest, leaving most of their wounded behind them on the field of battle. To his honour, Marshal de Noailles treated these unfortunate men in a most humane manner. The results of the victory* were considerable, as the French army crossed the Rhone, and their officers conceded that the qualities of our troops were unchanged—that these were the same men who had fought in the Netherlands with the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

In the month of April, 1745, the same year in which English troops were engaged in putting down the Scotch rebellion, a French army of 76,000 men was collected in Flanders by Louis XV., who was intent on carrying out the schemes of conquest and aggrandizement of his grandfather and predecessor on the throne, Louis XIV. The French army was under the command of Marshal Saxe, a natural son of Augustus, who had been Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. The marshal was an able and experienced soldier, having as a boy, served at Malplaquet and on the French frontiers, under the Duke of Marlborough. From this period, down to the time of the wars of the French Revolution, there was no leader of a French army whose

* The regiments of our army which bear the word "Dettingen" on their colours are the following:—The three regiments of Household Cavalry, 1st and 7th Dragoon Guards, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th and 7th Cavalry of the Line. The three regiments of Footguards, 8th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 20th, 21st, 23rd, 32nd, 33rd, and 37th Infantry Regiments of the Line.

name stands so high as that of Marshal Saxe. In the beginning of May, Saxe marched suddenly upon Tournay, and invested that place. England had furnished 28,000 men, the *quota* she had engaged to provide, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland; but the Dutch, instead of sending 50,000, and keeping 10,000 in garrison at Tournay, as agreed, had scarcely sent 23,000 soldiers; and the Austrians, who had promised great things, despatched no more than eight or nine squadrons of horse. Moreover, his Royal Highness was hampered and thwarted by the Dutch general, Prince Waldeck, and by the field deputies of the States-General—those dead-weights in war, who had repeatedly deranged the most skilful combinations of the great Duke of Marlborough.

At the earnest request of Prince Waldeck and the States-General, the Duke of Cumberland moved with his inferior force to relieve Tournay, which, had the Dutch kept their engagements, ought to have been quite strong enough to defend itself. But instead of acting promptly, the allied generals moved so slowly that, on arriving near the place, they found that Marshal Saxe, leaving 15,000 of his infantry to blockade the fortress, had moved with the rest of his army of 60,000 horse and foot to an excellent position at Fontenoy, where he had strengthened his position with field works. When the allies came up they found the French army—which was encouraged to special exertions by the presence of their king, who, with the Dauphin, had joined them from Paris—encamped on the gentle heights which rise from the right bank of the Scheldt, with that river and the village of Antoin on their right, the village of Fontenoy in their centre, the ground in front being broken by ravines and coppices, while the left rested on the wood of Barre. In their rear the French had a free passage across the Scheldt, by means of a bridge, defended by a *tête de pont*, with a strong body of troops in reserve. Fontenoy and Antoin were fortified and well-garrisoned, strong redoubts and batteries, having 220 guns, were thrown up between these two villages, and there were *abatis* on the left in front of the wood. Though the day was far advanced, the allied troops attacked and drove in the French pickets and outposts, but night falling, operations were suspended, and the troops lay under arms till the following morning.

Battle of Fontenoy.—11th May, 1745.

The battle of Fontenoy was opened about four A.M. on the 11th May, by a brisk cannonade on both sides, the French batteries having triple our weight of metal. Before six the two armies were closely engaged. The Duke of Cumberland advanced with the English and Hanoverians against the left of the French, detaching General

Ingoldsby to clear the wood there, and carry a redoubt a little beyond. The English commander, on coming up to the wood, found it partially occupied by a detachment of sharpshooters, whom he mistook for an entire French division; and, after hesitating and losing precious time, he rode back to the Duke to ask for fresh instructions. Meanwhile, the Dutch troops, under Prince Waldeck, who had moved against the French right to attack Fontenoy, gave unequivocal proofs of cowardice, for, after failing in their first assault, and suffering but little from the enemy's batteries, they gave ground, and remained little more than spectators of the fight. The English and Hanoverian infantry, consisting of some 14,000 men, led by that brave veteran, Sir John Ligonier, leaving the cavalry in the rear, and dragging to the front some pieces of artillery, crossed a ravine, and advanced full in front of the batteries against the bulk of the enemy's army. Saxe, however, brought reinforcements from his right wing, which had successfully resisted the attack upon them. Had they been at this moment supported by their allies, and had the Dutch taken Fontenoy, the day would have been won. Our men fought* with dogged determination, and suffered heavily under the fire of the French artillery, but still they continued to advance, sweeping away the French foot and the sturdy Swiss guard. The Duke de Grammont, who had lost the day at Dettingen, was killed early in the day, together with many officers of distinction.

When the victorious British and Hanoverians finally carried the French position on the left they could see nothing of their allies, the Dutch, and they were soon charged where they stood by masses of French cavalry. But, instead of retreating, they pushed on with the object of cutting the enemy off from their bridge across the Scheldt. "If," says Voltaire, "the Dutch had moved at this moment, and joined the British, there would have been no resource, nay, no retreat for the French army, nor, in all probability, for the king and his son." Louis, indeed, had been advised by Marshal Saxe to seek safety in flight, but refused to quit the field. Old Marshal Konigsegg, the Austrian general, congratulated the Duke of Cumberland on his victory; but his compliments were premature. Marshal Saxe, when he saw that Waldeck and the Dutch were determined to keep aloof, and leave the English and Hanoverians to fight the battle unassisted, moved all the French troops that had held Fontenoy and Antoin, thus laying bare the right of his position, and bringing up the household troops and the

* It is related that during this advance occurred one of the most romantic episodes recorded in war. The head of the British column, consisting of Guards, found themselves opposed by the French Guards, and when they were within fifty paces of each other, Lord Charles Hay, taking off his hat, said in French, "Gentlemen of the French Guard, fire," when the Count d'Auteroche, not to be outdone in politeness, replied, "Gentlemen, we cannot fire first; be pleased to fire yourself."

entire body of his reserve, strove to crush Cumberland by an attack in overwhelming force, in which the Irish brigade were the foremost and most furious. Attacked in flank by fresh troops, both foot and horse, and galled by the fire of heavy guns, they were at length compelled to submit to the hard fate against which they had struggled with unsurpassed gallantry, and fell back slowly and in order. Meanwhile our own cavalry had done little. An attempt was afterwards made to account for this inactivity by the roughness of the ground; but this did not prevent the French horsemen from charging, and here, as in previous campaigns, our cavalry was vastly inferior to our matchless infantry. Thus retreating, the English and Hanoverian infantry came to their horse, who then presented a front to the French, and checked their pursuit. They were joined by the Dutch troops, and the enemy retreated hastily to the sheltering walls of Ath. The English soldiers were justly infuriated with their cowardly allies, and could with difficulty be prevented from firing upon them.

In this battle of Fontenoy the British lost in killed and wounded 4,000 men, and the Hanoverians over 2,000, but they left behind them only a few pieces of artillery, no standards, and scarcely any prisoners except the wounded. The French, on their part, owned to a loss of 5,000, including four generals and two brigadiers. It is believed that on both sides the numbers were underrated. Among the English officers of distinction who fell were Lieutenant-General Campbell, Major-General Ponsonby, and Colonels Carpenter and Douglas, and a great many officers of the Guards. "The action," says a Highland officer engaged, "will, I believe, be found to be the bloodiest, as to officers, that has happened to the British in the memory of man. The Hanoverians behaved most gallantly and bravely, and had the Dutch taken example from them we had supped that night in Tournay." Fontenoy and Almanza are the only two considerable battles in which British infantry have been decisively beaten. At Fontenoy the struggle was still even more unequal than at Almanza, while the position of the enemy was very formidable, and they were amply provided with guns, the road to the French batteries rising like a glacis. The allies, on the other hand, had little artillery, and of that could make little use, owing to the confined nature of the ground in their front. As regards numbers, too, even including the Dutch contingent, the allied army amounted only to 33,000 men, while the French marshal had 50,000 under his command. Excluding the Dutch, therefore, the numerical odds against the British and Hanoverians was as three to one. The loss of such a battle certainly carried with it no disgrace to our army.

The next occasion on which English troops were engaged on the continent was at the battle of Roucoux, fought on the 11th October,

1746, under that stout soldier, Sir John Ligonier, the combined army, consisting of Austrians, Dutch, and English, being under Prince Charles of Lorraine and Prince Waldeck. Though the French were victors, they gained no solid advantage. In the following year the Duke of Cumberland was appointed to the supreme command of the allied armies in Flanders, then amounting to some 100,000 men, composed of diverse European nationalities; but the French army was commanded by Marshal Saxe, the most consummate general that had led their armies since the time of Turenne, while the Duke of Cumberland, though personally brave, was no Marlborough.

On the 2nd July, 1747, was fought, near Maestricht, the battle of Laffeldt, when Cumberland again displayed his bad generalship by the way in which he posted his troops. While the Dutch in the centre gave way and fled, and the Austrians on the right would not, or could not, come into action at all, the British infantry on the left, under Wolfe, Howard, Conway, and other officers, thrice repulsed the enemy at the village of Laffeldt, the field of battle presenting a horrid scene of carnage. But at length they were compelled, by dint of numbers, to fall back, leaving sixteen guns in the hands of the enemy. The gallant Ligonier, with the Scots Greys, and three regiments of British dragoons, impetuously charged and overthrew the enemy's cavalry, and made such a diversion as to enable the Duke of Cumberland to collect his scattered forces. The loss of the allies was 6,000 men, and Marshal Saxe himself afterwards confessed to Sir John Ligonier—who, together with Colonel Conway, Sir Robert Sutton, and other officers, was taken prisoner after his horse was killed under him in the last successful charge—that his victory had cost him, in killed and wounded, 8,000 foot, 1,000 horse, and 1,000 officers. "The Duke of Cumberland," says Horace Walpole, "was very nearly taken, having, through his short sight, mistaken a body of French for his own people. He behaved as bravely as usual, but his prowess is so well established that it grows time for him to exert other qualities of a general." A French officer said to an English private who had been made prisoner, "Had there been 50,000 men like you, we should have found it very difficult to conquer." "There were men enough like me," was the reply, "but we wanted a general like Marshal Saxe to command us." Louis XV., who witnessed the battle, said to Sir John Ligonier in reference to the conduct of the allies, "The English not only paid all, but fought for all."

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed in 1748, concluded hostile operations for a brief period; but the truce was only a hollow one, and in 1755 France and England were again engaged in actual hostilities, and war was declared on the 17th May in the following year. Then followed a lengthened period of hostilities, known in history as the "Seven Years' War."

On the 7th July, 1756, the English garrison of Minorca surrendered the island to a French army of 20,000 men, after a siege of two months. In the following year, the Duke of Cumberland, with an army of Confederate troops amounting to 38,000 men, having been driven from Hanover by the French under Marshal d'Estrés, on the 8th of September, signed the convention of Kloster-zeven, by which British troops were compelled to lay down their arms. After this ignominious reverse the Duke of Cumberland resigned his command, and up to the time of his death, in 1765, was never again employed. The king said at court, in the hearing of his disgraced son, "Here is my son, who has ruined me and disgraced himself."

In the same year, Admiral Hawke undertook an expedition against Rochelle, but the incompetence of his coadjutors in command of the land forces rendered it abortive. In June, 1758, a combined armament was again directed against the coasts of France, the fleet being under the command of Lord Anson and Commodore Howe, and the army of 13,000 men, under the Duke of Marlborough, with Lord George Sackville and Lord Granby. The Duke was personally brave, but without experience or military knowledge, and, indeed, with nothing to recommend him but his great name—*stat nominis umbra*. While Lord Anson blockaded Brest, Commodore Howe,* with the land forces, proceeded to St. Malo, where an immense supply of stores and fourteen ships were destroyed; but the generals declined either to attack the town or Cherbourg, and, at the end of a month, the expedition returned, *re infectâ*.

In the following August, Howe sailed again for the French coast, with some troops under the command of General Bligh, and Cherbourg was captured without firing a shot. After destroying the fortifications and arsenals, the expedition proceeded to St. Malo, where the general again landed, but the force at his disposal was too small to reduce the town, and a disaster ensued. A gale of wind forced the fleet to the bay of St. Cas, a few leagues off, and as the British troops were marching thither to re-embark, they were attacked by a superior French force, and lost about 1,000 men, including General Drury.

The British army acquired great honour by their participation in the battle of Minden, fought on the 1st August, 1759. The French had

* Horace Walpole writes in his "Memoirs," that one day Lord George Sackville, who was a great talker, but of doubtful courage, was pestering that great, but taciturn, sailor, Admiral Howe, with questions, and receiving no answer, said petulantly, "Mr. Howe, don't you hear me? I have asked you several questions." Howe replied, "I don't like questions."

gained considerable successes in the course of the campaign, and in order to prevent them from taking up their winter quarters in the electorate of Hanover, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of the most celebrated generals of the age, marched with the allied forces in three columns from Petershagen, and engaged the enemy, under General de Contades and the Duke de Broglie, at Minden. The armies were nearly equal in numerical strength, being between 60,000 and 70,000 men each. About 6 A.M. the Prince of Bevern assailed the right of the French position, and the British infantry, consisting of six regiments,* under Lord George Sackville, was advanced to threaten the enemy's centre, consisting of sixty squadrons of French cavalry. On seeing the British approaching, supported by two regiments of Hanoverian guards and some guns, the French cavalry charged them on all sides in gallant style, but were repulsed, and by 8.30 were utterly overthrown. Four separate assaults were delivered, and though two brigades of infantry advanced to their assistance, these also were routed and suffered severely. At this time Prince Ferdinand sent orders to Lord George Sackville to charge the retreating enemy; but though the order was repeated, his lordship thought fit to disregard it. Thus the British cavalry had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves like their brothers-in-arms of the infantry, who, advancing, routed some Saxon infantry, and captured eight guns. For his culpable inaction, Lord George Sackville was brought to court-martial in England and found guilty of disobeying the orders of his superior officer, Prince Ferdinand, and declared unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity. As this officer had before repeatedly shown his incapacity, the government that had employed him were about equally to blame.

In 1761 the country attained a great success in the capture of Belleisle, in which 10,000 troops, under the charge of General Hodgson, co-operated with the navy under Commodore Keppel. The expedition arrived before Belleisle on the 7th April, and after a siege of six weeks' duration, a practical breach was made, and the place surrendered on the 7th June, our loss being thirteen officers and 300 men killed, and twenty-one officers and 480 men wounded. On the preceding day, a combined naval and military expedition captured the island of Dominica in the West Indies.

At the commencement of the campaign of 1760, in the "Seven Years' War," there were 25,000 British troops employed on the Continent, assisting Frederick the Great. Some battalions and squadrons forming part of the army of Charles, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, at the fight of Korbach on the 10th July, earned distinction

* The following regiments bear the word "Minden" on their colours:—the 12th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 37th, and 51st Regiments of Foot.

under Major-General Griffin, and again at the affair at Emsdorf, six days later, when a regiment, called Elliott's Light Horse, now known as the 15th Hussars,* displayed conspicuous dash. At the battle of Warburg, on the 31st July, under Prince Frederick of Brunswick, who was placed in command of the Hanoverian and English forces by the Great Frederick, two battalions of grenadiers and two of Highlanders, commanded by General Waldegrave, and some cavalry, under Lords Granby and Mostyn, greatly distinguished themselves by the brilliant way in which they charged and broke the French horse. In this action the British lost about 600 men. Again, on the 5th September, at the surprise at Kloster Camp, under the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, the British cavalry, consisting of detachments of the Scots Greys and 6th Dragoons (Inniskillings) and five battalions, under General Griffin, performed dashing service, and equally so on the 16th October at Campen, where the allies lost 1,170 killed and wounded, mostly British.

In the campaign of 1761, the British contingent, under the command of Lord Granby, continued to perform good service. On the 15th July, the French made a furious attack on the English position at Villinghausen, compelling his lordship to abandon the village, but on the following day, Prince Frederick, the allied commander-in-chief, drove them out after some severe fighting, in which the allies lost between 1,500 and 2,000 men, and the French, it is said, 5,000, including an entire regiment of four battalions, which laid down its arms. In the following year there was some severe fighting in Westphalia, in which the British troops, under the Marquis of Granby, gained distinction. Specially was this the case at the battle of Wilhelmstahl,† in which while General Luckner was despatched to turn the French right, and Ferdinand attacked the centre, to Lord Granby was confided the attack on the enemy's left. The dispositions were crowned with success. The Prince de Soubrise was completely defeated, and, on the 7th July, Lord Granby and Lord Frederick Cavendish, who had been sent some thirty miles to the rear, again attacked and routed them near Landwehr-hagen, and cut off their communications with Frankfort. Early in 1763, the protracted hostilities known as the "Seven Years' War," were brought to a termination by a treaty between the contending powers, signed at Paris, and the result of all the expenditure of blood and treasure was almost *nil*. Prussia and England were undoubtedly strengthened and aggrandized at the cost

* The 15th Hussars bears the word "Emsdorf" on its standards.

† The 5th Regiment, or Northumberland Fusiliers, bears on its colours the word "Wilhelmstahl."

of France and Saxony, while all the monarchies of Europe were burdened with enormous public debts.

The net result of the naval and military operations during the past twenty years, save in America and India, was neither very successful nor glorious for the Services engaged, as our troops on the Continent played but a subordinate part. But the navy received a rude shock when Admiral Byng was shot in 1757 on the quarter-deck of his flagship in Portsmouth harbour, for failing to bring the French fleet to decisive action off Minorca, and the new race of British officers, led by Howe and Rodney, which had its brightest representative in the glorious and immortal Nelson, learned to fight the French whenever and wherever they encountered them, regardless of odds.

As concerns the army, certainly officers like the Duke of Cumberland, Sir John Mordaunt, General Bligh, and Lord George Sackville deserved punishment for incompetence quite as much as Admiral Byng, but they were more fortunate in the possession of royal favour, or the protection of powerful political friends. Though in Europe, at this time—if we except the contingent commanded by Lord Granby, who was the idol of his troops, and has been called "the hero of alehouse signs"—little honour was acquired by British arms, owing to the incompetence of our generals, it was eminently otherwise in America and Asia. In those continents the genius of Wolfe and Clive founded two vast dependencies of this empire, each one of which has grown to dimensions that rival in population or extent of territory most of the great monarchies of ancient or modern times. The brief and meteoric career of the conqueror of Quebec is a brilliant episode in our military history, while the lengthened and victorious services of the "heaven-born general," as the elder Pitt called Clive, are almost unexampled.

During the "Seven Years' War," a period chiefly illustrated by the genius of the Great Frederick, the English engaged their hereditary enemies, the French, in every quarter of the globe. In 1758, on the West African coast, St. Louis, at the mouth of the Senegal, and the island of Goree, were captured, and in the following year the French lost Guadaloupe, and other neighbouring islands in the West Indies.

On the declaration of war between this country and Spain, in 1761, an expedition was despatched against Havannah, commanded by Admiral Sir George Pocock and General the Earl of Aibemarle, who had under his command 14,000 soldiers. The fleet sailed from Portsmouth in March, 1762, and the ships-of-war having cannonaded the outer forts, on the 10th June, the army laid siege to the city, which was defended by the strong castle of El Moro.* After an obstinate

* The Essex Regiment (44th Foot) bears on its colours the word "Moro."

defence of forty-four days, during which our army lost 1,800 men, the castle was surrendered, and on the 14th August the city capitulated. The army and navy received upwards of £736,000 as prize-money. Under General Monckton, a force of 12,000 men also took the chief part in the reduction of Martinique in January, 1762. The capture of Fort Royal was an arduous operation, and on the reduction of the islands of St. Lucia, Grenada, and St. Vincent, the French were completely driven from the Caribbean Sea.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE BRITISH ARMY IN AMERICA.

1755—1783.

The Conquest of Canada—General Braddock's Defeat and Death—Desultory Operations against the French—Capture of Louisburg and Cape Breton Island—Capture of Niagara—The Battle of Quebec and Death of General Wolfe—Expulsion of the French from Canada—The American War of Independence—Actions at Lexington and Bunker's Hill—Americans fail at Quebec but capture Boston—Actions at Long Island and White Plains, and capture of New York—Battle of Brandywine Creek and Capture of Philadelphia—Surrender of General Burgoyne's Army at Saratoga—Action of Freehold Court House—The War in Georgia and the Carolinas—Capture of Savannah and Affairs at Briar Creek and Stono Ferry—Capture of Charlestown and Surrender of General Lincoln's Army—Battle of Camden—The Fate of Major André—The Campaign of 1781—Actions at the Cowpens, Guildford, Hobkirk's Hill, and Ewtaw Springs—Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown—Conclusion of the War.

ONE of the brightest pages in the history of the British army is that recording the Conquest of Canada, and one of the saddest that in which is told the loss of the magnificent empire founded by our countrymen on the same continent, which became known in its emancipated condition as the "United States of America"—States at that time numbering thirteen, but destined within a century to multiply to thirty-eight, whose citizens were to settle and civilize the vast territories extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the confines of Mexico to the waters of the St. Lawrence. But, though sad, the story of the military disasters by which those colonies were lost is in no way disgraceful. Our army displayed valour and discipline throughout the war, and achieved many victories, but the difficulties were as great as the extent of the scene of operation was vast, and our hereditary foes, the French, to whom the colonists owed much of their success, had their revenge for the defeat inflicted on them twenty years before by the troops over whom they now triumphed in conjunction with their allies of Anglo-Saxon blood.

In 1755 the French government despatched to the St. Lawrence a fleet, with a force of 4,000 men, upon which war was declared with

France, and our colonists in Massachusetts sent troops, under Colonel Monckton, to Nova Scotia, where they captured, on the 25th June, after four days' siege, the fort of Beau Sejour, on the narrow isthmus connecting that province with New Brunswick. At the same time an expedition was sent from Virginia, under the command of General Braddock, to attack the French settlements on the Ohio. The force marched on the 10th June in two columns, the first, under Braddock, numbering 1,600 men, with ten guns, and the second of 800, under Colonel Dunbar. Crossing the Alleghany mountains on the 9th July, while advancing on Fort du Quesne, situated near the confluence of the Monangahela wtih the Ohio, Braddock fell into an ambuscade of French troops, supported by wild Indians, who burst with savage yells on the terror-stricken English soldiers, who had no experience of this species of warfare. The result was a massacre, in which 700 of our men fell, including General Braddock and Sir Peter Halkett, with the loss of their artillery and baggage. The Virginians in the rear in vain sought to check the fugitives, and the column of about 600 men marched for Philadelphia and New York. Among those wounded in this disastrous affair was the eminent patriot George Washington, on the general's staff, who had two horses killed under him. The colonies of New York and New Jersey resolved upon expeditions to Crown Point and Niagara, but the latter, under General Shirley, who succeeded Braddock, came to nothing, and the New York column, numbering 5,000 men, under General Johnson, inflicted a repulse on a force of about 2,000 French troops, supported by Canadians and Indians. Some 700 or 800 French soldiers were killed, the English loss being 200, but no use was made of this victory by General Johnson, who made no effort to capture Crown Point. In 1756 the French, under the Marquis de Montcalm, an energetic and brave officer, captured Fort Oswego, with a garrison of 1,600 men and 121 guns, thus acquiring the command of the great lakes, and, on August 3rd in the following year, invested Fort William Henry, on the southern shore of Lake George, with about 9,000 men, including Canadians and Indians. The garrison of 2,500, under Colonel Munro, made a stout resistance and repulsed three assaults, but General Webb, commanding a covering army of 4,500 men, failed to effect a diversion, and on the 9th August, the garrison, having expended all their ammunition, were compelled to capitulate, when the Indian allies of the French perpetrated a massacre of the unarmed soldiers.

During the siege, which had so disastrous a termination, Colonel Munro despatched a column of 400 men, under Colonel Parker, to attack Fort Ticonderoga, standing on a tongue of land between Lakes George and Champlain, but they were surprised by the Indians, and only two officers and seventy men escaped. In 1758 the British Government, having resolved on extensive military operations in America,

assembled there an army of nearly 50,000 men, of whom 22,000 were regular troops, divided into three separate bodies. General Amherst, having as his second-in-command Brigadier James Wolfe, with 12,000 men, was to undertake the siege of Louisburg, in Cape Breton Island, General Abercrombie, who was in supreme command, with 16,000 men, engaged to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point—a fort on Lake Champlain—and General Forbes, with 8,000 men, was detached to attack Fort du Quesne.

On the 8th June the fleet of transports, 157 sail,—under Boscawen, a gallant admiral, of whom the elder Pitt said, "When I apply to other officers they raise difficulties; he always finds expedients"—disembarked the troops about seven miles from Louisburg, General Wolfe leading the first division under a heavy fire of guns and musketry. The town was invested three days later, and owing to the cordial co-operation of the Services, due to the patriotic spirit of the gallant admiral, the siege was prosecuted with such vigour that General Drucour surrendered the town unconditionally on the 27th July. This result was attained with a loss to the victors of only 523 killed and wounded. The whole of Cape Breton Island was surrendered, and has since remained an integral part of the British Empire.* Meanwhile, General Abercrombie embarked on Lake George on the 5th July, and landing his troops advanced in four columns on Fort Ticonderoga. During the march a skirmish ensued, in which Brigadier-General Lord Howe,† commanding a column, was killed. Ticonderoga was garrisoned by 6,000 men, and General Abercrombie, anxious to attack it before the arrival of a reinforcement of 3,000 men, assaulted the place without breaching it, with the inevitable result that he was driven back with the loss of nearly 2,000 killed and wounded. After this reverse Colonel Bradstreet, with 3,000 men, captured Fort Frontenac, at the junction of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, and in November the important Fort of du Quesne was abandoned and occupied by General Forbes, who changed its name to Fort Pitt. The French garrison, which retired over the Ohio to their settlements on the Mississippi, had a brush with the advanced guard of the British column, and being in greatly superior force, inflicted on them a loss of twenty officers and 300 men.

In 1759 the plan of operations was changed, and it was proposed to attack the French fortified posts simultaneously. General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, again advanced against Fort Ticonderoga, which

* The word "Louisburg" is borne on the colours of the following regiments:—1st, 15th, 17th, 22nd, 35th, 40th, 45th, 47th, 48th, and 60th Rifles.

† In 1889 the coffin and remains of Lord Howe were discovered by some workmen while digging a sewer in one of the principal streets of Ticonderoga. Lord Howe was a very brilliant officer, greatly beloved by the colonists, and the Massachusetts General Court erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

the French abandoned on the 9th July, and retired to Crown Point, whither Amherst advanced on the 14th August, but the enemy again retreated to an island at the lower end of Lake Champlain, where they maintained themselves throughout the winter. Lord Amherst now retired to Crown Point, where, however, he was cut off from all communication with General Wolfe. Meanwhile, in July, General Prideaux invested Fort Niagara, situated at the junction of Lakes Ontario and Erie, but was killed during the siege, when the command devolved on Sir William Johnson, an officer of great resource and ability. An attempt to raise the siege, on the 24th July, by a body of outside troops, was defeated with great slaughter, and the same night the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war.

But the chief object of the operations was the reduction of Quebec, for which Mr. Pitt had selected Major-General James Wolfe, an officer who, though only in his 33rd year, had given the highest promise in every command he had filled. He had under him Brigadiers Monckton, Townsend, and Murray—all, like their chief, young and ardent officers—and an army of 8,000 men; and with this small force he was expected to cope with 10,000 French troops, occupying an almost impregnable position, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, an officer of experience and heroism. Admiral Saunders, among whose officers was the immortal navigator, James Cook, conveyed the army up the St. Lawrence, and, on the 30th June, the troops were landed at the island of St. Orleans, facing Quebec, where batteries were erected. The city consists of an upper and lower town, the latter of narrow width, occupying the bank of the river, under the precipitous and lofty rock on which stood the upper town. This rock extends westward along the St. Lawrence to a point where the river St. Charles joins the main stream and washes its base, rendering the upper town almost impregnable on three sides. Wolfe reduced the lower town to ruins by the fire of his batteries; but it soon became apparent that Montcalm was too cautious to be drawn into a general engagement, and it would be impossible to capture the place from this side, while, to render his position more difficult, a great storm disabled many of the ships. During the same night, the enemy sought to destroy the fleet with fire-ships, in which, however, they signally failed. The British general accordingly resolved to attack the enemy in their intrenchments on the side of the river Montmorenci—a desperate undertaking, having regard to the superior numbers of the enemy, and the great strength of the position, both natural and artificial.*

On the 18th July, General Wolfe embarked with some troops in

* Wolfe writes to Pitt :—"When that succours of all kinds have been thrown into Quebec, that five battalions of regular troops, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had

ships-of-war, and passing Quebec, reconnoitred the banks close to Montcalm's intrenchments on the Montmorenci. On the 31st of the same month an attack in force was made. *The Centurion* and two other vessels covered the three brigades from the fire of a redoubt, but before Brigadier Monckton's column had landed, and while Brigadier Townsend was still on his march, a considerable distance off, thirteen companies of grenadiers and some Colonial troops, who were to lead the attack, rushed tumultuously towards the enemy's works, without waiting for the rest of the force to join in the attack. The result was a repulse, in which some 500 men fell, and General Wolfe, who fearlessly exposed his person, drew off the troops, and returned across the Montmorenci without molestation. This reverse preyed upon the spirits of Wolfe, who was for some time disabled with fever,* but his resolve to conduct the enterprise to a successful conclusion remained unabated. In conjunction with Admiral Saunders and his three brigadiers, he devised the daring plan of landing the troops by night above the town, and scaling the heights of Abraham. It was a desperate undertaking, for the stream was rapid, the landing-place difficult and narrow, and an alarm given by a sentinel would ensure a disastrous repulse.

Battle of Quebec.—13th September, 1759.

On the 12th September Admiral Saunders made a feint as if to land troops below the town, and at nightfall he ran up the river to cover the embarkation. The first division, consisting of the 15th, 28th, 35th, and 52nd regiments, two battalions of the 60th Rifles,† a detachment of the 78th Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, under Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, pushed rapidly along the

taken the field on a very advantageous situation, I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well that with these troops I was able to fight, and that a victory might disperse them."

* Wolfe writes to Pitt:—"I found myself so ill and am still so weak that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. To the uncommon strength of this country, the enemy have added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these and the Indians round our posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. We have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I am myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures, but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event."

† All these regiments bear on their colours the legend "Quebec, 1759."

south bank of the St. Lawrence till they arrived opposite the fleet, and then crossed the river, unperceived by the enemy. The ships having embarked the troops, ran up with the tide, and dropped down again with the ebb to the intended place of disembarkation, when the soldiers were landed in the boats. The French sentinels actually hailed the passing boats, but the answer being reassuring no alarm was raised. General Wolfe was among the first to land, and so precipitous was the ascent that he said to his officers,—"I don't believe there is any possibility of getting up; but you must use your best endeavours." As the troops landed, the boats were sent back for the 43rd, 47th, 48th, and 58th* regiments, led by Brigadier Townsend. Scrambling up as best they could by a narrow ascent, the gallant British soldiers gained the crest of the heights of Abraham by break of day, and Montcalm could scarcely credit his senses when he found himself confronted by his indomitable enemies. There was only one course to pursue, and that was to fight a general action. Both sides were deficient in artillery, the French having only two field-guns, and the English one gun, hauled up the heights by the sailors. Drawing in his outposts he rapidly made his dispositions, and advanced to the attack with his army drawn up in three columns, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers. The British troops reserved their fire until the enemy advanced to within thirty yards of their position, when they poured in a steady fire, which was continued with deliberation and effect. General Wolfe was on the right, where Brigadier Monckton commanded, leading the troops in person, when he received a ball in the wrist, but remained on the field, only binding up the wound with his handkerchief. Soon he received a second bullet in the groin, but though suffering intense pain, he continued to give his orders, until a third ball struck him in the breast, when he reeled, and, faint with loss of blood, leant on one of his staff, murmuring, "Support me. Do not let my brave fellows see me drop." But it was seen that his wound was mortal, and the hero was carried to the rear. Almost at the same time his second-in-command, Brigadier Monckton, fell, when Brigadier Townsend, who commanded on the flank extending to the river, hastened to the centre and assumed the direction of affairs. Meantime, Brigadier Murray, on the left, advanced and broke the enemy's centre, driving them into the town, and over the river St. Charles. Townsend re-formed the centre, which had become disordered in the ardour of pursuit, and advanced against a fresh force of 2,000 men, under de Bougainville, which appeared in the British rear; but the French commander, seeing that defeat was inevitable, precipitately quitted the field. At this time the fast-dying Wolfe heard the cry, "They run, they run!" "Who

* All these regiments bear the legend, "Quebec, 1759," on their colours.

run?" eagerly inquired the hero, whose senses were fast failing him as life ebbed away. "The French," was the reply. "Then," said the general, the circumstances of whose death bore a striking resemblance to those of Nelson,* "tell Colonel Barton to march Webber's regiment with all speed down to Charles river, and cut off the retreat of the fugitives. Now, God be praised! I die happy!"

The Marquis de Montcalm was also killed, and, by a strange coincidence, his second-in-command fell mortally wounded and expired on the following day. A magnificent monument was voted by a grateful parliament and nation to the memory of Wolfe, in Westminster Abbey, and an obelisk, erected in 1827, by Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of Canada, stands on the spot where he fell, bearing a Latin inscription dedicatory to the English and French commanders. Brigadier Townsend made preparations to invest the citadel of Quebec, but on the 18th September the fortress was surrendered.

The capture of Quebec is one of the most brilliant feats recorded in war. It is said that the heroic young general, who died at the moment of achieving the victory with which his name will be for ever associated, on the previous night, when dropping down the river in a boat, observed to one of his staff, on his repeating Gray's immortal "Elegy," "Gentlemen, I had rather have written that poem than taken yonder city." Coming from the lips of a soldier thirsting for military fame, who, as he passed under the shadow of the beetling crags overhead, might well have felt a presentiment of his coming fate, this is perhaps the most eloquent of the many eulogies on that masterpiece of our language.

In the following year, 1760, the French, nothing daunted, turned the tables on their enemies, and General de Levis prepared to lay siege to Quebec with 10,000 men. General Murray, who had only 3,000 effective soldiers, advanced to meet him, and on the 28th April suffered a defeat at Silleri, losing 1,000 men and the greater part of his artillery. The French general now invested Quebec, which, however, was relieved by a British squadron, when de Levis returned to Montreal. General Amherst, the British commander-in-chief, brought up 10,000 men from New York, and, on the 6th September, effected a junction on the island of Montreal with other troops, under Generals Murray and Haviland, and, on the following day, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the French commander-in-chief, capitulated, and thus finally the whole of Canada passed into the possession of the British crown, and the town of New Orleans and some settlements on the Mississippi alone remained to France on the American continent.

* Lord Nelson was shot through the body, but just lived long enough to know that the victory was complete. His last thoughts were directed towards rendering the victory effectual, and his last words were :—"I thank God I have done my duty!"

Louis XV. of France, and his Spanish ally, were so disheartened by their uniform ill success, both in Europe, America and Asia, that, in November, 1762, negotiations were opened for peace, and on the 14th February following, the instrument known as the treaty of Paris was signed, this country retaining its conquests of Canada and Cape Breton Island, and received back Minorca in exchange for Belleisle, but restored to France Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Santa Lucia, in the West Indies, and Pondicherry in India, and to Spain we yielded up Manilla and exchanged Havannah for Florida.

The American War of Independence.

Peace reigned in America for many years until it was broken by the fratricidal war we waged for the subjugation of our colonists, who resented the attempt of George III.—who found a willing tool in his minister, Lord North—to tax them contrary to their will. In 1774 General Gage assumed the government of Massachusetts and the command of the British forces in America, and in the following year massed a considerable force at Boston. The first blood was shed on the 19th April, 1775, at Lexington. General Gage sent a column of about 900 troops to Concord, to bring away some brass guns, but they were compelled to retreat to Lexington, fifteen miles distant, where they were joined by a reinforcement, under Lord Percy, and thence returned to Boston, having lost 273 officers and men, including Colonel Smith, the commander. This success inspirited the insurgents, who increased their militia to 20,000 men, and actually invested Boston. On the 25th May, Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived at Boston with reinforcements from England, and, on the 17th June, an attack was made on the fortified position at Bunker's Hill, on the opposite side of the Charles River. Sir William Howe, brother of the famous Admiral Lord Howe, crossing the river, advanced to dislodge the enemy from a strong redoubt and intrenchments on the crest of the hill. The attack was commenced by artillery, and the infantry,* about 2,000 strong, then advanced in two lines, General Howe commanding the right wing, and Brigadier-General Pigot the left. So heavy was the fire of the colonists that the regulars gave way, but General Clinton, who had arrived with a reinforcement during the action, rallied them, and they forced the intrenchments with fixed bayonets. This success was achieved at the cost of nearly one-half the whole force engaged. No less than nineteen officers, including

* The regiments engaged were the 5th, 38th, 43rd, 47th and 52nd, and a battalion of Marines.

Colonel Abercrombie, and 226 men were killed, and seventy officers and 828 men were wounded.* The colonists owned to a loss of 449, of whom 145 were killed.

This action demonstrated in a marked degree the discipline and valour of the British soldier. On a hot summer's day, encumbered with three days' provisions and their knapsacks, the total weight, including musket, carried by each man being about 125 pounds, these gallant fellows struggled up a steep hill, covered with long grass and intersected with walls and obstructions, in the face of a deadly fire, and gained a victory over a greatly superior force, intrenched behind a breastwork and defended by a redoubt. The generalship that sought to carry by a front assault works unreduced by artillery fire, and open to the rear, with men so heavily handicapped, was of a piece with that of the remainder of this disastrous war. Similar folly has been displayed in many of our more recent campaigns, from Holland in 1794 to the Transvaal in 1881, and gives point to the Napoleonic dictum which held good until a Wellington arose that, "our soldiers were an army of lions commanded by asses." Two days after this action, General Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the patriot army, and the colonies of Virginia and Georgia joined the New England States. Another important result was the evacuation of Boston by the British army, which retired on Halifax, leaving vast stores to fill the depleted magazines of Washington's army.

This was the first great blow inflicted by the colonists' arms on the mother-country. Henceforth this important city never changed hands, but was the headquarters of the patriot army. The incapacity and lack of energy of the generals, and the absence of an intelligent plan of campaign, were slowly tending to the natural conclusion, notwithstanding the gallantry of the troops. In May, Ticonderoga and Crown Point fell into the hands of the colonists, the entire garrison of Canada at this time only consisting of two regiments, the 7th and 26th, numbering 800 men. Soon after Forts Chamblée and St. John, the latter about twelve miles from Montreal, defended by 500 regulars, were captured, and Sir Guy Carleton abandoned that city to the enemy on the 13th November, and succeeded in making his escape to Quebec, garrisoned with 1,500 men, which he put into a state of defence. The American Generals Montgomery and Arnold now laid siege to Quebec; but suffered a severe repulse on the 31st December, among the killed being Colonel Montgomery, a gallant and accomplished soldier. An American attack on Trois Rivieres, half-way between Quebec and Montreal, was repulsed by General Fraser with great loss, and on the arrival of General Burgoyne with reinforcements from England, the Americans

* *See* C. Stedman's "History of the American War" (two vols., 1794), to which we are indebted for the preparation of this narrative.

were driven out of Canada, abandoning all their recent acquisitions, except Crown Point, which place was evacuated and burnt by the provincials in the following October, after a spirited action with a combined naval and military force under General Carleton and Commodore Pringle

The British cause in America sustained a heavy blow by the abandonment, by General Howe, on the 17th March, of the city of Boston, which had been besieged by General Washington, and the garrison of 2,000 men embarked without molestation for Halifax. The investment of Quebec by the provincials was not raised until the 6th May, when General Carleton, being reinforced, sallied out, and the enemy retired after a desultory siege and blockade of five months' duration. On the 26th June Sir Henry Clinton, who commanded in North Carolina, being reinforced with troops from England, under Lord Cornwallis, made an unsuccessful attempt on Charlestown, whence he sailed for New York.

On the 4th July, 1776, the American Congress promulgated the celebrated "Declaration of Independence," and the thirteen colonies were lost for ever to the mother-country. Three days before this event, Admiral Lord Howe arrived from England with further reinforcements, raising the total strength of the British forces in America to nearly 30,000 men.* The American regular army at this time was stated by Colonel Joseph Read, their Adjutant-General, to be less than 8,000 men, all of whom, from the general to the private, were exceedingly discouraged. But there were large bodies of provincial militia, which, as the war progressed, acquired much of the discipline and firmness of regular troops. In August, 1776, Generals Howe and Clinton made a descent on Long Island, and, on the 26th, gained a decided success over an army of 15,000 Americans, under General Grant, who had constructed strong works opposite to New York. But General Clinton failed to pursue his advantage and attack the intrenchments at Brooklyn. The enemy lost 2,000 men, killed, drowned, or prisoners, including Generals Sullivan, Udell, and Lord Sterling, and six guns, and the British loss was 300 killed and wounded, including Colonels Grant and Monckton. The Americans made a masterly retreat across the East River to New York without further loss, Sir William Howe being too late to intercept the fugitives, though had the obvious precaution been taken of posting even a single frigate in the passage between Long Island and New York, the American army must have surrendered.

New York now fell into the hands of the British commander, who,

* The British regiments serving at this time in America, including the reinforcements recently arrived, were the following:—4th, 5th, 10th, 15th, 17th, 22nd, 23rd, 27th, 28th, 33rd, 35th, 37th, 38th, 40th, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 49th, 52nd, 54th, 55th, 57th, 63rd, 64th, and 71st. Also two battalions of light infantry, two of grenadiers, and the 17th Dragoons.

however, displayed great negligence in permitting General Washington to withdraw with his army of about 23,000 men, mostly raw and undisciplined militia. On the 21st September the Americans destroyed one-third of the city by setting it on fire in several places. Sir Henry Clinton, leaving three brigades of British troops and one of Hessians to guard New York, on the 12th October conveyed the rest of his army to Frog's-neck, whence he moved to New Rochelle, situated on the sound that divides Long Island from the continent, with his left on Valentine's Hill. The two armies were now separated by a deep river called the Brunx, and the Americans, followed by the British army, fell slowly back towards the White Plains, on the eastern bank of that river, where the enemy occupied a fortified camp. Here an action was fought on the 28th October, the Royal army attacking the Americans in two columns, the right led by General Clinton, and the left by General Heister. The British carried the enemy's works at the point of the bayonet, and Washington, without waiting to fight a general engagement, fell back towards New Jersey. General Kniphausen now occupied King's Bridge, on Manhattan Island, and, on the 16th November, an attack was made in four columns on Fort Washington, a work thrown up by the patriot chief on his retreat from New York. The fort was captured after a spirited resistance, the loss of the enemy being 200 killed and wounded, and nearly 5,000 prisoners, and that of the British, 130 killed and 300 wounded.

Two days later, Fort Lee, on the opposite side of the North River, was abandoned to Lord Cornwallis, and the British troops overran New Jersey. In December General Clinton obliged the enemy to quit Rhode Island. General Lee was captured, and Washington and his Congress were fugitives, and altogether it was the darkest hour for American freedom. But Washington was a man of indomitable courage and endless resource, and, on the 26th December, he inflicted a severe rebuff on the British at Trenton, where three regiments of Hessians laid down their arms, only 200 escaping. This so inspirited his troops that Washington took the initiative, and in January, 1777, attacked the 17th and 55th Regiments at Princeton, when the British loss was 17 killed, and 250 wounded and missing. Fearing for their magazines from these dashing inroads, General Howe and Lord Cornwallis withdrew from that post and Trenton, and the patriot leader again overran New Jersey. At this time the British commanders adopted a mode of carrying on the war which brought on our nation the condemnation of the civilized world. They instigated the Indian tribes bordering on the Carolinas and Virginia to carry ruin and desolation amidst the peaceful plantations of the colonists. The horrors that were perpetrated by hordes of these ruthless savages excited universal execration, and those great orators, Chatham and Burke, made the

walls of the Houses of Parliament resound with the expression of their righteous indignation. Lord Chatham's noble appeal to the bishops, judges, and peers to denounce this outrage on humanity is one of the most stirring of all the oratorical efforts of that great statesman.

In June, 1777, the British commanders sought to induce Washington to take the offensive, but without success, and in July, General Howe embarked, with thirty-six battalions, from New York, where he left seventeen regiments under Lord Clinton, and proceeded by sea to the Delaware, and on the 25th August disembarked in Chesapeake Bay. Advancing inland, on the 11th September, he encountered General Washington at the Brandywine Creek, which falls into the Delaware at Wilmington. The Royal army marched in two columns, under Lord Cornwallis and General Kniphausen, and while the former advanced against General Sullivan's division of 10,000, which had taken up a commanding position, with both flanks covered with thick woods, Kniphausen made a feint at Chad's Ford, which he carried late in the day; Lord Clinton, taking a circuitous route to the left, crossed the river without opposition, and carried the position under a heavy opposing fire. In this defeat the enemy, who retired hastily upon Philadelphia, twenty-three miles distant, lost 300 killed, 600 wounded, and 400 prisoners, with eleven guns, while the British had eight officers and seventy-four men killed, and 400 wounded.

At this battle of Brandywine, European officers, who were to play so important a part in the latter portion of this struggle between England and her colonies, for the first time were employed against the mother-country. Among these were the celebrated Marquis de Lafayette, then only nineteen years of age, who received the rank of Major-General from the American Congress, and was severely wounded in the leg. Also Captain Fleury, and two Polish officers of distinction, Count Cassimir Pulawski, who charged at the head of a regiment of cavalry, and the famous patriot, Kosciusko, who ultimately rose to the rank of general in the American army.

On the 18th September General Grey, with the 42nd and 44th Regiments, made a night attack on some 1,500 men, under General Wayne, killing 300 of them and capturing 80 prisoners. On the 25th Sir William Howe marched to Germanstown, and Lord Cornwallis, on the following morning, occupied Philadelphia, and on the 1st October, with the assistance of the navy, dislodged the enemy from the forts on the Delaware. Washington, however, gave the British no respite, but on receiving a reinforcement of 2,500 men, on the 3rd October made an attack on the Royal army, which lay at Germanstown, about six miles above Philadelphia, with its left wing resting on the Schuylkill. The patriots began the attack at daybreak, the whole brunt falling on the 40th foot, until they were reinforced by General Grey with his and

Brigadier Agnew's brigades, when the enemy were repulsed with great slaughter. At the same time the provincial left wing engaged the 5th and 55th Regiments at the other end of Germanstown, which is a village two miles in length, until General Grant advanced to the assistance of the latter, when the Americans gave way, leaving over 200 killed, including General Nash, and 1,000 wounded and prisoners. The British loss was also considerable, including Brigadier Agnew, Colonel Bird, and 70 killed, and Sir William Erskine and 400 men wounded. The Royal army marched to Philadelphia on the 19th October, and four days later, in combination with the fleet, Sir William Howe made an attack on Red Bank Fort, but Colonel Donop, commanding the assaulting columns of Hessians, was killed, and the attempt failed. An attack, however, on the enemy's works at Mud Island by the fleet on the 15th November, was successful, and, two days later, Red Bank Fort was abandoned.

Sir William Howe cantoned his army for the winter in Philadelphia, which became their Capua, and General Washington took post at an intrenched camp at Valley Forge, twenty-six miles from that city. The British commander-in-chief displayed a lack of spirit and energy, and though at the head of a fine and well-disciplined army of 14,000, failed to improve his victories at Long Island, Brandywine, and Valley Forge, though he had the enemy in his grasp.

Even more deplorable was the conduct of operations in Canada, where General Burgoyne was placed in command of the Royal army of 7,200 men, which so offended Sir Guy Carleton that he resigned his post of Governor-General. Burgoyne marched for St. John on the 16th June, 1777, and invested Ticonderoga, which the enemy abandoned early in July, and also their works at Skeensborough. During this retreat a division of 1,500 men was engaged by a detachment under General Frazer, and defeated, after a spirited action, with the loss of their commander, Colonel Francis, and 200 men killed, 200 prisoners, and about 600 wounded. The British casualties were about 20 officers, and 120 rank and file. Colonel Hill, at the head of the 9th Regiment, also repulsed an attack of an American column under General St. Clair. This officer joined General Schuyler, commanding the colonists in this part of the seat of war, and having abandoned Fort Edward, retreated down the Hudson River to Saratoga, where, soon after, General Gates assumed command of the Northern American army.

Meanwhile, Colonel St. Leger, crossing the St. Lawrence, on the 2nd August invested Fort Stanwix, but hearing of General Arnold's approach, was compelled to raise the siege, with the loss of his artillery. In order to co-operate with Colonel St. Leger, a force of 600 German troops, under Colonel Baum, reinforced by 500 men, under Colonel Breyman, was sent against Bennington, between the forks of the Hosick river,

but both these officers were utterly defeated by an American force, under General Starke, with the loss of 600 men.

Notwithstanding the failure of these expeditions, General Burgoyne crossed the Hudson on the 13th September, and encamped before Saratoga, and, on the 19th, was fought the action of Still Water, situated about eight miles from Albany, on the Hudson. Burgoyne, assisted by General Frazer, commanded the right wing, and General Philip, the left. The attack, which was led with impetuous valour by General Arnold, was chiefly directed against the 20th, 21st, and 62nd Regiments, forming part of General Philip's command, which were posted on the plain, and the 9th and 24th were also engaged. After four hours' severe fighting, at the close of day, the enemy retired baffled, the loss on either side being about 600 killed and wounded. But the Americans had proved that they were not afraid to fight highly-disciplined troops in the open, and General Burgoyne, who proceeded to strengthen his position, sent urgent demands for assistance to Generals Howe and Clinton. But none was forthcoming, though the latter officer made a diversion on the Hudson river by attacking and capturing Forts Montgomery and Clinton, though this had no effect in averting the catastrophe.

General Burgoyne's position daily became more serious, the provisions and forage getting very scarce, and, on the 7th October, he made an attempt, with 1,500 men, headed by himself and Generals Frazer and Philip, to examine the possibility of dislodging the Americans from their posts on the left. But while the detachment was moving with this object, the enemy, led by the gallant Arnold, made a sudden and furious attack on the British left, and also a movement round the flank of the detachment in order to cut off their retreat. The left wing, overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat, the grenadiers, light infantry, and 24th Foot displaying great bravery, and the detachment also retired to their lines with the loss of General Frazer and six guns. The Americans now assailed the intrenched camp, but were repulsed, General Arnold being severely wounded. Their attack on the side held by the Germans was, however, more successful. Colonel Breyman, in command, was among the slain, and they retreated with the loss of their artillery and baggage. Night closed the dreadful scene. General Burgoyne removed to the heights above the camp during the night, but, on the 9th October, returned without opposition to Saratoga. At this time, out of 8,000 men, not more than 3,500 effectives remained, of whom only one-half were British, while an enemy nearly four times their strength encircled them, and only seven or eight days' provisions remained.

Every hope of succour being now at an end, General Burgoyne, on the advice of a council of war, which was attended by every officer of the rank of captain and above, agreed to terms of capitulation, by which

his troops were permitted to march out with all the honours of war to the bank of the river, where the arms and artillery, some thirty-five pieces, were to be delivered up, and they to embark for England upon condition of not again serving during the war. This convention was signed on the 16th of October, and was a fatal blow to the Royal cause.* The number of men who surrendered amounted, including Canadians, to 5,762 men. There were 600 sick and wounded in hospital, and the loss since the capture of Ticonderoga, in killed, prisoners, and deserted, was 3,000.

Sir Henry Clinton now assumed command of the British army, superseding Sir William Howe. The troops at his disposal numbered 10,000 men at Philadelphia, and about 4,000 at New York, while Washington had under his command only 8,200 fit for duty. Minor actions took place, in March, at Quintin's Bridge, near Salem, in Jersey, at Crooked Billet, seventeen miles from Philadelphia, and in June an attempt was made to surprise Lafayette at Barren Hill, seven miles from Valley Forge.

General Clinton, on the 18th June, evacuated Philadelphia, and retired across the Delaware to New York by Sandy Hook. On the 28th June was fought the action of Freehold Court-house. General Lee, who had been exchanged, accompanied by Lafayette, commanded the advanced force of 5,000 men, General Washington being in the rear with the main body. The British force was in two columns, the van, guarding the baggage, under General Kniphausen, and the rear under Lord Cornwallis. The van marched at daybreak, and General Clinton, who followed with the main body at 8 A.M., made a spirited attack upon the advance of the enemy on the adjacent heights, and forced them to give way. At this critical moment, General Washington arrived on the scene with the main division of his army, and taking up a strong position near a defile, checked the pursuit. In this engagement the British loss was 358, including 20 officers, amongst the killed being Colonel Monckton, an officer of great intrepidity and promise. According to their own account the American loss was 361, including 32 officers. The enormous train of baggage

* General Washington received the intelligence at Germanstown, and a bystander says :—"As he read the despatch the colour gradually left his countenance, his hand trembled, his lips quivered, his utterance failed him; he dropped the paper, raised his hands on high, and for several moments was lost in a rapture of adoring gratitude." In England the intelligence created a storm of obloquy against the Government, but Parliament voted supplies and 60,000 men. The great Lord Chatham, who had all along been opposed to the policy of coercing our colonists, had himself brought, though in a debilitated state, to the House of Lords, where, amid silence, "in which the fall of a handkerchief would have been heard," he made an impressive speech, "for the last time," as he said. At the conclusion the orator sank back fainting, and was borne to his bed, whence he never rose.

embarked unmolested from Sandy Hook to New York, and General Clinton followed on the 5th July.

The French Government now despatched a fleet under Count d'Estaing to assist the colonists, which arrived at Boston, and thence set sail to the West Indies, whither a British force of 5,000 men, under General Grant, was despatched from New York. This force gained possession of St. Lucia, and beat a superior body of French troops, the 5th Regiment, under General Meadows, greatly distinguishing itself. To counterbalance this, the English lost the islands of St. Vincent, Grenada, and Dominica. Meanwhile the Americans, under General Sullivan, made an attack on Rhode Island, but were forced to abandon the attempt and return to the continent. In December a combined military and naval expedition was sent to Georgia, the troops, including two battalions of the 71st Regiment, numbering 3,500 men, under Colonel Campbell, a brave and able officer, the navy being under Commodore Hyde Parker. The troops captured Savannah, the capital of the State, situated about fifteen miles from the sea, and routed the American force of 1,500 men, under General How, of whom 38 officers and 415 surrendered. Colonel Campbell also reduced Augusta, about 150 miles from the sea, but the provincial loyalists, under Colonel Boyd, were defeated with heavy loss, their commander being killed, and Colonel Campbell withdrew to Savannah. Generals Lincoln and Ashe now strove to confine the British troops within narrower limits; but Colonel Prevost and Sir James Baird, with some 900 men, on the 3rd March, 1779, got into the rear of General Ashe's columns at Bride Creek, and totally routed and dispersed the provincials with the loss of 150 killed, over 200 prisoners, including General Elbert and 27 officers, and 7 guns, and all their ammunition and baggage. In May Colonel Prevost invested Charlestown with 2,400 men, but, being outnumbered, was compelled to retire across the Ashley river to John's Island, whence he returned to Savannah, leaving Colonel Maitland in command. General Lincoln made an attack on the British troops at Stono Ferry, on the 20th June, with 5,000 men, and after a severe action, in which a regiment of Hessians gave way, but the 71st restored the day by their gallantry, the provincials were repulsed with great loss, that of the British being only 129 killed and wounded. Colonel Prevost having established a post in the Island of Port Royal, retired with the rest of the army to Georgia, the season being too hot and sickly for further operations.

On the 9th September, the French Admiral, Count d'Estaing, who had fought a sanguinary but indecisive action with Admiral Byron on the 6th of July, arrived off the coast of Georgia, and, in company with General Lincoln, laid siege to Savannah, but General Prevost was succoured by Colonel Maitland. The French fleet bombarded the

town on the 3rd and 4th October, and on the 9th, impatient of the slow result of the sap, the combined French and American troops, headed by Count d'Estaing, advanced to the assault, but were repulsed with the loss of about 700 French and 300 or 400 provincials, the Admiral being wounded in two places. The 4th, 60th, and 71st Regiments specially distinguished themselves. The siege was raised on the 18th October, thus ending the campaign to the southward, and d'Estaing quitted the coast on the 1st November, returning to France with the greater portion of his fleet, and sent back the remainder to the West Indies. The war languished in the quarter about New York throughout the spring of 1779, and only desultory operations were undertaken at Stony Point, on the Hudson, at Paulus Hook on the Jersey coast, at Newhaven in Connecticut, and at Penobscot in Maine, where the successes were chiefly with the British, though General Clinton, apprehensive of an attack on New York, directed General Pigot to evacuate Rhode Island and join him.

In conjunction with Admiral Arbuthnot, in February, 1780, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition against Charlestown, then held by 7,000 men, under General Lincoln. The British army broke ground on the 1st April, and, after a brisk siege, on the 11th May the place capitulated, with its garrison of 6,000 men and 400 pieces of artillery, the loss to the besiegers being only 76 killed and 189 wounded. With the exception of the capture of New York, this was the one great, indubitable success achieved by the British army throughout this calamitous war, but it only delayed the issue which was apparent from the time of the surrender of Saratoga.

Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis had cleared South Carolina of the enemy, and was placed in command of the province by General Clinton, who returned to New York.

The American Congress sent a strong force into South Carolina, under General Gates, the victor of Saratoga, who advanced on the 27th July with 6,000 men towards Camden, where Lord Rawdon had fixed his headquarters. Lord Cornwallis now assumed command, and on the night of the 15th August, marched with 2,000 men, including the 23rd, 33rd, and 71st regiments, to surprise the American general at Rugeley's Mills. But General Gates had also the same night advanced with about 6,000 men to meet his foe, and at two A.M. the armies came into collision at Camden. Colonel Webster's division, on the right, routed the enemy, but Lord Rawdon met with a more obstinate resistance on the left, though, with the assistance of part of Webster's troops, who made a flank attack, the enemy here also were forced to give way. Between 800 and 900 of the Americans were killed in the action, and during the pursuit of 22 miles, by the cavalry; and about 1,000 were made prisoners, including General Rutherford

and Baron de Kolbe, second in command, who died of his wounds. The provincials lost seven guns and all their baggage and military stores, and were completely dispersed. The victors had 69 killed, 11 missing, and 245 wounded, two-thirds of the loss being sustained by the 33rd Foot and the Irish Volunteers in the centre of the line.

Two days after, a small force of 800 men, under General Sumter, was surprised with the loss of 150 killed, and 300 prisoners, with two guns, by a small column of only 160 Dragoons, and 60 Light Infantry, under Colonel Tarleton. South Carolina was thus cleared of the provincial army, and as soon as he had received the necessary supplies, Lord Cornwallis began a march on the 8th September to Charlotte, a town in North Carolina, which was captured. His lordship abandoned the town and returned to North Carolina on hearing of the defeat and destruction, on the 9th October, of a British detachment, under Major Ferguson, at King's Mountain, by Colonel Clarke, with a superior force of Americans. In this affair Major Ferguson and 150 men were slain, and 800 made prisoners. There was some severe fighting, and a junction having been effected by the enemy's columns, under Sumter, Clarke, and Brannen, a small British force of 250 men, under Colonel Tarleton, was severely handled at Blackstock's Hill, the detachment of the 63rd Regiment losing three officers and one-third of their number killed. As the result of his ill-success, in December General Gates resigned the command of the patriot army to General Greene, a favourite officer of Washington's.

Before this event, General Greene, while commanding at Springfield, had been dislodged on the 23rd June from his position by the British army under Sir Henry Clinton, which then returned to New York. Another event of the first importance was the arrival at Rhode Island of a French fleet with 6,000 regular troops, under the Count de Rochambeau, who was to have the supreme command of the forces in America. Whilst Washington was absent at Rhode Island, concerting measures with the French leaders, a deep-laid scheme was formed by the famous General Arnold to deliver up to Sir Henry Clinton the strong post of West Point, in the Hudson, under his command. Arnold was one of the most capable, brilliant, and gallant of the American leaders, and had been entrusted with the command at Philadelphia since its evacuation by the English in 1778, and his act of treachery was prompted, it was said, by a desire to free himself from pecuniary embarrassments, due to personal extravagance and unprofitable speculation, which had drawn down upon him supercession and a reprimand from Washington. Major André, Adjutant-General, was the confidential person selected by the Commander-in-Chief to conduct the negotiations, and, on the 21st September, he landed from H.M.'s sloop-of-war, *Vulture*, and was engaged all night

and the following day with Arnold. Owing to the *Vulture* having to shift her berth, the boatmen refused to take André back to her at nightfall, and that officer, disguising himself in a grey greatcoat over his half uniform, lent him by Arnold, who also supplied him with a passport, set out for New York, under the assumed name of John Anderson. André had passed the American outposts, when he was stopped by a patrol of three militiamen, who seized his horse's bridle, and so sudden was their action that the British officer, though a man of great presence of mind, was thrown off his guard. His answers and manner being deemed suspicious, he was searched, when a packet of papers was discovered in his boots in the handwriting of Arnold. Major André now offered them his watch and a purse of gold, and promises of promotion and reward if they would accompany him to New York, but all were equally unavailing. Brought before the militia commanding officer, André requested that a messenger might be sent to General Arnold, acquainting him with his detention, which gave that officer time to escape on board the *Vulture*, and reach New York.

Washington, on learning what had taken place, reinforced the garrison at West Point, and appointed a board of general officers, including Lafayette, under the presidency of General Greene, to inquire into Major André's conduct. By them he was condemned to death as a spy, and that notwithstanding that the manly and ingenuous explanation of his conduct impressed them with esteem. The greatest commiseration was felt for the fate of the young, gallant, and popular officer at New York and throughout the army, and Sir Henry Clinton, both by correspondence and through the mouth of General Robertson, who met General Greene, pleaded earnestly for the life of the unfortunate emissary, but all in vain. Washington was inexorable, and even refused the request of the condemned officer that he might die the death of a soldier, and not that of a malefactor. On the 2nd October, at the early age of twenty-nine, Major André met his death at the hands of the common hangman, with a fortitude and composure that elicited the sympathies of all beholders. His country has commemorated his disinterested conduct and sad fate in her service, by erecting to his memory a sumptuous monument in Westminster Abbey. Arnold was now appointed brigadier-general in the British service, and, with the zeal of a renegade, inaugurated his command by ravaging the State of Virginia, and having set fire to the capital—Richmond—returned without loss to his shipping.

The campaign of 1781 commenced with an action at the Cowpens, between a party of Lord Cornwallis' force, under Colonel Tarleton, and the provincials, commanded by General Morgan, in which the former was defeated with the loss of 600 men. This was not only one of the most disastrous actions, but also, perhaps, the most discreditable to the

British troops during the war, as they were in superior strength to the colonists. "Every disaster," says Stedman, in his admirable history of the war, "that befel Lord Cornwallis after Tarleton's most shameful defeat at the Cowpens, may most justly be attributed to the imprudence and unsoldierlike conduct of that officer in the action." This was hard measure to Colonel Tarleton,* and in justice to him, it should be added that he was personally very gallant, and throughout the remainder of the war was ever in the advance.

Lord Cornwallis now advanced from Charlestown with the object of reconquering South Carolina, from which he had retired after Major Ferguson's repulse and death, but the consequences of Tarleton's defeat were very serious, not only materially, but from a moral point of view, as hitherto British troops had been defeated only by superior numbers.

Lord Cornwallis advanced in pursuit of General Morgan, who was joined, on the 31st January, by General Greene. His lordship crossed the Cattawba river on the 1st February, the brigade of Guards, under Brigadier-General O'Hara, leading the way under a heavy fire, in which Colonel Hull was killed. The enemy were pursued by Colonel Tarleton, who pushed on with the object of getting between the American army and Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis advanced to Hillsborough, where he hoisted the Royal Standard, but without meeting the support from the loyalists on which he had reckoned. Some hundreds joined the army during the campaign, but the public feeling was strong against them, and on one occasion, when between 200 and 300 loyalists fell into the hands of the provincial troops, no quarter was given, and they were massacred to a man. General Greene, retiring across the Dan river, re-entered North Carolina, and his lordship fell back and took up a new position, the American army following him. On the 15th March was fought the battle of Guildford Court-house, the Americans numbering nearly 5,000, of whom one-half were militia, and the British 2,400 veteran troops. The action was opened by the British advance, under Colonel Tarleton, attacking the Americans, under Colonel Lee, when the latter fell back on the main army, drawn up in three lines, on open ground, with their flanks posted in woods.

The British advanced to the attack, the right under Colonel Leslie, consisting of a Hessian regiment, a battalion of Guards, and the 1st

* Colonel Tarleton was a celebrity in his day, and his portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. He brought charges of incapacity against Lord Cornwallis, who, however, though he made some mistakes, doubtless did as much as could be expected of him in an impossible task with the means at his disposal. Lord Cornwallis was assuredly one of the best British Generals in America, and his subsequent career in India showed that he was a skilful commander.

Foot; and the left, under that tried soldier, Colonel Webster, consisting of the 23rd and 33rd regiments, supported by General O'Hara, with a battalion of Guards and the grenadiers. The British line received the enemy's fire, and advancing, delivered their own, and then closed with the bayonet. The first line gave way and fell back on the second, which also fell back after a severe conflict. Colonel Webster was hard pressed by superior numbers, and a battalion of Guards, pursuing with too great ardour, was driven back with great slaughter by the enemy's third line, and charged by Colonel Washington's dragoons; but they were reinforced by the 23rd and 71st regiments, and rallied by General O'Hara, although severely wounded, and the Americans were finally routed with the loss of four guns—all they had on the field. The British obtained a victory, but it was of no substantial advantage to the cause, and was dearly purchased, their loss being over one-third their number. Exclusive of the reserve, 1,445 men were actually engaged, and of these, there were ninety-three killed (including the Honourable Colonel Stuart, of the Guards, and four officers), twenty-six missing, and 413 wounded, among whom were Brigadier-Generals O'Hara and Howard, Colonels Webster and Tarleton, and twenty other officers. The Americans owned to only losing 250 men, but Lord Cornwallis says in his despatch there were between 200 and 300 left dead on the field. His lordship now retired leisurely to Wilmington.

During the march Colonel Webster, of the 33rd, two officers of the Guards and two of the Hessian regiment, died of their wounds. The first-named officer was a serious loss to the army, and Lord Cornwallis, in announcing his demise to his father in Edinburgh, describes him as "honoured and lamented by all his fellow soldiers." General Greene meanwhile marched against Lord Rawdon at Camden, and as the effective force under Lord Cornwallis had now been reduced to 1,435 men, and he was unable to afford timely succour to Lord Rawdon, and deemed it too hazardous to return to South Carolina, his lordship determined to take advantage of General Greene's absence from North Carolina, and, on the 25th April, began his march through that province to Virginia, in order to join Arnold's column, now under General Philips.

General Greene, with 1,200 men, arrived at Camden, where Lord Rawdon was encamped with 800 troops, but retired to Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles distant from the British lines, when he was attacked on the 25th April by his lordship. The action was fiercely contested, but nothing could withstand the impetuous valour of the British troops, who gained the summit of the hill. General Greene retired to Rugeley's Mills, twelve miles distant, with a loss, as stated by himself, of eighteen killed, 136 missing, and 108 wounded, that of the British being one officer and thirty-seven men killed, eleven officers and 258 men wounded and missing. Being reinforced by 500 men, under Colonel

Watson, Lord Rawdon endeavoured, but without success, to bring General Greene to action, and the provincial troops, having reduced several outlying forts, and the important town of Augusta, on the 21st May, General Greene in person laid siege to Fort "Ninety-six," so called because it was ninety-six miles distant from the town of Kecowee, in the Cherokee country. Colonel Cruger defended the post with obstinate courage, repulsing several determined assaults, and at length, on the 21st June, Lord Rawdon arrived at "Ninety-six," General Greene, on the 19th, having abandoned the siege with the acknowledged loss of 166 regular troops, exclusive of the militia, that of the garrison, of 550 men, being twenty-seven killed and fifty-eight wounded.

Hostilities were suspended in July in consequence of the great heat, the American army retiring to the hills of Santee, and Lord Rawdon returned to Europe on account of his health. On the 22nd August General Greene again took the field, and Colonel Stuart, of the 3rd Buffs, now in command of the British troops, fell back to Eutaw Springs, where, on the 8th September, was fought an action between the contending forces. The Americans attacked the British left with great impetuosity, and the Buffs being new troops gave way, but the remains of the 63rd and 64th regiments, who had served throughout the war, met the onslaught with firmness, but, being overpowered, were compelled to retire. The fighting on the centre and right was indecisive, but a charge made by Colonel Washington's cavalry was unsuccessful, and that officer was wounded and taken prisoner. The Americans were at length compelled to retire, carrying off their wounded, but leaving on the ground two guns and 139 killed, including seventeen officers, besides sixty prisoners. The British lost one field-piece taken, three officers and eighty-two men killed, sixteen officers and 335 rank and file wounded, and ten officers and 257 men missing. Both sides claimed the victory, but the British commander held the field of batttle. This was the last action fought in North Carolina, and the British troops now confined themselves to securing the safety of Charlestown.

In Virginia the Royalist cause suffered a loss in the death, on the 13th May, of General Philips at Peterborough, in Virginia. Brigadier-General Arnold assumed command of the troops until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis on the 20th. A few days later his lordship crossed the James river to attack the Marquis Lafayette, but that officer, being in inferior strength, retired from the position he had taken up near Richmond, and fell back in order to form a junction with General Wayne, who was marching from Maryland to support him. Lord Cornwallis now detached Colonel Tarleton, who surprised the town of Charlotteville, where the General Assembly was in session.

In the meantime, Sir Henry Clinton learnt from intercepted letters from Washington to Congress, that he and the French commander-in

chief, the Count de Rochambeau, who held Rhode Island and Connecticut, threatened a combined attack upon New York, and in order to strengthen his army there, the British commander-in-chief requested Lord Cornwallis to detach all the available troops to his assistance. Upon this Cornwallis, who had returned from his expedition up the James river, and was then at Williamsburgh, on the 4th July began to withdraw his army across that river. Lafayette thereupon advanced rapidly and, on the 6th July, attacked the British troops, still on his side of the stream, but suffered a disastrous repulse, in which the 43rd, 76th, and 80th regiments, under Colonel Dundas, earned great distinction, the two latter having very recently been raised. The British loss was five officers and twenty men *hors de combat*, that of the enemy being about 300. Lord Cornwallis proposed to return to Charlestown, but Sir Henry Clinton ordered him to proceed either to Portsmouth or Yorktown, as he deprecated the idea of abandoning the Chesapeake. As to defend the latter, with Gloucester on the opposite side of the York river, would have demanded a larger force than he had at his command after detaching a portion of his troops to New York, Lord Cornwallis retired to Portsmouth. Here, however, there was no protection from ships of the line, and, on the 22nd August, his lordship had concentrated his whole force at Yorktown and Gloucester. The last act in this long and momentous drama of the American War was now very near its *dénouement*.

Meanwhile, on the 6th July, General Washington effected a junction at White Plains with the French troops from Rhode Island, under Count de Rochambeau, and marching thence on the 21st, early on the following morning, took up a position before the British works at King's Bridge, with the object of inducing Sir Henry Clinton to believe that an attempt in force was meditated on New York. Having arranged with Count de Grasse, the French admiral, that his fleet was to enter the Chesapeake, a combined attack on Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown was agreed upon, and the allied army suddenly marched to Philadelphia, where it arrived on the 30th August. Sir George Rodney, the British naval commander-in-chief in the West Indies, does not appear to have entertained an idea that Count de Grasse could have proceeded to North America with his whole fleet, and detached his successor, Sir Samuel Hood, with fourteen ships, to New York to reinforce Admiral Graves, the naval commander-in-chief on the American station, who was at New York with seven ships. Admiral Graves put to sea, with nineteen sail-of-the-line, on the 31st August, but Count de Grasse had arrived on the preceding day in the Chesapeake. The British admiral sighted the French fleet on the 5th September, and a partial and indecisive action ensued, the French

being in greatly superior force. In consequence of the crippled state of his fleet, Admiral Graves returned to New York, and Count de Grasse to the Chesapeake, where Admiral de Barras had arrived with the Rhode Island squadron, laden with heavy artillery and all the material necessary for conducting a siege.

Sir Henry Clinton in the meantime, with the object of making a diversion in Connecticut, detached General Arnold with a considerable force to New London, which was captured with small loss, though Fort Griswold, on the opposite side of the harbour, was not carried by assault without desperate fighting, the British loss being two officers and forty-six men killed, and eight officers and 135 rank and file wounded. The casualties of the enemy were eighty-five killed, including Colonel Ladyard, the commandant, sixty wounded, and seventy prisoners. But this event, though several ships were burnt, together with naval stores, in no way diverted General Washington from his purpose of striking a decisive blow. On the 25th September the Confederate force was landed at Williamsburg, where they joined the troops under Lafayette,* and three days later the whole army was assembled before Yorktown, where the British had constructed formidable works. On the following day Lord Cornwallis received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, promising that a fleet of twenty-three ships should sail by the 5th October with a reinforcement of 5,000 men. The British army was concentrated on the works within the town, which the same day was regularly invested, and a small force blockaded the post at Gloucester. The enemy's batteries opened fire on the 9th October, and from that time kept up an incessant fire of shot and shell. On the night of the 14th, the allies carried by assault two redoubts, about 300 yards in front of the works, to which a response was made at daybreak on the 16th by a sortie of 350 men, under Colonel Abercrombie, on two of the enemy's batteries, when eleven guns were spiked, and about 100 men killed. But this was insufficient to retard progress, and before evening the batteries and second parallel were completed. Lord Cornwallis, rendered desperate by his position, formed the resolve of embarking his army to the Gloucester side of the river without his baggage, and making an effort to force his way through Maryland and Pennsylvania to New York. His lordship, in pursuance of this purpose, actually transported

* The Marquis de Lafayette, who arrived in America in 1777, when in his twentieth year, was given command of a division with the rank of Major-General. Lafayette proceeded to France in 1779, and returned in the following year with a strong French force under Rochambeau. He it was who proposed in 1789 that the States-General should be convened. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to treat with Wellington and Blucher on the surrender of Paris in 1815, and survived to participate in the Revolution of 1830, which drove Charles X. from the throne.

a portion of his troops across the river one night, but a violent storm arose, and he was glad to bring them back on the following forenoon.

As the British works were in ruins, and only 100 shells remained in his magazine, his lordship, on the 17th October, 1781, made proposals for a capitulation. By these the garrisons of Yorktown and Gloucester, as well as the officers and seamen of the fleet, were to surrender as prisoners of war, the former to General Washington, as representing the Republic, and the latter to Count de Grasse, as the representative of the French king. The combined army that effected this great victory, which concluded the war, numbered 19,000 men, consisting of 7,000 French troops, about the same number of American regulars, and some 5,000 militia, while on the day previous to the capitulation the garrisons of Yorktown and Gloucester amounted to 5,950 men, of whom only 4,015 were reported fit for duty. Sir Henry Clinton had sailed with 7,000 of his best troops on the 19th, the very day the surrender took place, but he and his brave army, who were animated with a determined resolution to relieve their countrymen, learned on their arrival off the Cape of Virginia that they were too late. It is only due to Lord Cornwallis and the army which had struggled so long and bravely against the greatest difficulties, to place on record that, with the exception of the disastrous action of the Cowpens, lost by Colonel Tarleton, they were always in inferior numbers to the enemy, and uniformly victorious, while the Northern army, under Sir William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, opposed to General Washington, though superior in numbers, was not so successful.

Until Rodney's great success, on the 12th April, 1782, over the French fleet, under Count de Grasse, which came too late, the British navy had temporarily lost command of the sea, which was the chief cause of the failure to relieve Lord Cornwallis. To bring to a successful conclusion a war waged by a power distant 3,000 miles, whose troops and stores were conveyed across a stormy sea, which required many weeks or months to traverse, was a task beyond the strength of any but the greatest military power. The subjection of a country of such vast extent and difficulty, with a varied climate, and inhabited by a brave and patriotic race, was an undertaking that would have taxed the military genius of a Wellington to bring to a successful conclusion.

At the close of the war the only places of importance remaining in the possession of the British were New York, in the North, and Charlestown and Savannah, the capitals of Georgia and South Carolina, in the South, and it was apparent that though provinces and districts could be overrun and subdued they could not be held. It had been apparent, since the surrender at Saratoga, that the struggle between England and her colonies could only end in the discomfiture of the mother-country;

but the participation of France in the war determined the question, and our old enemy, by the part she took in the capitulation of Yorktown, avenged the defeat at Quebec.

But, in addition to France and America, England had to contend in Europe with the naval forces of Spain and Holland, and in February, 1782, the Island of Minorca was surrendered to France and Spain, after sustaining an obstinate siege of six months. The success of Louis XIV. and Charles III. induced them to undertake the siege of Gibraltar, for which a fleet of fifty sail-of-the-line, forty gunboats, and ten floating batteries, together with an army of 30,000 men, were assembled. The defence made by General Elliot* and his brave garrison of 7,000 men—including the 12th, 39th, and 48th regiments, which bear the word "Gibraltar" on their colours—between the 9th August and 17th October, when the siege was raised by the arrival of the British fleet of thirty-four sail-of-the-line, under Lord Howe, will ever be remembered in our history. The besieging forces, under the Duke de Crillon, the victor of Minorca, numbered 27,000 Spaniards, and 4,000 French troops, with whom was the Count d'Artois, the king's son, and the total loss of the besieged was 1,231, that of the enemy being many thousands.

Thus, in America, the West Indies, and India, as well as on the high seas, England had her hereditary foe to contend with, while Spain, as we have seen, strove her utmost to wrest from us the rock of Gibraltar, the possession of which by an alien power rankled in every Spanish breast. But all the efforts of our enemies were in vain, and among the proudest achievements of the British army is this successful defence of "Gib," as the great stronghold is termed in the United Services.

The struggle with her colonies was most exhausting to the mother-country, and when news arrived in England of the disaster at Yorktown, it was felt that to prolong the contest was useless and criminal. More than once during the war negotiations for peace had been entered upon, but they had fallen through, as the terms of the colonists included the concession of independence. Now, however, bitter experience had taught the mother-country that independence must be conceded, and the resignation of Lord North's ministry on the 20th March, 1782, afforded an opportunity for opening negotiations for peace on this basis, and the decisive victory gained on the following 12th April, in the West Indies, by the British fleet, under Sir George Rodney, though it caused great national exultation, came too late to alter the situation. In May, Sir Henry Clinton resigned the command in America to General Carleton, now Lord Dorchester,

* The services of General George Elliot, created Lord Heathfield, are recorded on the monument erected by a grateful country in St. Paul's.

formerly Governor of Canada. In October the French troops were shipped from Boston for the West Indies; and, on the 30th November, the preliminaries of the treaty were signed by Adams and Franklin at Paris, and took effect on the 20th May, 1783, when peace had been signed with France. At the same time, treaties of peace were concluded with Holland and Spain, to which country East Florida was ceded.

Thus ended the most extensive, difficult and disastrous war in which Great Britain had ever been engaged. The British army lost in killed alone, as appears by official returns, no less than 43,633 men, while the National Debt was increased by a capital sum of £115,654,914, and, save for the gallantry of our troops, the national prestige suffered a disastrous eclipse. Such was the penalty paid by the nation for the obstinate folly of a despotic king and his subservient ministers. England had been brought to the brink of ruin, and had lost her finest colonies, but she had learnt in the bitter school of adversity a lesson by which even the most bigoted partisan has profited, and never again will an attempt be made to force upon her colonies taxation or measures to which they are averse.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FOUNDING OF OUR INDIAN EMPIRE.

1755—1767.

The Struggle between England and France in the Carnatic—Lawrence and Clive—Defence of Arcot by Clive—Lawrence's Services in the Field—Operations on the Malabar Coast—Defence of Madras by Lawrence—Services of Forde, Brereton, and Eyre Coote—Battle of Wandewash—Capture of Pondicherry and Extinction of French Power in India—The Events in Bengal—The "Black Hole" of Calcutta—Battle of Plassey—Establishment of English Ascendency—Defeat of the Dutch by Forde—Services of Calliaud, Knox, and Carnac—Adams' Campaign against Meer Cossim—Services of Hector Munro—Mutiny of the Bengal Army and Suppression by Munro—Battle of Buxar—British Supremacy established in Bengal—Return of Lord Clive to England.

THE struggle for mastery in India between England and France was more prolonged and desperate than that which was ended by the capture of Quebec and Montreal in America, and it was certainly not less glorious, while the results were equally complete and far-reaching, placing the prize of Empire in the East, as in the West, with the nation which has colonized so large a portion of the world.

The English East India Company, in its early years at Surat, and, after 1660, at Bombay, found its first defenders in the local Marine (since known as the Indian Navy, which was abolished in 1863), from the numerous enemies—Portuguese, Dutch, Mahrattas, and French—who sought to strangle it at its birth. It was not until the East India Company—at first, as the possessor of commercial factories, only a humble dependant of the Great Mogul—became a territorial power that it enlisted soldiers; and those three famous regiments, the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Fusiliers, with the corps of artillery, were raised as the nucleus of the vast and magnificent local army, which, in its numbers, discipline, and services, vied with those of European states, and, as regards the British portion, was finally amalgamated with the Royal Army, while the Sepoys were taken into the service of the Queen-Empress.

People whose knowledge of Indian history is derived solely from the brilliant essays of Lord Macaulay, will be under the mistaken impres-

sion that our connection with India as a territorial power began with Lord Clive. A century and a half before Clive's victory at Plassey the English East India Company established factories at Surat and elsewhere, and later the British flag was hoisted at Bombay and Fort St. George. At Madras, to which the Bengal agency was long subordinate, Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Hedges—whose diary, with copious and instructive notes by Sir Henry Yule, was published in 1889—was entrusted by the Company with the task of making Hooghly, in Bengal, an independent factory apart from the council of Fort St. George. He not only contested the claim for a duty of three and a half per cent. made by the Nawab, or Nabob, who expressed his opinion that "ye English were a company of base, quarrelling people, and foul dealers," but was at loggerheads with members of his Council, including Mr. Job Charnock, famous as the founder of Calcutta, who superseded Hedges. In 1686 the Company came to an open rupture with the Mogul Emperor at Delhi, whose ships were seized by the Company's fleet. Mr. Charnock, in a letter to Sir John Child* at Surat, who also engaged in naval wars, gives details in an interesting letter of the first fight in Bengal, between Englishmen and the Mogul soldiers, not far distant from the battle-field of Plassey. Charnock now removed the factory from Hooghly to Chuttinutti, the site of Calcutta, where he died, and was buried in 1693.

This was thirty-three years after the acquisition of the island of Bombay from the Portuguese, and fifty-one after the foundation of the factory of Madras. But it was from the French that our infant power had most to fear. Early in 1746 Labourdonnais, Governor of Mauritius, "a man of eminent talent and virtues," as Macaulay styles him, appeared off the Coromandel coast with a fleet of nine vessels, conveying 1,100 European soldiers, and 400 Sepoys; and in September, Madras,† the Company's chief emporium on this coast, garrisoned by 200 English soldiers, besides 100 civilians, was compelled to surrender. Labourdonnais's force was soon augmented by fresh arrivals from France to 3,000 men, the whole of the East India Company's European soldiers throughout India not exceeding 600; but, fortunately, Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, a

* A detailed record of the fighting at Surat and Bombay with the Mahrattas and the ships of the Mogul on the West Coast is given in the "History of the Indian Navy," by C. R. Low (two vols.) Sir John Child, who died at Bombay in 1690, brought the Company's affairs to a most disastrous state owing to his mismanagement, and undertaking an arduous war with insufficient means.

† Among the early Governors at Fort St. George was Mr. Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the famous Lord Chatham, who is best known as the owner of the "Pitt diamond," purchased of a native merchant for £32,000, and sold to the French Regent Orleans in 1717 for £135,000, since valued at £480,000. This diamond is now the property of the French Government.

man of ability, but a born intriguer, filled with jealousy of his countryman, thwarted all his projects, and, finally, Labourdonnais was constrained to return to France, where his great services were forgotten, and he was thrown into the Bastille, where he lingered for three years, and died of a broken heart on his liberation.

On the 9th August, 1748, Admiral Boscawen arrived from England off Fort St. David, another of the Company's settlements, to the south of Madras, with a large armament, and laid siege to Pondicherry with a force of 2,700 Europeans, besides 1,000 seamen, and 2,000 Sepoys. But Dupleix, who held the place with nearly 2,000 Europeans and 3,000 Sepoys, though no soldier, was a man of resource, and the British force was so enfeebled by sickness that, on the 6th October, Boscawen was compelled to raise the siege. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war, and Madras was restored to the Company.

In the following year, the English interfered in the local affairs of Tanjore, and a force of 430 Europeans and 1,000 Sepoys, with eight pieces of ordnance, under Major Stringer Lawrence, who was the first military officer to make the name of his country illustrious in the East, laid siege to the fort of Deva-Cotta, which was captured. Meantime, Dupleix, who entertained vast designs of empire, on the death of Nizam-ool-Moolk, viceroy of the Deccan, espoused the cause of his grandson, Moozuffer Jung, against the late viceroy's son, Nazir Jung, and sent 400 Europeans and 2,000 Sepoys, under Bussy, to his assistance. A battle was fought in July, 1749, near Arcot, which resulted, through the valour of the French, in the defeat and death of Anaverdy Khan, Nabob of the Carnatic, a dependant of the viceroy of the Deccan, and Moozuffer entered Arcot in triumph. The Governor of Madras sent a force of 600 Europeans, under Major Lawrence, to assist Nazir Jung, though the two nations were at peace, and Dupleix, on his part, augmented to 2,000 the French contingent with Moozuffer Jung, and his ally, Chunda Sahib, whom he had appointed Nabob.

We will pass over the tortuous history of intrigues in which Dupleix proved himself more than a match for his Oriental opponents. Nazir Jung was attacked and utterly routed by the French, and his head was struck off by his followers, and Moozuffer Jung installed Viceroy of the Deccan at Pondicherry by Dupleix, who was nominated governor of India from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, and now ruled over a territory larger than France, with absolute power over thirty millions of souls. Moozuffer did not long enjoy his dignity, but was slain in January, 1751, and, in the following month, Chunda Sahib, now Nabob of the Carnatic, proceeded to Arcot, the capital, and laid siege to Trichinopoly, held by a small English garrison on behalf of Mohammed

Ali, son of Anaverdy Khan, the late Nabob of the Carnatic. Mr. Saunders, governor of Madras, sent a reinforcement thither, and among the officers was Captain Robert Clive.

This famous officer, the "heaven-born general" of Pitt, to whose genius we principally owe our Eastern empire, had been present, while in the Civil Service, at the surrender of Madras in 1746, and having obtained an ensign's commission, had attracted the attention of Major Lawrence in the operations at Deva-Cotta, and again distinguished himself at the disastrous siege of Pondicherry. Mr. Saunders adopted the advice of Clive, who had returned to Madras in order to urge the importance of creating a diversion by sending an expedition to Arcot, and though he was only twenty-five years of age, Saunders confided to his charge a force of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, with eight officers, of whom four were factors of the Company. Clive entered the fort of Arcot without opposition, upon which Chunda Sahib detached a considerable force to oust the daring English officer. The fort was more than a mile in circumference, and in so ruinous a state as to be incapable of defence, while the ditches were dry, and the parapets low. But Clive set himself to work to improve the defences, and no commander displayed greater resource or a more indomitable spirit. Of his eight officers one was killed, one returned to Madras, and two were wounded, while the troops fit for duty were reduced to 120 Europeans and 200 Sepoys, but with this handful of men, the young leader sustained for fifty days the assaults of 10,000 native troops and 150 Frenchmen. At length, Morari Rao, a Mahratta chief, advanced with 6,000 men to assist the English garrison, and Rajah Sahib determined to storm the fort on the anniversary of the great Mussulman festival of the Mohurrum. The besiegers, intoxicated with religious enthusiasm and "bhang," a native liquor, advanced to the attack. Three desperate attempts were made to carry the fort by assault, but the enemy were repulsed at every point with the loss of 400 men, and on the following morning, when day broke, they had vanished, baffled by a commander who infused his indomitable spirit among his men. The defence of Arcot was the turning-point in the struggle between England and France for the Empire of India, and its name is borne proudly on the colours of the old First Madras Fusiliers, now known as the first battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

Clive achieved other successes, capturing Timery, and, with the aid of the Mahrattas, defeating the combined forces of Dupleix and Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib, and capturing Conjeveram. In the following year he continued his career of victory, but on the return of Major Lawrence to India with reinforcements, that officer assumed the chief command, and Clive cheerfully co-operated with his old commander at the relief of Trichinopoly, beleaguered by Chunda Sahib.

Major Lawrence* now divided his force, and Captain Clive was detached, on the 6th April, with 400 Europeans and 1,200 Sepoys, to take possession of the village and pagoda of Semiaveram, which he effected after some smart fighting. Major Lawrence, with 1,200 Europeans and 2,000 Sepoys, and the native contingent of the Nabob Mohammed Ali, compelled the surrender of the French General Law and Chunda Sahib, who was assassinated at the instigation of his rival.

The Mysore regent now claimed the fort of Trichinopoly as the promised price of the assistance he had rendered to the Nabob, and Major Lawrence retired in disgust to Madras, leaving Captain Dalton with 200 Europeans and 1,500 Sepoys to defend the citadel. Dupleix being now largely reinforced from Europe, proclaimed Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib, Nabob of the Carnatic, and sent a powerful force to renew the siege of Trichinopoly. But Major Lawrence, who had captured the fort of Vellore on the 8th July, inflicted a severe defeat on the French, commanded by a nephew of Dupleix, thus wiping out the stigma of a previous reverse inflicted on Major Kinnear by a vastly superior force of French and natives, when that officer, under directions of the Madras Council, at the request of Mohammed Ali, undertook the reduction of Gingee, notwithstanding the protest of Major Lawrence. The Mysore regent, despairing of acquiring Trichinopoly, now joined the French, together with Morari Rao, the Mahratta chieftain, and invested the town, which was beleaguered for nearly two years, until the close of the war. Lawrence relieved Trichinopoly on the 6th May, 1755, and fought successful engagements with the French, that of the 21st September, at the Golden Rock, being a brilliant victory over superior numbers, in which he captured the enemy's camp and guns, but suffered heavily himself. He also captured Wyconda by assault, and on the 26th August, 1754, again inflicted a defeat on the French near Trichinopoly.

Clive during this period was not inactive, but captured, after a brief siege, Covelong, a strong place about twenty miles from Madras, and advancing thence on Chingleput, compelled the commander to surrender on the 31st October, 1752. His health had long suffered from the climate, and he was now compelled to proceed to Europe.

In August, 1754, Bussy landed at Pondicherry, and superseded the restless and ambitious Dupleix, who returned to France, where he died

* Major Lawrence had the highest opinion of Clive's talents for war, though, unlike himself, he was not a student of the art of war. He described him as "a man of undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger; born a soldier, though without a military education of any sort."

in neglect and disgrace, like his predecessor, Labourdonnais. Soon after a treaty of peace was signed between the belligerents, by which both parties renounced for the future all interference in the differences of native princes, and Mahommed Ali, the British nominee, was confirmed as Nabob of the Carnatic. But the substantial advantage was with the French, who gained territory yielding eighteen lacs of rupees, the English revenue being only ten, exclusive of the so-called Northern Sincars, having a coast line of 600 miles, with a yearly income of fifty lacs, which Bussy* extracted in 1753 from the Court of Hyderabad.

In 1755 a combined military and naval expedition from Bombay, under Colonel Clive, who had returned from Europe, and Commodore James of the Indian Navy, proceeded from Bombay, and, on the 2nd April, the fire of the squadron compelled the surrender of the fortress of Severndroog, mounting fifty-four guns, the chief stronghold of the pirate chief, Toolajee Angria. In February of the following year, the strong fortress of Gheriah, Toolajee's headquarters, was reduced by the fleet under Admiral Watson and Commodore James, co-operating with some troops under Colonel Clive, and Toolajee Angria was captured, Gheriah being surrendered to the Mahrattas, with whom we were then in alliance.

The French Government having resolved to extinguish British commerce in India, sent out strong military and naval reinforcements, and entered upon the struggle which ended so disastrously for that power. In 1758 Count Lally, a headstrong and rash officer of Irish extraction, proceeded to India. His first step was to reduce the English settlement at Fort St. David, which surrendered on the 1st June, but he frittered away his time and resources in a vain attempt to capture Tanjore. Arcot, however, fell to his arms without resistance, and then, contrary to the advice of Bussy, who implored him to consolidate the French position in the Nizam's dominions, on the 12th December he undertook the siege of Madras, which, fortunately, had been placed by the Governor in a state of defence. Lally had a European force of 2,700 infantry and 400 cavalry, the first employed in India, and 4,000 Sepoys, while the garrison, commanded by the veteran Lawrence, numbered 1,750 Europeans and 2,200 natives. The siege was prose-

* Marshman, in his "History of India," says of Bussy that he possessed "a genius which was in every respect fully equal to that of Clive." By his talent for diplomacy and war, he had established the authority of France over the great southern division of India, known as the Deccan. By his march of 400 miles from Rajamundry to Aurungabad, over a country never before traversed by Europeans, accomplished in twenty-one days, he re-established the authority of Salabut Jung, the Nizam; but his recall, on the 18th June, 1758, by Count Lally, the new French Governor-General, gave a blow to French ascendency in the Deccan from which it never recovered.

cuted with vigour for two months with varied fortune, but on the 16th February, when a practicable breach had been made, the appearance of the English fleet, under Admiral Pocock, caused a panic, and Lally retreated precipitately, leaving fifty pieces of ordnance in the batteries.

The enemy's fire had continued for 42 days, with a loss to the besieged of 15 officers and 200 men killed, and 18 officers and 539 wounded. Early in the siege the English made a sally under Colonel Draper, during which there was some severe fighting, in which the besieged lost 20 killed, 90 wounded, and 103 prisoners, with two field-pieces. The French suffered severely, losing 200 *hors de combat*, and Count d'Estaing* was taken prisoner, an officer of the French navy who fought an indecisive engagement with Admiral Byron off the Island of Grenada, in the West Indies, on the 6th July, 1779.

Clive, on hearing at Calcutta of the fall of Fort St. David, made a diversion against the French in the Northern Circars by despatching a force of 500 Europeans, 2,000 Sepoys, and 12 guns, under Colonel Forde, which landed at Vizigapatam on the 20th of October, 1758, and, on the 9th of December, gained a brilliant victory over the French under M. Conflans at Peddapore, forty miles from Rajamundry. In the following March† Colonel Forde laid siege to Masulipatam, and, on the 7th April, advanced to storm the town, which, however, M. Conflans surrendered at discretion. Meantime, after the raising of the siege of Madras, Colonel Brereton took the field with a force including 1,156 Europeans with 10 guns, and on the 18th April, after an investment of only three days, the fort of Conjeveram was taken by storm, Major Calliaud leading. On the 26th September, at the end of the rainy season, Colonel Brereton marched from Conjeveram with 1,500 Europeans, 2,500 Sepoys, and 800 cavalry, with 10 guns, to Wandewash, where he arrived three days later; but though the attack was

* Count d'Estaing, though on parole, proceeded to the Persian Gulf in command of four ships, equipped by Count Lally, under Dutch colours, with a force of one hundred and fifty Europeans, two hundred Sepoys, and some battering guns, and besieged the flourishing factory of the East India Company, established at Gombroon, or Bunder Abbas. The small garrison of twenty-six civilians was compelled to capitulate, after a gallant resistance, and by one of the Articles they were exchanged for Count d'Estaing, who was ostensibly journeying to Europe, on parole, by Bussorah.

† It should be noted as an important incident in the founding of our Indian Empire, that in February, 1759, a combined military and naval expedition of five Company's ships, with 850 Europeans and 1,500 Sepoys, the whole under the command of Commodore Watson, of the Indian Navy, proceeded to Surat, which was bombarded, and surrendered on the 4th of March, with a loss to the British of 150 killed. From that time Surat has remained an integral part of our Indian dominions. Commodore Watson, mentioned above, fell at the siege of Tannah, in December, 1774, and a monument was raised to his memory in Bombay Cathedral.

made with skill and judgment, the two assaulting columns were driven back.

Towards the end of the year 1759, the French troops broke out into open mutiny, in consequence of their being ill-fed and unpaid, and Lally was compelled to send a portion of his force to the South to procure money and food. But a still greater advantage accrued to the English by the arrival, as Commander, of Colonel Eyre Coote, who had already earned distinction under Clive in Bengal, and was only second in genius to his late chief. On 21st November, Coote arrived at Conjeveram, and, four days later, marched with 1,700 Europeans, including cavalry, and 3,000 Sepoys, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and, while he proceeded towards Arcot with the main body of his troops, detached Colonel Brereton to Wandewash, where he joined him from Arcot by a forced march. Wandewash was surrendered after a faint resistance, and also Carangolly, 35 miles distant, on the 4th December. In January, 1760, Lally moved up to retrieve the loss of Wandewash, and Coote compelled him to fight to great disadvantage in the neighbourhood of the town. Independently of Sepoys, the French brought 2,250 Europeans into the field, and the English 1,900, so that there was no great disparity of force. Lally displayed the greatest personal gallantry, leading first the cavalry, and then his infantry, to the attack, but in vain. The English fire was close and deadly, and when they came to close quarters, the British bayonet, handled by the Madras Fusiliers, was more than a match for the same weapon, wielded by the famous regiment of Lorraine. In the struggle the gallant Brereton, while leading his men to victory, fell; but his loss was counterbalanced by the capture of Bussy. In consideration of his high character and generous conduct to the English in the Northern Circas, Clive admitted Bussy to parole, and sent him to Pondicherry. Lally suffered a signal defeat, with the loss of 600 men, that of the English being only 190. Clive followed the enemy to Chingleput, which surrendered on the 9th, and on the following day he took possession of Arcot. Misfortune now attended the French arms, and Coote wrested from his opponents all their strong places, including Cuddapore, and at length Ginjee and Pondicherry alone remained to the French.

The French Government at home were so hard pressed in Canada, the West Indies, and Africa, by England, and were in such straits for money, that they could afford no pecuniary or military assistance to their representative in India in this crisis of the protracted struggle, and thus within a few years the relative strength of the two powers contending for the mastery of India was changed, and French ascendency suffered a final eclipse. Though Count Lally obtained the assistance of Hyder Ali, the powerful ruler of Mysore, who

almost annihilated a small British force under Major More, they ultimately retired. Coote now undertook the siege of Pondicherry,* but unexpectedly found himself superseded, as Lawrence was before him. Reinforcements arrived from England under Colonel Monson, who assumed command, but, fortunately for our arms, he was severely wounded, and Coote resumed his post on the 20th September, to the joy of the army. The operations were pushed with energy, and notwithstanding a terrific hurricane, which destroyed the batteries, on the 14th January, 1761, the garrison, worn out with hunger and privation, surrendered, and the city was levelled with the ground, in retaliation for the instructions sent to the French Governor-General by his own government to destroy the English settlements he might capture. Lally, now a broken, dispirited officer, retired to Europe, and, like Labourdonnais and Dupleix, was thrown into the Bastille. But his superiors, who were chiefly responsible for this great failure of their schemes of Oriental aggrandizement, had the baseness to have him tried for high treason without benefit of counsel, and condemned to death; and he was drawn through the streets of Paris in a dung-cart, and executed the same day.

The Military Operations in Bengal.

We will now give a sketch of the military events in Bengal which transferred the empire of the Mogul to the shoulders of an English trading company, chiefly through the military genius of one Englishman, Robert Clive. This great man returned to India in October, 1755, and after taking part in the combined naval and military expedition against Gheriah, in conjunction with the Peishwa of the warlike Mahrattas, as already described, Colonel Clive, in company with Admiral Watson, sailed for Fort St. David, and on the 20th June, 1756, assumed charge of the government. But he had not been here more than two months before important events demanded his presence in a sphere more suited to his commanding talents.

Aliverdy Khan, the warlike subahdar,† or viceroy, of Bengal, died at his own capital, Moorshedabad, in April, 1756, at the age of eighty, and bequeathed the government he had received sixteen years before

* The Madras Fusiliers bear both "Pondicherry" and "Wandewash" on their colours. Pondicherry was restored to France on the conclusion of peace signed at Paris, on the 10th February, 1763, and the city was rebuilt.

† This title was derived from the three *soubahs*, or provinces, of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Meer Jaffier, the first subahdar, or viceroy, was appointed early in the century, and received the title of Moorshed Kolee Khan, whence his new capital, Moorshedabad, received its name.

from Mahomed Shah, Mogul Emperor of Delhi, to his grandson, Surajah Dowlah, a youth of twenty. This prince, distinguished even among Indian rulers for cruelty, profligacy, and incapacity, wrote an insolent letter to Mr. Drake, Governor of Calcutta, demanding the demolition of the fortifications he understood had recently been erected. The Governor replied that there had been no additions to the defences, and, indeed, the fortifications had been suffered to fall into a dangerous state of neglect. Warehouses were being constructed on the ramparts of Fort William, so-called after the sovereign in whose reign it was founded. At this time, also, the garrison only numbered 174 men, so that when, on the 17th June, 1756, the Nabob arrived before the town, the Governor and the Commandant, Minchin by name, were able to offer but a faint resistance.

On the 19th, most of the women and children were sent off to the ships in the stream, and they were followed by the Governor and Commandant. After this base desertion the fort held out, under Mr. Holwell, until the 21st, when the survivors of the garrison, more than half having been killed or wounded, surrendered. That night these unhappy people, numbering, with women and children, 146 souls, were thrust into a chamber, used as a prison, some twenty feet square. The scene that ensued baffles description, and the "Black Hole of Calcutta," as this dungeon was called, received its historic parallel, a century later, in the horrors that were enacted in the room at Cawnpore, by the infamous Nana Sahib. When morning dawned, after one of the hottest nights in the most sultry season of the year, only twenty-three ghastly forms emerged from the chamber of death. But vengeance, as exemplary as that meted out to Nana Sahib of Bithoor, by Neill and Havelock, awaited, at the hands of Clive, the tyrant, who retired complacently to Moorshedabad with the spoil of Calcutta. That officer sailed on the 10th October from Madras, with 900 Europeans and 1,500 Sepoys, embarked in five of the Company's ships, and five of the Royal Navy, under Admiral Watson, his old comrade at Gheriah, and a congenial spirit.

On the 15th December, the expedition arrived at Fulta, about forty miles below Calcutta, where the vessels lay, with Mr. Drake and the other fugitives; and Manickchund, the Nabob's Hindoo general, having precipitately abandoned Calcutta, Clive entered the town on 2nd January, 1757, and a week later the strong fort of Hooghly surrendered, after being battered by the fleet. Surajah Dowlah, with 35,000 men, marched to meet the English officer who dared to pit his handful of soldiers against his host, and Clive, finding that negotiations were futile, took the initiative, and, with the assistance of 600 seamen from the fleet, on the 5th assaulted the enemy's entrenchments with great gallantry, though, owing to the fog, with only partial success.

But though the English loss was near 200 men, the Nabob suffered more heavily, and was so discouraged by this, his first experience of war, that he hastened to make overtures of peace, and on the 9th February, a treaty was concluded, by which all their former privileges were restored to the East India Company, together with permission to fortify Calcutta. But the Nabob, with true Oriental treachery, had written to Bussy, at this time in the Northern Circars, not 300 miles from Calcutta, to join him and expel the English from Bengal; and as information had been received, *viâ* Aleppo, of the declaration of war between England and France in the preceding May, on the 20th March Colonel Clive and Admirals Watson and Pocock proceeded up the river, and, on the 24th, attacked the French settlement of Chandernagore, garrisoned by 300 Europeans and 1,400 natives, which surrendered, chiefly owing to the fire of the fleet, after a gallant defence of nine days.

The Nabob had now become so unpopular, that in May, Meer Jaffier, one of his generals, his finance minister and others, entered into a conspiracy to dethrone him, and they induced Clive, with magnificent offers for the East India Company, to join them. A secret treaty was accordingly concluded, by which Meer Jaffier was to be placed on the musnud, but, at the last moment, one of the confederates, Omichund, a wealthy contractor at Calcutta, who enjoyed the confidence of the Nabob, demanded, under threat of disclosure, insertion of a specific article in the treaty, guaranteeing to him thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000) and a commission of 5 per cent. on all payments. To counterplot this usurious knave, Clive was guilty of the dishonourable act of deceiving Omichund, with a fictitious treaty conceding this demand, while the real instrument, having appended to it the seals and signatures of the confederates, contained no such stipulation. Clive always defended this piece of duplicity with the declaration that "he would do it a hundred times over," and it was the only dishonourable act of his life, while it may be said in his vindication that he derived no possible advantage from it. But a still more indefensible act was the forging of the signature of Admiral Watson. That veteran seaman refused to be a party to the dishonourable transaction, and Clive, resolved not to be baulked by any obstacle, did not scruple with his own hand to append the name of his comrade-in-arms.

Clive marched on the 13th June with 3,000 men, of whom 1,000 were Europeans,* including a body of seamen from the fleet, with eight

* The following are the troops that bear the famous victory of Plassey on their colours:—The 39th Foot, which has the proud motto, "Primus in India," being the first of the Royal regiments to serve in India; the Bengal Fusiliers, now the 1st Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers, and the Madras Fusiliers, now the 1st Battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers. The old Bengal Artillery, now incorporated with the Royal Regiment of Artillery, together with the sailors, served the guns on that historic field.

field-pieces and two howitzers, and arrived at Cossimbazar, where Meer Jaffier failed to put in an appearance, as he had sworn on the Koran to do. Clive hesitated at this juncture, but soon yielded to the feeling that he had gone too far, and that now to recede would be even more hazardous than to advance. He summoned a council of war of twenty officers, of whom thirteen counselled delay, but the remainder, including Major Coote, advocated an immediate attack. Clive at first agreed with the majority, but retiring into a grove for an hour, considered the matter from all points of view, and determined to adopt the bolder course and hazard everything on a pitched battle. Long afterwards he said that he only called one council of war in his life, and had he taken its advice, the English would never have been masters of Bengal.

At daybreak on the 22nd, Clive "crossed the Rubicon," represented here by the river Hooghly, and, after a toilsome march, encamped for the night in the grove of Plassey, about a mile from the army of Surajah Dowlah, numbering 35,000 infantry, and 15,000 horsemen.

On the morning of the memorable 23rd of June, 1757, the Nabob, confident of success, moved out of his entrenched camp to attack the small English force, on whose prowess rested the destinies of an empire. The enemy's attack was commenced with a heavy cannonade from the guns of the enemy, which was briskly replied to by the light English field-pieces, worked by artillerymen and sailors from the fleet, the infantry being under the shelter of a bank. About noon the fire of the enemy grew feeble, and the Nabob was so much terrified by the loss of Moodeen Khan, killed by a cannon shot, and others of his best officers, that, adopting the insidious advice of Meer Jaffier, he directed his army to fall back. Clive seized the auspicious moment, and ordered the advance of his little force, which, led by Major Kirkpatrick, attacked the entrenchments. A general rout ensued, the Nabob being among the first to flee, accompanied by about 2,000 horsemen. Late in the day, when victory declared in favour of the English, the diplomatic Meer Jaffier deserted his master and joined their standard. This battle, which from its issues may be classed among the most momentous in the world's history, was remarkable for the small loss incurred on either side, the victors having twenty-four killed, of whom eight were Europeans, and forty-eight wounded, and the vanquished only losing about 500 men during the action and pursuit of six miles.

Clive entered Moorshedabad, forty miles distant from the battle-field, on the 29th June, and, in the terms of the treaty, forthwith recognized Meer Jaffier as Subahdar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and a sum of £800,000, in coined silver, was sent down the river to Fort William in

a triumphal procession of 100 boats, decorated with flags, and with music playing. As for Clive, who had thus disposed of a kingdom containing twenty-five millions of inhabitants, he refused all offers of gold* from the servile throng of court nobles, but accepted £260,000 which Meer Jaffier with effusive gratitude thrust upon him.

Surajah Dowlah fled on a camel's back to Moorshedabad, and thence took boat up the river, and landing at Rajmahal to prepare a meal, entered the hut of a fakir, or religious mendicant, whose ears he had ordered to be cut off. This man gave information, which resulted in the fallen Nabob's capture and removal to his late capital, eight days after he had quitted it, and he was taken before Meer Jaffier, whose mercy he implored with tears and loud cries. That prince hesitated, but his son, Meeran, a youth of seventeen, and one of the deposed ruler's boon companions in profligacy, was implacable, and he was led into a secret chamber and executed. Thus perished, at the age of twenty-one, one whose name is so closely associated with our early struggles in India.

Clive was now made Governor of the English settlements in Bengal, and one of his first acts was to send an expedition, under Colonel Forde, to attack the French possessions in the Northern Circars. The force consisted of 500 Europeans and 2,000 Sepoys, mostly Rajpoots, with 14 guns. Forde, one of that famous band of officers, including Lawrence and Coote, to whom England owes a debt of gratitude, landed at Vizagapatam, and after defeating M. Conflans, pushed the siege of the important French fortress of Masulipatam with such skill and energy, that, though garrisoned by a larger force than the besiegers, it surrendered before the arrival of Salabut Jung, the Nizam, who there upon changed sides, and ceded the city and surrounding districts to the English, whose prestige in the Deccan now stood as high as that of the French under Bussy.

Clive meanwhile advanced to Patna, the capital of Behar, besieged by a large army under the heir apparent of the Emperor of Delhi, who fled on the approach of the dreaded English. But the new Nabob, who owed everything to Clive, was restless under the restraints imposed on him, and invited the Dutch, from Batavia, to introduce a large force into their factory at Chinsurah, near Calcutta. The Dutch authorities, jealous of English predominance in India, and envious of their increasing trade, accepted the invitation, and despatched seven ships from Java, conveying 700 Europeans and 800 Malay Sepoys. Clive, accordingly, blocked the Hooghly with three Indiamen, and

* Clive, when accused of rapacity by his enemies in England, exclaimed :—"When I recollect entering the treasury at Moorshedabad, with heaps of silver and gold to the right and left, and these crowned with jewels, I stand astonished at my own moderation."

when the Dutch commander seized some English vessels, retaliated by ordering Commodore Wilson, commanding the Company's ships, to attack them. This was done with complete success by the Commodore, who captured the entire squadron. Clive then ordered Colonel Forde, whom he had reinforced by a detachment under Captain Knox, to attack the Dutch.

A characteristic story is told of Clive. Forde shrunk from the responsibility of assailing the troops of a power with whom we were at peace, and requested a written order from his superior officer. Clive was sitting at cards when the letter was put into his hands, and, without rising, wrote on one of the cards with his pencil :—"Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the Order in Council to-morrow." That officer delayed no longer, but, on the 25th November, with only 300 Europeans and 400 Sepoys, attacked the Dutch force, 1,500 strong, which had taken post at Bedarra, about four miles from Chinsurah, and in half an hour routed them with heavy loss. The enemy lost 120 Europeans and 150 Sepoys killed, about 150 wounded, and 350 Dutch taken prisoners. Mill, the historian, describes this victory as "one of the most brilliant incidents during the war." The authorities at Chinsurah now prayed for peace, and acceded to Clive's demands, which included the payment of all expenses and damages incurred in defeating their opposition, that no attempt was to be made to increase their territorial or political stake in the country, or to raise troops, while the captured ships were to be returned to him.

On the 25th February, 1760, Clive returned to England, and, on the 16th September, his able naval coadjutor, Admiral Watson,* died at Calcutta, universally regretted and beloved. Our possessions in Bengal, no less than all India, were freed from a great danger when Ahmed Shah Abdalee, the great Persian conqueror, at the battle of Paniput, near Delhi, fought on the 7th January, 1761, defeated the combined Mahratta, Pindaree, and Rajpoot hosts, inflicting on them a loss, it is said, of 200,000 men. This great battle decided the struggle for ascendency between Hindoo and Mahomedan. Henceforth the rule of the Peishwa, still the nominal head of the Mahratta confederacy, was divided between Holkar and Scindia, the Rajah of Nagpore, and the Guicowar of Baroda.

The power of the French was at this time completely broken, and the Nabobs of the Carnatic, in the South, and of Bengal were dependent on English support.

Shortly before this the new Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alum, and the Nabob Vizier of Oude, invaded Behar, with the hope of snatching it

* The East India Company erected a magnificent monument to this gallant sailor in Westminster Abbey, "as a grateful testimony of the signal advantages which they obtained by his valour and conduct."

from Meer Jaffier, and Clive summoned Colonel Calliaud—one of the famous band of officers, comrades of Forde, Coote, and Lawrence—from Madras to repel the invasion. Calliaud arrived at Moorshedabad, and, on the 20th February, 1760, completely routed the enemy. The Emperor, assisted by some French auxiliaries, under General Law, then laid siege to Patna, in Behar, which was relieved by Captain Knox, detached by Colonel Calliaud, who made forced marches from Bengal in the hottest season of the year, and on the day following his arrival, the invading army was beaten and dispersed by this gallant and energetic officer. But a new danger threatened Patna in an army of 30,000 men under the Nabob of Purneah; but, nothing daunted by the disparity of force, Captain Knox crossed the Ganges and utterly defeated him, with only 200 Europeans and a battalion of Sepoys. It was one of those extraordinary Indian victories, due to a correct appreciation of the moral effect of audacity on the apathetic Oriental mind, by which, and the valour of our troops, was acquired our reputation for invincibility. Colonel Calliaud and Meeran, son of Meer Jaffier, soon after arrived at Patna, and followed up the victory; but the latter was struck dead by a thunderbolt, and his loss was fatal to the cause of his father.

Before the year closed, Meer Jaffier was deposed by Mr. Vansittart, Clive's weak successor, and Meer Cossim, his son-in-law, was raised to the musnud, on condition of ceding the three districts of Midnapore, Chittagong, and Balasore. As the hordes of Shah Alum continued to ravage Behar, Colonel Carnac took the field, and at Gya inflicted a defeat on them and their French allies, capturing General Law.*

The Mogul Emperor repaired to Patna on the invitation of Colonel Carnac, in whose tent Shah Alum received the homage of Meer Cossim, on whom he conferred the office of Subahdar of the three provinces, and returned to Delhi. Owing to some unwise proceedings of the Calcutta Council regarding the exemption of the trade of the Company's agents from transit dues, Meer Cossim seized upon Patna, and ordered the imprisonment of every Englishman throughout his dominions. Both parties now prepared for war, and the Governor and Council deposed the Nabob, whom they replaced by Meer Jaffier, though he was seventy-two years of age and suffering from leprosy. An army of 650 Europeans, including the 84th Regiment, with twelve guns, and 1,200 Sepoys, opened the campaign on the 2nd July, 1763, under the

* The only military event of importance in 1762 was the conquest of the Phillipine Islands by a combined naval and military force from Madras, under Admiral Cornish and Colonel Draper. The expedition anchored off Manilla on the 23rd September, and the siege was pressed with such vigour and success, that on the 6th October the works were stormed, and the city surrendered. By the terms of peace between England and Spain the conquest was not retained.

command of Major Adams, and on the 17th the Nabob was defeated at Cutwa, with the loss of 7,000 men. Seven days later, Moorshedabad was captured, and Meer Jaffier reseated on the musnud. Pursuing their victorious course, the English fought a general action on the 15th August at Gheriah, Meer Cossim commanding in person his army of 30,000 infantry, 8,000 horse, with thirty guns, all regularly trained in the European fashion. The action was the most stubbornly contested by native troops, and being attacked in front and rear, the British line was broken and two guns captured. But after a desperate conflict of four hours, the superiority and firmness of our incomparable infantry, backed up by the Sepoys trained by Clive, won the day, and Meer Cossim, leaving all his guns, retreated to an intrenched position at Oodwanulla, covering Mongheer.

Major Adams advanced and opened batteries against the enemy's works, but little impression could be made; however, on the 3rd September, guided by a deserter, his troops carried the place by storm, and the deposed Nabob fled to Patna. The British now invested Mongheer, and on the 11th October, when the batteries had effected a breach, the place was surrendered. Meer Cossim had already wreaked his vengeance on the native governors of Patna and Dacca, and the Moorshedabad bankers who were in the European interest, by murdering them all at Mongheer, where they had been confined, but the loss of this strong fortress so infuriated him that he ordered the massacre of his English prisoners, consisting of forty-eight gentlemen, including Mr. Ellis, the agent, and one hundred soldiers. Patna, which now alone remained to Meer Cossim, was besieged by the English army on the 1st November, and on the 6th was taken by storm, and the campaign of four months, most brilliant and honourable to the English commander and his troops, was brought to a close by the flight of Meer Cossim to the court of the Nabob Vizier of Oude, Soojah-ood-Dowlah. But within six months a new danger arose by the wanton invasion of this prince, assisted by the Emperor and the deposed Nabob.

On the 3rd May, 1764, they invested Patna with an army of 50,000 men and a large train of artillery. Major Carnac retired within its walls and repulsed the enemy, who thereupon retreated to Buxar to encamp for the rains. Major Hector Munro, who assumed command of the British forces, found the Sepoys in a state of disaffection. They demanded an increase of pay, and this being refused them, a battalion marched off with their arms to join the enemy. But Munro was a man of undaunted resolution. He pursued the mutinous regiment, brought them back, arraigned twenty-four of the ringleaders before a court-martial of native officers, who found them guilty. Munro ordered them to be blown away from the guns, and notwith-

standing that the European officers reported that the Sepoys had resolved to prevent the execution, he loaded his guns with grape, placed European soldiers between the intervals, and then ordered the native battalions to ground arms. The sepoys, awed by this stern resolution, obeyed in sullen silence, and the execution was carried into effect, and discipline was restored.

Had a Hector Munro, instead of a Hewett or a Lloyd, been in command of the stations where mutiny first reared its head in the dark days of 1857, a very different tale would have been told of the events of that fateful year, and many thousands of lives, and much treasure, would have been saved. Both crises owed their rise to the overweening pride of the Sepoys, who were pampered and spoilt by their officers, and arrogated to themselves the successes due chiefly to their European comrades. The lesson learnt in 1764 was forgotten in 1857 by the military authorities, but it has now been taken to heart, and a repetition of the warnings it conveyed will scarcely be necessary in our time. But there are other dangers, internal no less than external, from the greed of Russia, to be guarded against, and chief among these we would name the numerous armies of the feudatory and protected states, troops utterly unreliable for the most part to meet a foreign foe, but a source of danger to the Imperial power, which guarantees the security of the native princes and the police of their territories.

Within four months, Major Munro had so effectually restored discipline among his native troops that he did not hesitate to lead them, numbering, with Europeans, only 7,000 men, with 20 field-pieces, against the Nabob Vizier's army of 50,000 men encamped at Buxar.* At eight o'clock on the morning of the 23rd October, 1764, the attack was commenced, and by noon the enemy were completely routed, and obliged to abandon their camp with all its stores and 130 pieces of cannon, leaving 6,000 men on the field. The Mogul Emperor now sought shelter in the British camp, Meer Cossim was a fugitive among the Rohillas, and the results of the battle of Buxar were scarcely less important for British interests than those attained by Clive's victory at Plassey, as the power of the Nabob Vizier of Oude was demolished, and the Company were masters of the entire valley of the Lower Ganges.

Clive was in England, in the enjoyment of an income of £40,000 a year, and though he had received but shabby treatment from the Court of Directors, who sought to deprive him of £30,000 a year, quit-rent on certain lands to the south of Calcutta, conferred on him in 1759 by Meer Jaffier, affairs in Bengal were in such a disastrous financial state, owing

* The Bengal Fusiliers had the lion's share of the fighting at this memorable victory, and bear the name on their colours.

to the constant wars, and the corruption of the officials, that at the call of duty he consented to return to India to assume the Government. Clive proceeded up country on the 25th June, 1765, and arranged terms with the Emperor, the defeated Nabob Vizier, and the young Nabob, son of Meer Jaffier,* who had died in the preceding January. By those terms Soojah-ood-Dowlah ceded the districts of Corah and Allahabad to the Emperor, who in turn conferred on the Company the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the nominal ruler, the young Nabob, being relieved of all responsibilities, and receiving a large allowance, with Moorshedabad for his Court.† Munro retired with his army to Benares, and soon after resigned the command and returned to England. In April Colonel Carnac, now in command, crossed into Oude, and at Corah, on the 3rd May, totally defeated the force of Soojah-ood-Dowlah, who repaired to the camp of Carnac, and surrendered himself a prisoner. On the same day Lord Clive landed at Calcutta and assumed the administration of the Company's affairs.

Clive's health suffered by his exertions in his country's cause, and at the end of only twenty-two months, he was obliged for the last time to quit India. In this brief space of time this remarkable soldier and statesman—who, when he first landed in India, twenty years before, had found the Company's factory in ruins, and their servants in exile—had retrieved the Company's affairs from bankruptcy, made them the absolute masters of twenty-five millions of souls, and of a revenue of two millions sterling, and had founded an empire, such as he himself never imagined when, on his first return to England, he wrote to the Court of Directors, fixing its limits to three provinces, recently annexed, and declared, "that to go further was a scheme so extravagantly ambitious that no Government in its proper senses would ever dream of it."‡ Every Governor-General in

* Lord Clive had received a bequest of £60,000 from Meer Jaffier, who always retained a sense of gratitude towards his patron and friend. With characteristic generosity Clive made it over to the East India Company, to form the nucleus of a fund called after him, for invalid officers and soldiers, and their wives and orphan children. Many are the recipients, including the writer of this work, who have had reason to bless the memory of this great man for his princely liberality.

† An incident is related of this young prince on receiving intelligence of this liberal provision for his future needs, characteristic of Indian Rajahs and Nabobs:—"Thank God!" he exclaimed, "I shall now have as many dancing girls as I like."

‡ Lord Clive was treated with ingratitude by the masters he had served so well, and by the Civil servants whose rapacity he had checked. He had powerful enemies in the Government and in Parliament, where his conduct was described "as a mass of the most unheard-of villainies and corruption," though the House of Commons adopted the resolution that "he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country." Lord Clive bitterly resented this unworthy treatment, and, worn out by mental and bodily suffering, in November, 1774, he committed suicide, at the age of forty-nine.

succession, from Warren Hastings to Lord Dalhousie, at the farewell banquet, given at the old India House in Leadenhall Street, on his proceeding out to assume the government at Calcutta, would express in more or less earnest and sincere terms his determination to keep the peace; but in every case the force of circumstances was too much for them, and province was added to province, until now this vast empire, the most magnificent foreign conquest acquired by any state recorded in history, with its ancient and diverse religions, and peoples numbering fully one-quarter of the human race, has attained such vast proportions as to surpass the ambitious designs of an Alexander or a Napoleon, and staggers the mind in its contemplation.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STRUGGLE WITH HYDER ALI AND TIPPOO SULTAN.

1767—1799.

Battles of Changama and Trinomalee—Hyder extorts a Treaty of Peace—The First Rohilla War—Operations against the Mahrattas—The Failure of the Expedition from Bombay to Poona—Successes of Colonel Goddard—Capture of Gwalior by Escalade, and Defeat of Scindia—Participation of the French in the War—Destruction of Colonel Baillie's Force—Sir Eyre Coote's Victories at Porto Novo, Pollilore, and Sholingur—Colonel Braithwaite's Disaster—Death of Hyder Ali and Sir Eyre Coote—The Siege of Cuddalore—Operations against Tippoo on the West Coast—Conclusion of Peace—Renewal of War with Tippoo—Campaigns of General Meadows and Lord Cornwallis—Capture of Bangalore and Battle of Arikera—Siege and Capture of Seringapatam—The Last Mysore War—Battle of Malavelly—Storming of Seringapatam.

THOUGH English supremacy was established on a firm basis in Bengal, thanks to the genius of Clive, it was otherwise in the Madras Presidency, where the East India Company now found themselves involved in a struggle with the most formidable native foe they had yet encountered in India. This was Hyder Naik, better known in history as Hyder Ali, whose father, a Punjaubee, rose to the position of head constable, and then to the command of a body of troops in the principality of Mysore, which for two centuries had been governed by a Hindoo line of princes. Hyder was born in 1702, and having entered the military service, rose to the command of the Mysorean army. He acquired certain districts mortgaged to the Peishwa by paying off the Mahrattas, and, in 1760, sent troops to assist Lally, then besieged in Pondicherry by Coote, but, fortunately for our arms, was forced to recall the whole force in order to battle for his own interests. Though at first defeated by the Mysore Rajah, he assembled a powerful army, and in June, 1761, forced the Rajah to relinquish the government of Mysore into his hands, on receiving an annual payment of £30,000. Hyder Ali suffered great reverses at the hands of the Mahrattas, who entered into a confederacy with the Nizam of Hyderabad, into which the English Governor of Bombay was induced to enter by a treaty, executed on the 12th November, 1766. Madhoo Rao, the

Peishwa, plundered the northern districts of Mysore in the following year, and then left his allies to settle with Hyder. The Nizam also entered into negotiations with that crafty prince, and the English thus found themselves embarked, not only without allies, in a great war, but having arrayed against them the combined forces of Hyder and the Nizam, numbering 42,000 horsemen, 28,000 infantry, and 100 guns. Colonel John Smith, commanding the English force of 5,800 bayonets, 1,030 cavalry, with sixteen guns, first encountered the enemy on the 25th August, and, on the 3rd September, fought a decisive action at Changama, in which the allied army, after some hard fighting, were beaten off with 2,000 killed, that of the victors being only some 90 men. On the 8th, Colonel Smith effected a junction with a force, under Colonel Wood, at Trinomalee, raising the united army to 11,500 men, with 34 field-pieces. After various manœuvres, on the 26th September a severe engagement was fought, in which Hyder was defeated and lost heavily from the deadly fire of the British guns. The pursuit was kept up for two days, the enemy losing 4,000 men and 64 guns. A further result of the victory was that the Nizam deserted his ally. The Bengal Government had sent an expedition, under Colonel Peach, to the Northern Circars to create a diversion. This officer advanced within eighty-six miles of Hyderabad, which so alarmed the Nizam that, on the 23rd February, 1768, he concluded a treaty of peace, the terms of which were not, however, favourable to the English, considering their successes. On the Malabar coast Hyder lost the important towns of Mangalore and Onore, but the former town was abandoned on his appearance before it early in May.

Hyder, at this time, had lost half his dominions, and made overtures of peace to the English; but the terms asked were so extravagant that he prepared to enter upon a life-and-death struggle. He began the campaign by compelling Colonel Smith to raise the siege of Bangalore, and, on the 6th December, descended into the Baramahal, and in six weeks had recovered all his possessions. The Madras Council now offered terms of accommodation, but the negotiations were fruitless. The campaign had been mismanaged by Colonel Wood, who had suffered interference from two civilian field-deputies from Madras, who, with the Nabob of the Carnatic, Mahommed Ali, remained idly at Colar, where a large body of troops had been retained for their protection.

Colonel Smith, who had temporarily returned to Madras, now took the field, and, by his rapid and skilful movements, baffled the plans of Hyder Ali, but could not bring him to a decisive action. At length that chief attempted to bring the war to a close. Sending back to Mysore his infantry and guns, he placed himself at the head of 6,000 chosen horsemen, and marching 130 miles in three days and a half, early on

the morning of the 29th March, 1769, appeared at St. Thomas's Mount, within nine miles of Madras, and announced by a messenger to the bewildered Council that he had come to conduct the negotiations in person. Hyder demanded that Colonel Smith, who was rapidly following in his track, should be ordered to remain stationary while the negotiations were in progress; and, on the 4th April, the Council were glad to sign a treaty on the moderate terms that each party should restore all conquests, and mutually engage to assist each other in case of invasion by an enemy.

The next military event in which the English in India were concerned was the first Rohilla war, ordered by Warren Hastings, who had assumed the government of Bengal on the 13th April, 1772. The Nabob Vizier importuned the new Governor to assist him in seizing the province of Rohilcund, on the borders of Oude, in consideration of a payment to the Company's impoverished exchequer of half a million sterling per annum, and the districts of Coosh and Allahabad, lately transferred to the Nabob Vizier. Colonel Champion advanced into Rohilcund, and, on the 23rd April, 1774, brought the campaign to an end by a single engagement. Though the Rohilla* army of 40,000 men fought with courage, and their leader, Hafry Ruhmut, displayed considerable skill, he was defeated and slain, together with 2,000 of his followers.

In the following year, the Bombay Government, having embarked in a war with the Mahratta Regency at Poona, in aid of Raghoba, formerly Peishwa, Colonel Keating marched from Guzerat upon Poona, and, as he moved down to the Myhee, encountered the Mahratta army at Arras on the 17th May. A desperate conflict ensued, but the English infantry triumphed, and the Mahrattas retreated in disorder to the Nerbudda. The treaty patched up with the Mahratta Regency at Poorunda, on March 1st, 1776, was evaded, and two years later, a fresh agreement was made with Raghoba, and an army of 4,000 men, of whom 600 were Europeans, under Colonel Egerton, was despatched towards Poona. This officer resigned the command early in June, 1778, to Colonel Cockburn, but the pernicious system of "field-deputies," which had been the chief cause of the disaster in the recent Mysore war, was again enforced, and Mr. Carnac, though Civil Commissioner, undertook the responsibility of the military movements. On arriving at Tullygaum, within eighteen miles of Poona, and finding it destroyed, the Commissioner, panic-struck, ordered a retreat, and Cock-

* The Rohillas were an Afghan race, and had reduced to subjection the Hindoo population of Rohilcund.

burn fell back, after throwing his heavy guns into a pond. The rearguard was commanded by Captain Hartley, a gallant young officer, who repulsed the enemy's assault; but, on arrival at Wurgaum, the enemy renewed the attack, and a convention was signed on the 13th January, 1779, by which the army purchased its safety by the surrender of all the acquisitions made during the past five years, and two hostages were given for the performance of the treaty. Carnac, as well as Colonels Egerton and Cockburn, was dismissed the service for concluding this disgraceful convention. Meantime, Warren Hastings had despatched an expedition of nearly 5,000 men from Bengal to co-operate with the Bombay column. Colonel Goddard, who commanded this force on the supercession and death of Colonel Leslie, marched from Calpee, on the Jumna, but on arriving at Burhampore, on the 30th January, heard of the convention of Wurgaum, and immediately turned off to Surat, a distance of 300 miles, which he traversed in 20 days, by this prompt movement avoiding a body of 20,000 Mahratta horse, sent from Poona to intercept him. Hastings and the Bombay Council repudiated the convention, and Goddard took the field and laid siege to Dubhoy, garrisoned by 2,000 of the Peishwa's troops, which surrendered on the 20th January, 1780. Futteh Sing, whom Hastings had recognized as Guicowar of Guzerat, joined the English camp with 3,000 horse, and, on the 10th February, Colonel Goddard captured Ahmedabad, the chief city of the Peishwa's possessions north of the Myhee, and advanced to meet Scindia and Holkar, who had forded the Nerbudda with 20,000 horsemen. Scindia wished to negotiate, and released the English hostages, but as his only object appeared to be to procrastinate, Goddard attacked and defeated the Mahratta army on the 2nd April, and again on the 14th April.

On the side of Bengal success also crowned the British arms. Major Popham, with 2,400 infantry, and some European artillery, expelled the Mahrattas from the independent principality of Gohud, 60 miles south-east of Agra, and, on 3rd August, carried by escalade the apparently impregnable fortress of Gwalior, situated on the summit of a stupendous scarped rock, a feat that was repeated by Sir Hugh Rose's army in 1858. This brilliant feat of arms was accomplished, on the night of the 3rd August, by Captain Bruce, at the head of two companies of Sepoys, and twenty British soldiers.

Colonel Carnac now assumed the command of the force, which was augmented, but suffered himself to be surrounded, and was compelled to retreat. He then called a council of war to determine his future course, and fortunately adopted the advice of Captain Bruce, who proposed a vigorous night-attack on the enemy's camp. This was carried out on the 24th March, 1781, with complete success, and Scindia, who had arrived from Poona, was surprised and defeated with great loss.

In 1778 war was declared between England and France, and, in October of that year, Pondicherry capitulated after a siege of ten weeks. In March of the following year, Mahi, a French settlement on the Malabar coast, was also attacked and surrendered, though the flag of Hyder Ali was flying by that of France. The Mysore Prince was also greatly incensed on receiving intelligence that a strong British force was marching through his territory to take possession of Guntoor, and he agreed to a proposal made by the Mahratta chiefs that he should join a Confederacy, including the Nizam and Rajah of Nagpore, to make a combined and simultaneous attack upon the three presidencies and drive the English out of India. The crisis that now arose was met by Warren Hastings with that genius, fortitude, and resource which has ever characterized the national councils in India when menaced by a supreme danger.

The Second Mysore War.

On the side of Bombay, Colonel Hartley took the field against the Mahrattas, and in October, 1780, inflicted defeat, and cleared them out of the Concan, as the strip of land between the sea and the Western Ghauts is called. Goddard also marched down from Surat, and laid siege to Bassein on the 13th November. Nana Furnuvese, the Mahratta commander, advanced with a powerful army to recover the Concan and relieve that fortress. With the object of cutting Hartley's communication with Goddard, he attacked the former officer's small and jaded army of 2,000 men, with 20,000 horsemen at Doogaur; but after three days' severe fighting, was compelled to retreat precipitately on the 12th December with heavy loss. Hartley's gallant stand effected its purpose, for on the previous day, Bassein had surrendered.

Goddard's next expedition ended in failure. Having advanced towards Poona, he took post at the Bhore Ghaut, where he was incessantly harassed by the Mahratta army, and at length fell back, when he was vigorously attacked by Holkar with 25,000 horse, and when he reached Bombay, towards the end of April, 1781, his casualties were 450 men. Fortunately, at this time Scindia's troops were absent, defending their own territory against the attack of Popham and Carnac.

Warren Hastings' chief anxiety was to relieve Madras, upon which fell the brunt of the attack of Hyder Ali, the most dreaded member of the Confederacy. This remarkable man, though in his seventy-eighth year, displayed the greatest energy, and by the end of June, 1780, had assembled and equipped an army of 90,000 men, a great portion of which was trained and commanded by French officers, with a powerful

artillery. He was the first of the Confederacy to take the field, and on the 20th July, while the Madras Government wrote home that there was "the greatest prospect that this part of India would remain quiet," and declined to make any preparation for defence, Hyder burst like a torrent on the Carnatic through the Chingana pass, his progress marked by the blaze of towns and villages. Mahomed Ali, the Nabob of the Carnatic, surrendered every fortified place with the exception of four held by English subalterns; but it was not till his troops had surrounded Conjeveram, fifty miles from Madras, and clouds of smoke were seen from St. Thomas' Mount, that any order was issued for the march of troops to repel the enemy. Sir Hector Munro, the Commander-in-Chief, took the field with about 2,500 men, on the 29th August, and proceeded to Conjeveram, the remainder of the available British force, about 2,800 strong, under Colonel Baillie, having been despatched to occupy Guntoor. Colonel Baillie was immediately summoned back, with orders to join Munro at Conjeveram by a circuitous march, in order that an effort might be made to relieve Arcot, which Hyder had invested on the 21st August. To frustrate the junction of the British forces, the Mysore General despatched his son, Tippoo, with the flower of his army and eighteen guns. Colonel Baillie had encamped, on the 25th August, on the northern bank of the Cortella, and, unfortunately, owing to a sudden rise of the stream, was unable to cross it before the 4th September. Two days later, when within fourteen miles of Conjeveram, the British commander was attacked by Tippoo, and a severely contested but indecisive action ensued.

The leaders of both armies sent for reinforcements, but Sir Hector Munro, instead of marching with his entire force to the assistance of his heavily-pressed coadjutor, detached 1,100 men under Colonel Fletcher. Hyder had such a wholesome dread of English prowess, that he had already determined to raise the siege of Arcot and retire should a junction be effected; but learning of Munro's inactivity, he despatched the remainder of his army against Baillie. This officer committed a fatal error in not marching to join the main body on the evening of the 9th September, when the detachment arrived to his assistance. No sooner had he set out on the following morning than he found himself surrounded by the whole Mysore army, and though the British soldiers performed prodigies of valour, storming several batteries and repelling thirteen attacks, all was in vain, and Baillie, in order to prevent the useless sacrifice of life, laid down his arms. But for the intervention of the French officers, the gallant survivors, of whom only 300 were Europeans, would have been massacred. In this disastrous affair, out of eighty-six officers, thirty-four were killed, including Colonel Fletcher, and thirty-six were wounded, and all the

baggage and stores were captured. Sir Hector Munro, who was only two miles distant at the time of the engagement, retreated on the following day in hot haste to a position covering Madras, sacrificing his heavy guns and baggage, and thus terminated this campaign of twenty-one days, the briefest and most disastrous yet waged in India. Hyder now resumed the siege of Arcot, and the town, identified with the name of Clive, was taken by storm on the 31st October.

Hastings rose to the gravity of the crisis. He despatched from Calcutta every man he could spare, and placed at their head the veteran Sir Eyre Coote, who, though advanced in years and in feeble health, accepted the honourable task of restoring the British name. Coote reached Madras on the 5th November, but owing to the difficulties of transport, was not able to move till the 17th January, 1781. On the following day, he compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Chingleput; on the 20th, the fort of Carangolly was captured, and the victorious general then marched for Wandewash, which had been defended against Tippoo, by a young English officer, Lieutenant Flint,* with the greatest skill and gallantry. The enemy retreated before Sir Eyre Coote, who, by a strange coincidence, relieved Wandewash on the 21st anniversary of his memorable victory at the same place over the forces of General Lally.

On the 8th February, Coote marched southwards to Cuddalore, but owing to a want of provisions, was unable to move for four months. On the 18th June, he sustained his only repulse when attacking a fortified temple, but, on the 1st July, retrieved his laurels by a brilliant victory over Hyder at Porto Novo, on the sea coast. While Munro, with one wing, made a flank movement to turn the enemy's left, General Stuart advanced to occupy the heights. Hyder now withdrew his artillery and brought forward his infantry to attack Stuart, who defended his position with resolution, while Munro drove the enemy in headlong flight. After six hours hard fighting, the Mysore army gave way at all points, with the loss of 10,000 killed and wounded, including Meer Sahib, Hyder's favourite General, who fell mortally wounded from a broadside fired by a Company's war schooner. The British army, which sustained a loss of 300, was too much fatigued to take up the pursuit, but the effects of the victory were important, and included the final abandonment of the siege of Wandewash by his son Tippoo, which Flint had continued to hold.

* The defence of Wandewash by this heroic young officer was one of the most brilliant events of the war, and is not unworthy to be placed beside that of Arcot by Clive. The enemy, on hearing of the capture of Carangolly, evacuated the batteries and trenches on the 23rd January, 1781, and on the following day, Sir Eyre Coote made his appearance just in time, as the ammunition was exhausted.

At this time the brigade, under Colonel Pearce,* sent from Calcutta in January, 1781, to reinforce Coote, reached Pulicat, forty miles north of Madras, and Sir Eyre marched 150 miles from Porto Novo and formed a junction with it on the 2nd August, baffling the attempt of a large force detached by Hyder, under his son Tippoo, to intercept the British column. Hyder now advanced with his whole army to encounter Coote, and on the 27th August, 1781, close to the scene of Colonel Baillie's disaster on the 20th September in the preceding year, was fought the battle of Pollilore, so called after the village of that name. Hyder occupied a difficult position, strengthened by a powerful artillery, but the British general formed his troops into line, and a hard-fought engagement, lasting from nine in the morning till near sunset, ended in the Mysore army being driven from all their positions. Both sides claimed the victory, but the English remained on the field of battle. Hyder lost 2,000 men and Sir Eyre Coote 400, which proved the severity of the conflict. Among the killed was Colonel Browne, and the wounded included General Stuart, who lost a leg, and Captain Hislop, who afterwards obtained high rank and distinction. Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the first line, remonstrated with his chief for his plan of attack, but received a reply, "You talk to me, sir, when you should be doing your duty." This stern rejoinder nettled the gallant victor of Buxar, who resigned his command.

Coote now advanced to relieve the important fortress of Vellore, beleaguered by Hyder, and for the third time, within a few days, the rival leaders met at Sholingur, on the afternoon of the 27th September. The rapid movements of the English columns took Hyder by surprise, and Coote, owing to his admirable dispositions and the gallantry of his troops, was enabled to gain a complete victory. While one brigade, with all the cavalry and twenty-two guns, advanced on the enemy's flank, he attacked with the rest of his infantry in line, which, driving back a furious cavalry charge, and receiving the fire of seventy pieces of artillery, carried all before it. The pursuit ended, and the British re-formed on the field of battle at midnight, their casualties being only 100, while the Mysore army had lost over 5,000 men.† Vellore, which was reduced to the last extremity, was provisioned for three months, and Chittore was captured on the 20th November, after which Coote retired into cantonments, having baffled Hyder and defeated him in three pitched battles, notwithstanding the wretched state of his equipments and the total absence of a commissariat, as to

* During the march in Orissa, this officer lost one-half of his force from cholera, and this is apparently the first notice we have of this mysterious scourge.

† The old Madras Fusiliers and Highland Light Infantry bear the victory of Sholingur on their colours.

which he made frequent and bitter complaints to the governor and council of Madras.

Lord Macartney, who assumed charge of affairs at Madras in June, resolved to undertake the reduction of the Dutch settlement of Negapatam, 160 miles south of Madras, against which power England had declared war, and despatched Sir Hector Munro in command of troops drawn from Madras and Tanjore, which Colonel Braithwaite had gallantly held against the attack of the Mysore army. A strong body of sailors and marines was landed from the fleet, and Negapatam was invested on the 29th October. The garrison made two sorties but without success, and the town was surrendered on the 12th November. In the following January, Trincomalee, the finest harbour in Ceylon, was also wrested from the Dutch, who were expelled from the Indian seas.*

Early in 1782, Colonel Braithwaite, who was employed in defending the Tanjore territory, was encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, with 2,000 infantry and thirteen guns, when on the 16th February, betrayed by his guides, he was surprised by Tippoo Sahib at the head of 20,000 men and twenty guns. For twenty-six hours the small force sustained the repeated charges of the Mysore horse, and the fire of their guns, but at length the decimated ranks were forced to surrender, and would have been massacred but for the intervention of the French officers, who, at the head of 4,000 of their countrymen, had chiefly contributed to the victory. This disaster was counterbalanced by a victory at Tellicherry, a fortified factory on the opposite or Malabar coast, which had sustained a siege of eighteen months by a Mysore force. Early in February, the garrison, which had been reinforced by sea, made a sortie, and captured 1,200 of the enemy, with all their baggage and sixty pieces of artillery. Colonel Humberstone now marched southward and entirely routed Mukdoom Ali, whose loss exceeded 2,000 men; upon which Hyder despatched Tippoo with a large army and a French contingent to drive back the invader. Humberstone retired, and was superseded by Colonel Macleod, who was overtaken by Tippoo on the 19th November. After some fighting the latter attacked the British on the 29th at Paniani, but was driven back with great loss. On the 11th December Tippoo heard of the death of his father, and breaking up his camp, left the Bombay column to retire at leisure.

Warren Hastings had succeeded in detaching from the Confederacy the Nizam and the Rajah of Nagpore, who had always been lukewarm, and after Scindia's defeat by Colonel Carnac, that prince also retired

* The island of Ceylon and their possessions in India were restored to the Dutch, but in 1796 were again wrested from them, on their making common cause with the French Republic after our expulsion from Holland in 1794.

from the coalition. On the 17th May, 1782, was concluded the treaty of Salbye with the Mahratta chiefs, on the principle of a mutual restoration of conquests since 1775, when Colonel Keating first encountered them near Poona on the 18th May. Finally, on the 7th December, death removed from the scene, at the age of eighty, Hyder Ali, the prime mover, and inveterate enemy of the English. Before he ceased to breathe he had repented of his folly in engaging in a hopeless struggle with the English power, and bitterly declared: "The defeat of many Braithwaites and Baillies will not crush them. I may ruin their armies by land, but I cannot dry up the sea."

A gleam of hope had come to him when, in January, 1782, a powerful French fleet of twelve sail of the line, and eighteen transports, carrying troops and stores, arrived from France, to commence afresh the struggle for ascendency. Admiral de Suffrein was perhaps the greatest sailor France has produced. He captured the important seaport of Cuddalore, and fought four sanguinary but indecisive actions with the English fleet, under Sir Edmund Hughes, on 17th February, 12th April, 6th July, and 1st September, 1782. The day before this last action was fought, de Suffrein had succeeded in forcing the capitulation of Trincomalee, after a siege pushed with great vigour. Equal success did not attend the efforts of a French force, and Tippoo, whom Hyder had despatched to protect Arnee, his chief depôt in the southern provinces, which Coote resolved to capture. An engagement ensued on the 2nd June, and the Mysore army was defeated, but were enabled to withdraw their treasure and stores.

On the 10th April, 1783, Bussy landed at Cuddalore, and on the 26th, Sir Eyre Coote, who prepared to encounter an enemy worthy of his steel, expired at Madras. No man, save Lord Clive, had rendered equal service to his country's cause in India, during the twenty-nine years he had stayed there, than this gallant and skilful officer, to whose memory the East India Company erected a splendid monument in Westminster Abbey. Coote commanded the respect and affection of all who had served under his command, native, no less than European, and sepoys, who had served under him, always "salaamed" to his portrait.

Bussy, on landing at Cuddalore, found himself at the head of 2,300 Europeans and 5,000 sepoys, but the implacable enemy of the English, Hyder, was dead, and Tippoo was engaged on the opposite coast of India, leaving only some 3,500 men to assist him. General Stuart arrived before Cuddalore on the 7th June with 1,600 Europeans, 8,000 sepoys and 1,000 cavalry, and on the 13th, made a bold and determined attack on the enemy's works, extending across the neck of land connecting it with the main. The fighting was prolonged and desperate, but on the following morning, the French abandoned all their posts outside

the fortress. In this affair the British lost no less than 62 officers and 920 Europeans killed, wounded and missing, and the French 42 officers and 600 men. On the same day, de Suffrein arrived with 16 ships, and on the 20th, Admiral Hughes came from Porto Novo, encountering his old opponent with a fleet numerically stronger by four ships, but, owing to the scurvy having disabled 2,700 of his sailors, and Bussy having reinforced the French Admiral with 1,200 of his soldiers, the advantage was in reality the other way. A fifth* indecisive naval action was fought on the 20th June, 1783, and Admiral Hughes then bore up for Madras to refit, while de Suffrein returned Bussy his men, and landed 2,400 seamen and marines from the fleet, to assist him in prosecuting the defence of Cuddalore.

Bussy made a sortie at 3 A.M. on the 25th, but was repulsed, with the loss of 450 men. On this occasion a Bengal Native regiment first received the French onset, and displayed conspicuous bravery. Among the wounded prisoners captured by the English, was a young French sergeant, Bernadotte by name, who became famous as one of Napoleon's marshals, and the founder of the royal line of Sweden. Fortunately, doubtless, for the result of the siege of Cuddalore, if not for the safety of Madras—for General Stuart was a dilatory and incompetent officer, and Bussy a man of genius and great military experience—intelligence was received of the signature of the preliminaries of peace between France, Great Britain, and Spain, and a definitive treaty was signed at Versailles on the 3rd September following.

British ascendency in India would have been challenged had France sent out the reinforcements under Bussy and de Suffrein at an earlier period in the deadly struggle we were waging with Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas. Had Bussy, for instance, appeared upon the scene in 1769, when Hyder dictated terms of peace at the gates of Madras, or again, eleven years later, when Colonel Baillie's column was annihilated, our power in Southern India must have been at least tempo-

* In these actions the British fleet suffered to an almost unexampled extent. In the first action they lost 32 killed, including the Captains of the *Superb*, the flagship, and of the *Exeter*, and 83 wounded. In the action of the 12th April, the same day that Rodney won his great victory over De Grasse in the West Indies, the loss was 137 killed and 430 wounded, and of this number the *Superb* lost 62 officers and men killed, and 96 wounded. In the third engagement, the loss was 77 killed, including the new Captain of the *Superb*, and 233 wounded. In the fourth action, fought off Trincomalee, on the 3rd September, the squadron consisted of six ships of the line and five frigates, all in bad condition, with the crews much reduced by sickness, and the casualties were 54 killed, including the Captains of the *Worcester*, *Sultan*, and *Isis*, and 283 wounded. On the fifth and last occasion in which the reduced crews of the antagonistic fleets met in mortal conflict, also near Trincomalee, our loss was 99 killed and 431 wounded. In all these actions the French loss was little, if at all, inferior, and in the last two they were in greatly superior strength, both as regards ships and men.

rarily subverted, and we should have had to enter upon an exhausting and doubtful struggle to re-establish it and hold our own in Bengal and Bombay, where the destruction of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment caused a feeling of consternation. But the fates, or Providence, willed it otherwise. When Tippoo, on hearing of the death of his father, suddenly desisted from pushing his attack upon Colonel Macleod's* column at Paniari, General Matthews, who had been hurriedly despatched from Bombay to succour that officer, proceeded along the coast and captured Mirjee, Ananpore, and Onore, where the English victory was tarnished by the massacre of the garrison. He then marched against Bednore, forcing the passages of the Ghauts, and owing to the treachery of Tippoo's general, Hyat Sahib, that place was surrendered to him. Tippoo now returned to the west coast, leaving only a small force to co-operate with Bussy, and invested Bednore. General Matthews' force consisted of about 600 European troops, and 1,600 sepoys, and with this small force he had the temerity to encounter in the field Tippoo's enormous army, and lost 500 men. He then abandoned the city, and retreated into the fortress. After seventeen days' hopeless resistance, General Matthews was compelled to capitulate, and he and his unfortunate soldiers suffered every indignity, and were thrown into captivity. What became of the General was never clearly known, except that he was put to some cruel death, and so were many of his principal officers.

Elated at this victory over his European foe, Tippoo Sultan, as he now called himself, descended to the coast and invested Mangalore. Colonel Campbell, of the 42nd Highlanders, with only 1,850 men, defended this important seaport against the attacks of 90,000 men with 100 guns for nine months, but when his force was reduced to only 850, chiefly owing to starvation, he was reluctantly compelled to surrender the place. But though the defence was unsuccessful, it cost Tippoo nearly half his men.

On the conclusion of peace with France, the Madras government despatched a force of 13,000 men, under the command of

* Brigadier-General Macleod (who with Colonel Humberstone had served under General Matthews in the Bednore country) was sent from Bombay to supersede General Matthews, against whom serious charges were made, and on April 10, 1783, he was proceeding, in company with Colonel Humberstone and other officers of rank to Calicut, in the Indian Navy cruiser *Ranger*, of twelve guns, when she was attacked by the Mahratta fleet, and a desperate action ensued, in which Major Shaw was killed, and General Macleod and Colonel Humberstone were wounded. So also was Lieutenant Pruen, commanding the cruiser (desperately), and, says Mill, "almost every man in the ship was either killed or wounded." The cruiser was carried into Gheriah, where Humberstone, a very gallant officer, died of his wounds in his twenty-eighth year. Pruen received a sword of honour from the Directors of the East India Company.

Colonel Fullarton, one of the most distinguished names in Indian history, who carried the war into the enemy's country. On the 15th November he captured Palghaut, and on the 26th, while the Mysore army was still detained before Mangalore, he occupied Coimbatore. But when, two days later, Fullarton was about to march on Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, he received instructions from Lord Macartney, who had been negotiating a peace with Tippoo, contrary to the intentions of Warren Hastings,* to suspend hostilities, and evacuate the districts he had occupied. Ultimately, a treaty was concluded under conditions disgraceful to the English, who were placed in the position of suppliants, Tippoo even threatening to hang the Commissioners sent to negotiate by Lord Macartney. And this was at a time when that energetic officer, Colonel Fullarton, was in a position to march on the capital of Mysore, and dictate his own terms. By the conditions of the treaty, signed on the 11th March, 1784, there was a mutual restitution of conquests, and Tippoo delivered up the survivors of the prisoners taken during the war, including 190 officers and 900 European soldiers.

The Third Mysore War.

Peace could not for any length of time, under such circumstances of humiliation, be maintained with an arrogant prince like Tippoo; and on the 29th December, 1789, he suddenly attacked "the lines" of Travancore, the capital of a small principality at the southern extremity of India, placed under British protection by the treaty of Mangalore. After a severe action, Tippoo was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 men,

* Warren Hastings, who had served in the Bengal Council under Clive and Vansittart, left for England in February, 1785, having presided over the Indian administration for thirteen years, with conspicuous ability and advantage to the State. But he was impeached before the House of Lords. The prosecution was conducted by Burke, Sheridan, and Fox, and the speeches of the two former especially remain on record as the most powerful and impressive efforts of these great orators. The case lingered on from the 13th February, 1788, to the 23rd April, 1795, when Warren Hastings was acquitted of all the charges, only six, of twenty-nine peers voting, convicting him on the charges relating to Cheyte Singh and the Begums. But he was reduced to poverty, his costs amounting to £100,000. The treatment meted out to Clive and Warren Hastings was little better than that awarded to Labourdonnais and Dupleix. Doubtless these great Proconsuls committed great faults, even crimes, but their services were transcendent. In 1813, twenty-seven years after his impeachment, when Hastings appeared before the bar of the House of Commons, to give evidence on the renewal of the Company's charter, he was received with acclamations on his retiring, and the House rose and uncovered to the great Governor-General, then in his eighty-second year. Four years later he passed away.

and Lord Cornwallis, who had succeeded to the post of Governor-General three years before, resolved to punish his assailant. His lordship had concluded a tripartite treaty with Nana Furnuvese, the Mahratta chief, and the Nizam, on condition of an equal division of the forts and territories conquered.

On the 26th May, 1790, General Meadows, newly appointed Governor and Commander-in-chief at Madras, took the field from Trichinopoly with 15,000 men, "the finest and best army ever assembled in India," according to Lord Cornwallis. But owing to a deficiency of supplies, there was much delay, and only the forts of Dindigul and Palghaut were captured. General Meadows now divided his force into three columns, and Tippoo descended from the Ghauts, and defeated the division under Colonel Floyd, who lost some of his guns, and also captured several forts. But the subsequent junction of the three columns baffled the plans of Tippoo, who moved northward to oppose the force despatched from Bengal along the coast towards Madras. The three columns were united on the 17th November, but nothing important was effected, and early in 1791 Lord Cornwallis arrived from Calcutta, and assumed the command of the combined army in person.

Meanwhile Colonel Hartley, who had distinguished himself twelve years before against the Mahrattas, gained, with 1,500 men and a few guns, a brilliant victory over a large force of Mysore troops and a body of fanatic Moplahs, under the walls of Calicut. Hussein Ali, the Mysore general, was totally defeated, with the loss of 1,000 men, and surrendered, together with 2,500 of his force.

Lord Cornwallis advanced through the pass of Mooglee into Mysore, and, on the 21st March, Bangalore capitulated. On the 13th May, was fought the battle of Arikera, in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, the river Cavery being on the right, and a ridge of hills on the left. Tippoo was completely routed, but owing to an utter failure of supplies the British commander, when about to effect a junction with the Bombay column, under General Abercromby, which was only 40 miles distant on the other side of the capital, was compelled to give up all idea of undertaking the siege of Seringapatam. On the 26th May, the army began its retrograde movement, and the Bombay troops also fell back to the west coast, both columns having first destroyed or buried their siege guns. Lord Cornwallis was joined during the retreat by a portion of the Mahratta army, under Hurry Punt, and the main body, having a detachment of English troops under Captain Little, moved to the north-west, devastating the Mysore territory, and captured the fortress of Simoga, chiefly through the gallantry of their European allies. After his retirement from before Seringapatam, Lord Cornwallis employed the remainder of the year in the conquest of the

Baramahal, and the reduction of the fortresses with which the country is studded, reported by the natives to be impregnable, but which fell to the dashing valour of the British troops. Rayacottah, Raymanghur, and Nundidroog* offered a stout resistance, and were only captured after regular siege operations, conducted by General Meadows. A very gallant defence was made of the fort of Coimbatore, situated to the south of Seringapatam, by Lieutenant Chambers, with only 320 natives. This young officer held out from 13th June to the 11th August, against over 2,000 of Tippoo's infantry, besides irregulars and cavalry. He was then reinforced to a strength of 700 men, and Tippoo made up the besieging force to some 8,000 regular infantry, with fourteen guns and eight mortars. Ultimately, after defending the fort for 143 days, Lieutenant Chambers was compelled to surrender on the 3rd November; but, contrary to the stipulation, he and his men were sent as prisoners to the capital. In December Colonel Stuart conducted to a successful issue the siege of Severndroog,† built on the summit of the Ghauts, a place of stupendous strength. Later in the month, Ootradrog, a place of scarcely inferior strength, was carried by assault, to the astonishment of the native garrison. By these operations the Commander-in-chief established a direct and safe communication with Madras and the depôts in rear of the British army.

Early in January, 1792, Lord Cornwallis, with the object of bringing the war to an issue by reducing Seringapatam, took the field with 22,000 men, 44 field-pieces and 42 siege guns, and an enormous train of 60,000 bullocks, laden with provisions, besides carts and 100 elephants. He was joined by a small body of Hurry Punt's Mahrattas, and the Nizam's army of 8,000 men, which had been operating to the north-east with small success. On the 5th February the whole army reached the plateau commanding a view of Seringapatam, which stands in an island formed by two branches of the Cavery, and was defended by Tippoo with 45,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, encamped upon its walls. On the following day Lord Cornwallis reconnoitred the enemy's position, consisting of a triple line of field works, defended by 300 guns, the earthworks being rendered impenetrable by a broad hedge of thorny plants. Notwithstanding their strength, the British general determined to storm them that night without employing a gun. The

* The storming of this fortress is commemorated on the colours of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, formerly the Bombay and Madras Fusiliers Regiments, which, like the old Bengal Fusiliers, have participated in almost every battle and siege waged in India, from Plassey to Lucknow.

† This place must not be confounded with the fortress of the same name on the Malabar coast, captured thirty years before by Commodore James and a squadron from Bombay.

attack was planned with great skill, and rewarded with complete success. The conflict raged throughout the night, and by morning, the British troops had captured all the enemy's redoubts, and had obtained a footing on the island, with a loss of 535 killed and wounded, including 36 officers, the Mysore loss being 4,000, exclusive of many thousands of deserters.*

The siege was now pushed with ardour, the British army being reinforced by General Abercromby with 6,000 troops from the Malabar coast, and on the 23rd February, the batteries were so far completed that 50 pieces of ordnance were brought to bear on the enemy's works. Tippoo, while displaying great resolution in the defence, entered into negotiations with the British commander, but could not bring himself to accept his terms, which included a cession of half his territories, and a payment of three millions sterling towards the expenses of the war. Hurry Punt and the Nizam's general also demanded £60,000 as personal booty, but consented to accept one-half. The terms were at length conceded, and two of Tippoo's sons were delivered up as hostages. Though the Nizam's troops and the Mahrattas had rendered almost no assistance, the ceded territory and indemnity were shared equally between the three contracting parties, the Company's share comprising the Baramahal in the east, the district of Dindigul in the south, and an important strip of fertile territory on the Malabar coast, which was annexed to the Bombay presidency.

Lord Cornwallis returned to Calcutta, and on receiving information of the declaration of war by France against England, on the preceding 1st February, embarked at Calcutta on the 25th August, with the object of investing Pondicherry, but, on his arrival at Madras, found that Colonel Braithwaite had already received its surrender, after a few days' siege. In the following October, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to England, having achieved memorable results during the seven years he had held supreme power.

Final Struggle with Tippoo Sultan.

But Tippoo Sultan, though beaten, was not reduced to insignificance, and in 1798, Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquis of Wellesley, who had succeeded Sir John Shore as Governor-General in May of that year, resolved to anticipate any attack he might happen

* The British regiments engaged were the 35th, 52nd, 71st, 72nd, 74th, and 76th. The right column was commanded by General Meadows, the left by Colonel Maxwell, and the centre by Lord Cornwallis in person, who was assisted by Colonel Stuart.

to make in alliance with France. On the 18th October, intelligence was received that Napoleon Buonaparte had landed in Egypt, and on the 8th November, on hearing of the dismissal of the French officers in the service of the Nizam, his lordship despatched a demand to Tippoo that he should confer with Major Doveton, in order to give explanations as to his negotiations with the French, some officers of which nationality he had with him. On the last day of the year, Lord Wellesley reached Madras, and some further communications passed between him and Tippoo, who evaded compliance with his demands. His lordship was not one to be trifled with, and he resolved to strike a rapid and decisive blow by the capture of Seringapatam, which was impregnable from June to November, owing to the rise of the Cavery round the island in which it was situated. With this object he placed in the field an army of 28,800 men, of whom 6,000 were Europeans, with 64 field-pieces and howitzers, and a battering train of 40 cannon. It was the largest and most efficient army hitherto assembled, and was commanded by General Harris, who, as well as General Baird and all the superior officers, had, with one exception, served in the previous Mysore war. The exception referred to was, however, the most capable officer of all, and was destined to attain a reputation the greatest ever achieved by a British soldier, and to exalt his country to a pinnacle of greatness, and gain for it a position in the councils of Europe such as it had never before attained. This officer was a younger brother of Lord Wellesley, and it will be at once gathered that his name was Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Wellesley (or Wesley, as it was then spelt), at this time in command of the 33rd Regiment. The Nizam co-operated with 10,000 cavalry, and the Hyderabad subsidiary force, 10,000 infantry, led by European officers, the Contingent being under the command of Colonel Wellesley and Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm. A division from Bombay, 6,500 strong, assembled under the command of General Stuart at Cannanore, on the Malabar coast, the second in command being General Hartley, whose name has before appeared in these pages.

Tippoo, determined to strike a decisive blow, left a force to watch the movements of the main army of invasion, and making a rapid march across the peninsula, on the 6th March fell upon the advanced brigade of General Stuart's division, under Colonel Montresor. Stuart arrived barely in time to succour the little force, and Tippoo was defeated with the loss of 2,000 men.

Meanwhile General Harris reached Bangalore on the 15th March, and advanced thence by the most southern of three routes upon Seringapatam. Tippoo had returned to oppose his advance, and a battle was fought at Malavelly, which terminated in the defeat of Tippoo, with the loss of 1,000 men. The Mysore commander, assum-

ing that his adversary would adopt the same route as Lord Cornwallis had taken in the previous campaign, moved in that direction to oppose his advance, laying waste the country, so that there was no forage for the cattle. General Harris, however, took a route which led to the Cavery, twelve miles distant, and before nightfall one wing was across the river, while Tippoo was twenty miles distant in an opposite direction. But though out-generalled and beaten, Tippoo—who had, with the utmost infatuation, refused to be guided by the advice of his experienced native and French officers—knew how to fight and die like a brave soldier, and summoning around him his chiefs, received from them their promise to second his efforts, and fall in defence of the capital. Tippoo accordingly fell back to Seringapatam, and by the 6th April, the British army had completed its advance through 150 miles of the enemy's territory without establishing a single post, and had taken up a position within 1,600 yards of the fortress. The Bombay column now joined the main army, but a fresh and more redoubtable enemy than Tippoo—Famine, to wit—appeared as though he would throw his sword into the scales against the victorious British army. It was found that only eighteen days' consumption of food remained for the combatants, and unless the supplies which Colonel Read was collecting in the southern districts could reach the camp before the 6th May, the army would be in a state of starvation. General Floyd was therefore detached with a large force to convoy the supplies, and the siege was pushed with vigour. The actual operations only commenced on the 17th April, and by the 3rd May, when there were only three days' provisions left in the English camp, a practicable breach was reported, and it was determined at once to bring the contest to an issue.

The command of the assaulting column, numbering 4,376 men, was entrusted to General Baird, an officer who had lingered for four years as a captive in the dungeons of Seringapatam. Tippoo had been convinced that the assault would not be delivered before the evening; but at one o'clock, as he was about to partake of his mid-day meal, the intelligence was brought to him that the British columns were advancing to the attack. "After a few moments of silent and awful expectation in the trenches," says Marshman, "General Baird ascended the parapet, and exhibited his noble military figure to the view of both forces, and then drawing his sword, desired his men to follow him, and show themselves worthy of the name of British soldiers." A brief but desperate struggle ensued, in which the British soldier responded, as he always does, to the appeal of his leader. In vain, an equally gallant band of Tippoo's devoted followers sought, on the slope of the deadly breach, to drive back the heroic forlorn hope, "and within seven minutes after the soldiers emerged from the trenches, the British flag

floated over the breach."* But all was not over yet. Tippoo Sultan took his station at the rampart, and animated his troops to increased exertion, as the two columns of assailants, after storming the breach, wheeled to the right and left and gradually gained ground, which was contested foot by foot.

The column commanded by General Baird at length made its way to the front of the palace, which Major Allen entered over an unfinished wall, and made his way to an apartment where two of the Sultan's sons had taken refuge. On his demand, the outer gate was thrown open, and the young princes were brought out. A search was now made for Tippoo, and at length his body was discovered in a gateway which had been the chief scene of conflict and carnage. One man, a personal attendant of the monarch, was found alive in the mass of corpses, and he pointed out the spot where the body of his master lay. It was subsequently learned that Tippoo, after receiving three wounds, was placed in a palanquin, but crawled out when the place was blocked by the dead and dying, and sought to make his escape. A European soldier entering the gateway, made a snatch at his diamond-encrusted sword-belt, on which Tippoo, though faint from loss of blood, aimed a blow with a sword at his assailant, who shot him through the head. Thus perished Tippoo Sultan, at the age of forty-four, and with him disappeared the dynasty of Hyder, which, during its brief existence of only thirty-eight years, exhibited a rancorous hatred towards the English.

The capture of Seringapatam, with its garrison of over 20,000 troops,† defended by 287 pieces of ordnance, was a brilliant feat of arms, and it was the opinion of all competent military authorities, that the place was impregnable had there been 1,000 French troops, well-commanded, within its walls. The British army received prize-money to the amount of one million sterling, General Harris was awarded a peerage, and General Baird a baronetcy.

Lord Wellesley made over a portion of the territory to the ancient dynasty which Hyder had dispossessed, and the remainder was divided

* Among the wounded British officers of the forlorn hope was Major Lawrence, ther of Lord Lawrence and Sir Henry Lawrence.

† Of the whole number engaged in the defence, 13,000 were within the fortress, e remainder being in the entrenchments on the island. Of these alone, 8,000 were illed. The British loss during the siege and assault, between the 4th April and the 4th May, was only 1,164, of whom 825 were Europeans. The value of the treasure and jewels was £1,143,216. With the fall of the capital the whole of Mysore submitted, and a Board of Commissioners was appointed of singular military and political eminence. It consisted of General Harris, Colonel Wellesley, his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley (afterwards Lord Cowley), Colonels Kirkpatrick and Barry Close, with Captains John Malcolm and Thomas Munro as secretaries, who rose respectively to the position of Governors of Bombay and Madras, and were remarkable equally for their talents as enlightened statesmen and skilful soldiers.

between the Nizam and the Company. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas refused his share with the conditions Lord Wellesley attached to its acceptance, and shortly after, the Nizam surrendered the territory he had acquired in place of paying an annual subsidy for the maintenance of the British military force. Thus the Company's dominions were extended to the rivers Toombudra and Kistna on the north, and had the sea as their boundary on the other three sides.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MAHRATTA WARS.

1803—1806

General Arthur Wellesley's Campaign against Scindia and the Rajah of Nagpore—Capture of Ahmednuggur and Asseerghur—Battles of Assaye and Argaum—General Lake's Campaign against Scindia—Capture of Allyghur—The Battle of Delhi—Surrender of Delhi and Agra—Battle of Laswarree—The Campaign against Holkar—Colonel Monson's Disaster—Defence of Delhi by Colonel Ochterlony—Battle of Deig—Capture of Deig—The Siege of Bhurtpore—Repulse of the British Army—End of the Mahratta War.

No long time elapsed before danger threatened the Company's possessions from a source which had before caused anxiety to our successive Indian rulers. It had long been apparent that a struggle for supremacy could not be deferred with the Mahrattas. Of the three Mahratta princes, Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, Jeswunt Rao Holkar was the most remarkable. He was the illegitimate son of Tookajee Holkar, and rose to the throne by force of character and military talent. He defeated Scindia at Oojein, but the tables were turned when Scindia's army, including fourteen battalions, disciplined by French officers, met and completely defeated Holkar on the 14th October, 1801, near Indore, capturing 98 guns and his capital. Holkar, however, soon had as large a following as ever, and after pillaging the territories of Scindia and the Peishwa Bajee Rao, advanced on Poonah, and on the 25th October, 1802, gained a decisive victory, and entered the capital.* The Peishwa fled to Severndroog, and on 6th December, arrived in a British ship at Bassein, where a treaty was concluded with the Bombay Government, by which he agreed to subsidize six battalions of sepoys and some artillery, and cede territority of the

* This battle was sanguinary and hotly contested. Holkar's army included fourteen battalions, disciplined by European officers, and Scindia and the Peishwa led 84,000 troops, also including ten battalions under Colonel Dawes, so that the anomalous spectacle was presented of British officers fighting against each other. Holkar's army had already given way, when he sprang into the saddle, and calling out to his men, "Now or never to follow Jeswunt Rao," retrieved the day by his personal prowess.

value of £260,000 for their support, and to exclude Europeans from his territories. In accordance with this treaty, the British troops proceeded to reinstate Bajee Rao on the throne. Colonel Stevenson arrived on the 25th March, 1803, at Poorinda, on the Peishwa's frontier, with the Hyderabad subsidiary force and two regiments of cavalry, about 8,000 men, and at the same time Major-General Arthur Wellesley marched from Mysore, a distance of 600 miles, at the head of 8,000 infantry and 1,700 cavalry, and making a forced march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours, on the 26th April occupied Poonah with some cavalry. Colonel Stevenson now moved northward towards the Godavery to protect the country against Holkar's maurauders, and the Peishwa arrived from Bassein on the 13th May, and resumed the government.

Dowlut Rao Scindia, when pressed, declined to accede to the treaty of Bassein, and prepared for war, in concert with Ragojee Bhonsla, Rajah of Berar (or Nagpore, as he was called, from his capital). He aimed, indeed, at a great Mahratta Confederacy, including Holkar and the Peishwa, who owed the restoration of his throne to us, but secretly intrigued with his old enemy. Lord Wellesley, seeing war was inevitable, invested Generals Wellesley and Lake, the respective commanders of the Deccan and Hindostan, with complete military, civil, and political powers, and General Wellesley was specially authorized to negotiate with Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar. General Lake's duties embraced the complete reduction of the power which the French were establishing in Hindostan by means of Scindia's brigades, disciplined and officered by them, the occupation of the Doab and Bundelcund, and the possession of Agra and Delhi, the seat of the Imperial Mogul Government.

Lord Wellesley, who had for his military adviser his brother, General Wellesley, resolved to strike a simultaneous blow at Scindia and the Rajah of Nagpore. The following was the disposition of the British troops, numbering in all 55,000 men. About 3,600 were left for the defence of Hyderabad and Poonah, with a covering army of 8,000 men between the Kistna and Toombudra. To operate against the main army of the allies, computed at 30,000 infantry, 50,000 cavalry, and a large train of artillery, the British advance force consisted of General Wellesley's division, about 9,000 strong, 8,000 men under Colonel Stevenson, who had marched up from Hyderabad, together with 15,000 of the Nizam's troops. In the north of India General Lake, the Commander-in-chief, had assembled 10,500 men to attack Scindia's disciplined battalions, while a force of 7,300 from Bombay was to dispossess him of his districts in Gujerat, and 5,000 were to take possession of the province of Cuttack in the Bay of Bengal.

On the 14th July General Wellesley wrote to Scindia, calling upon

him to separate his army* from that of Ragojee Bhonsla and recross the Nerbudda, but Scindia returned evasive replies, and on the 3rd August, Colonel Close, the British Resident, quitted the Mahratta camp, and General Wellesley commenced hostilities by an advance on Ahmednuggur, which surrendered, after a brief siege, on the 11th August. He now moved to the Godavery, which he crossed on the 29th, and five days later, arrived at Aurungabad, in which direction Colonel Stevenson had moved. On the 2nd September this officer captured Jalnapore, and a fortnight later, had formed a junction at Boodnapore, ten miles to the west, with Wellesley's column. On the 21st the Mahratta army was encamped twenty-two miles north of Jalnapore, so that a battle was imminent. The plan adopted by the British commander was to move in two divisions, and make a combined attack on the morning of the 24th. They accordingly separated on the 22nd, Colonel Stevenson taking the western route, and General Wellesley the eastern. On the following day, when about to encamp at Naulnye, the latter learned from his spies that the Confederate army was entrenched in a strong position, six miles distant, on the banks of the Kailna. He determined to risk a great engagement without waiting to form a junction with Colonel Stevenson. Moving out to reconnoitre, General Wellesley discovered the enemy posted along the north bank of the Kailna, within the fork formed by the junction of that river and the Juah. Their right, composed of cavalry, was protected by the high and rocky banks of the stream, and their left, consisting of the infantry and artillery, was placed more immediately within the fork, and close to the fortified village of Assaye. The position was admirably adapted for defence, but in the event of its being forced, left no means of retreat, and hence General Wellesley's exclamation after surveying it, "They cannot escape me!" As the British had previously marched fourteen miles to Naulnye, and they were still six miles distant from the enemy's camp, it was one o'clock before they reached their destined position.

When the British arrived on the field their position was on the south side of the Kailna, in front of the enemy's right; but as the attack in this direction would have been against cavalry only, while the great object was the capture or destruction of the infantry and guns, General Wellesley moved eastward till beyond the enemy's left, and then forded the Kailna. He thus arrived in the very angle of the fork, and drew up his infantry in two lines, with the British cavalry immediately behind them in a third line as a reserve. The first line of British infantry consisted of the advanced pickets to the right, two battalions

* According to Mr. Stuart, a British officer in Scindia's pay, the hostile army, exclusive of the garrisons, numbered 43,650 men, of whom 20,000 were in Hindostan, and the remainder in the Deccan. This was exclusive of a vast army of 250,000, more or less disciplined.

of sepoys, and the 78th Highlanders; the second, of the 74th regiment and two battalions of sepoys; and the third, of the 19th Dragoons and three regiments of native cavalry—in all 4,500 men. Opposed to them were Monsieur Pohlman's brigade of 6,000 men, Dupont's of 2,500, and four battalions, mustering 2,000 men, belonging to the Begum Sumroo. These, forming 10,500 disciplined troops, commanded by European officers, were exclusive of the artillerymen, Scindia's irregular cavalry, and the infantry of the Rajah of Berar. In addition to all these, was a well-appointed train of artillery, exceeding 100 guns, and large bodies of horse, estimated at nearly 40,000.

The battle of Assaye began with a cannonade on the British as they were moving to ford the Kailna. General Wellesley, as soon as his dispositions were completed, ordered his troops to advance under cover of the artillery, which opened on the enemy at the distance of 400 yards. In this way, however, little progress could be made, as owing to the tremendous cannonade of the enemy, the British loss in men and bullocks was so great that their guns could not be moved forward. They were therefore left behind, and General Wellesley, placing himself at the head of the line, advanced to close combat. It was a critical moment, and the Mahrattas, when they saw the comparatively insignificant band marching steadily and intrepidly towards them, stood astonished and appalled, as if uncertain whether to risk the encounter or save themselves by flight. But when the order to charge with the bayonet was given, its effect was irresistible. The first line, the moment the bayonets were crossed, gave way, and fell back, closely pursued by the second line placed along the Juah. During the struggle the pickets of the infantry and the 74th regiment, posted on the right of the British first and second lines, had been so much thinned by the artillery stationed near Assaye, that a body of Mahratta horse were emboldened to charge the regiment, but were instantly met by a counter-charge of the British cavalry, under Colonel Maxwell, who drove them with great slaughter into the river. Meanwhile the bayonet continued to do its work, and the enemy's second line gave way still easier than their first. The flight was now general, and the victory complete, though an incident occurred which, but for the cool intrepidity of the commander, might have converted it into defeat.

The cavalry, having crossed to the north of the Juah, were following the fugitives with great slaughter along the bank, and the infantry were also in eager pursuit, when they suddenly heard a cannonade in their rear. The cause was soon explained. A considerable number of Mahrattas had thrown themselves down among their guns, where they lay like heaps of dead, and when the British line had passed, sprang up, and turned the cannon on the pursuers. General Wellesley at once put himself at the head of the 78th regiment and the 7th regiment of native cavalry, and charged the Mahrattas, who had seized the

guns, and after a bloody contest, in which he had a horse shot under him, and was in the most imminent peril, succeeded in completing the victory. Colonel Maxwell, though equally successful in charging the infantry of the enemy, who had halted and formed anew, was slain in the conflict.

The battle of Assaye lasted upwards of three hours, and was not gained without heavy loss. The number of killed and wounded in the British army was 1,566, rather more than a third of all the troops engaged; the enemy left 1,200 dead on the field of battle, seven standards, and ninety-eight pieces of ordnance.* Colonel Stevenson having joined with his division on the evening of the 24th, was despatched in pursuit of the enemy, who had retreated in the direction of the Adjunta Ghaut. The Rajah of Berar had fled from the field of battle at the first start, and Scindia had not been slow to follow his example. General Wellesley, with an energy that had already become proverbial, followed in pursuit, and despatched Colonel Stevenson to Boorhanpore, which was surrendered to him on the 16th October. Thence he marched to the strong fortress of Asseerghur, in Candeish, crossing an elevated plateau of the Satpoora range, between the valleys of the Taptee and Nerbudda. On the 18th October he obtained possession of the outer works and effected a lodgment within 150 yards of the fort, and no sooner had the batteries opened than the commandant capitulated. Scindia having thus lost all his possessions in the Deccan, sued for terms, and after various conferences, on the 23rd November a truce was concluded.

Meanwhile, in Gujerat two Bombay columns of 4,000 men, were operating under Colonels Murray and Woodington. The latter officer captured, after a brief siege, the important town of Broach, situated on the right bank of the Nerbudda, thirty miles above its mouth in the gulf of Cambay, and he also reduced the fortress of Powanghur, perched on the top of a lofty and precipitous rock. By the end of September, Scindia had lost all his possessions in Gujerat. After the truce was concluded with Scindia, General Wellesley was able to direct his attention to the Rajah of Nagpore, who had been the prime mover in the war.

When Colonel Stevenson moved up to besiege the strong and important town of Gawilghur, in which were said to be deposited the royal treasures, General Wellesley, who had been two months separated from him, proceeded to his support, while the Rajah, who had been closely followed by the latter officer when moving about in the southern districts, marched to assist in the defence of the fort.

On the 28th November the united British force, after a long and fatiguing march, came up with the Nagpore army drawn up in front of Argaum, about thirty-five miles from Elichpore. The Nagpore

* The 74th and 78th regiments bear the word "Assaye" on their colours.

Rajah, who was encamped four miles distant, had, with true Eastern treachery, violated the terms of the armistice, and not only sent his cavalry to aid his ally, Scindia, at Assaye, but was said to be present in person. General Wellesley says in his despatch, "Marches such as we have made in this war were never known or thought of before." In moving to join Stevenson he had marched no less than between seventeen and twenty miles a day. The day on which the battle of Argaum was fought the troops had marched twenty-six miles. Notwithstanding the long march and the late hour, General Wellesley moved forward to attack the enemy. When the infantry advanced, the native regiments, which had done so well at Assaye, became panic-stricken and fell into confusion. General Wellesley says in his despatch, "Luckily, I happened to be at no great distance from them, and I was able to rally them and re-establish the battle. If I had not been there, I am convinced we should have lost the day." The brunt of the fight was borne by the 74th and 78th regiments, which destroyed a large body of troops opposed to them, and the 6th regiment repulsed with great gallantry a charge of Scindia's cavalry on the left of the line. The enemy then retired in great disorder, abandoning thirty-eight guns, and were pursued, by moonlight, by the 19th Dragoons and the Mysore cavalry. General Wellesley was on horseback from 6 A.M. till midnight, and all the troops, who had marched twenty-six miles in the morning, were under arms till a late hour of the night. The British loss was fifteen Europeans and thirty-one natives killed, and 145 Europeans and 148 natives wounded.

The campaign in this part was brought to an end by the surrender of Gawilghur to Colonel Stevenson, on the 15th December, when the Nagpore Rajah, trembling for the safety of his capital, on which General Wellesley was preparing to march, hastened to sue for peace, and three days later, was signed the treaty of Deogaom, negotiated by Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, afterwards Governor of Bombay, by which Ragojee Bhonsla ceded the province of Cuttack, which had been occupied in the preceding September by a column, under Colonel Harcourt, without any opposition, and yielded to the Nizam certain districts of Berar, west of the Wurda, which, fifty years later, that potentate assigned to the Company for the pay of his Contingent. The Rajah likewise conceded a point which the English rulers of India made a *sine quâ non* in all negotiations with conquered princes, that of excluding all Frenchmen and Europeans of any nation at war with England, from his employment and kingdom, and engaged to refer all differences with Indian princes to the arbitration of the new paramount power in India. Thus in a brief campaign the Rajah of Berar had been reduced to impotence, and Scindia had lost all his possessions in the Deccan, as well as his only seaport, Broach, and the districts in Gujerat on the west coast.

General Lake's Campaign against Scindia and Holkar.

Scindia's chief military power lay in Hindostan, where he had established an opulent state, and possessed an army of 20,000 infantry, 5,000 horse, with 140 cannon, disciplined by French officers, and now commanded by General Perron, who, owing to the continued absence of his master, administered his dominions in Hindostan. Perron had possessed himself of Delhi, with the person of the aged Mogul Emperor, and had succeeded in extending Scindia's authority over Rajpootana, until his advanced posts approached the Indus in one direction, and Allahabad in the other, thus threatening British supremacy in Hindostan. Scindia's ministers entertained great jealousy of General Perron, and he was about to retire from his master's service when, on the 7th August, General Lake marched from Cawnpore, and, on the 28th, encamped on the Mahratta frontiers, not far from the fortress of Allyghur. General Perron, at the head of 15,000 men, retired in the direction of Agra, leaving Colonel Pedron in charge of this important fortress, Scindia's chief arsenal and depôt in Hindostan, with orders to defend it to the last extremity. But though the fort was reported impregnable, General Lake resolved to attempt its capture by a *coup de main*, and, on the 4th September, the assaulting columns, under the Hon. Colonel Monson, advanced to the attack, supported by the fire of two batteries, each of four 18-pounders. There were no less than four gates to be forced, but nothing could withstand the fierce attack of the 76th Highlanders (who bear the name of the fortress on their colours), commanded by Major Macleod. Adopting the tactics successfully practised thirty-six years later at Ghuznee, Macleod blew open the outer gate, and forcing a passage under a heavy fire,* gained possession of the fortress. The British loss was 17 officers and 200 rank and file killed and wounded, but the success achieved was great and striking, and confirmed the native estimate of the irresistible valour of the British soldier. General Perron, at this time, heard of his dismissal from Scindia's service, and, resigning the command to General Bourquin, was received in the British camp, whence he retired to Lucknow.

General Lake advanced on Delhi, and on the 7th September, the Mahratta army, consisting of 16 battalions of regular infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and a large train of artillery, crossing the Jumna, took up a position to oppose his progress, with its rear resting on the river. As it became evident that a front attack could not succeed, owing to the strength of the enemy's position, and the heavy fire of their artillery,

* General Wellesley remarked that he considered this feat one of the most remarkable of which he had ever heard. The Mahratta loss in killed alone was two thousand.

General Lake adopted the stratagem of ordering his cavalry to retire, upon which the Mahrattas, attributing the manœuvre to an intention to retreat, rushed forward shouting. The British infantry now advanced between the intervals of the cavalry, General Lake himself leading the 76th regiment in the face of a tremendous fire of grape shot. On arriving within 100 paces, the whole line fired a volley and then charged with the bayonet. The enemy fled precipitately, pursued by the cavalry and horse artillery to the banks of the Jumna, in which numbers perished. General Lake had his horse shot under him, and says in his despatch, "Such a fire of cannon has seldom, if ever, been seen as that against which our army marched up to within 100 yards without taking a firelock off their shoulders. When close up they gave one volley, charged instantly, and drove back the enemy, and then, opening ranks, they let through our cavalry, who did their duty in the most gallant manner." The British loss was 409, and that of the Mahrattas about 3,000, besides 68 pieces of cannon and much treasure and ammunition.

This victory was followed by the surrender of General Bourquin, and the immediate evacuation of the capital of the Moguls, and its occupation by the British, who crossed the Jumna on the 14th September. The Mogul Emperor, Shah Alum, now in his 83rd year, had an interview with General Lake, who treated him with every consideration, and from this time succeeding princes of this effete dynasty were retained in possession of their shadowy sovereignty by British bayonets until the great Mutiny, when the Mogul dynasty was finally extinguished in blood and ruin, at the time the Imperial city was stormed by British troops after a prolonged and memorable siege.

Leaving Colonel Ochterlony in charge of Delhi, General Lake marched on the 24th September along the right bank of the Jumna for Agra, where he arrived on the 4th October, and forthwith invested the city. A treaty was concluded with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who sent him 5,000 horse. On the morning of the 10th October General Lake attacked a body of seven battalions of regular infantry, encamped on the glacis of the fort, and, after a severe action, completely defeated them, capturing 26 guns, and taking possession of the town. The siege of the fort was commenced, and, on the 17th, a battery of light 18-pounders opened fire, and made a practicable breach, when the garrison capitulated through the medium of their English officers. The treasure found in the fort—£280,000—was promptly divided among the captors. On the 27th September General Lake marched against a force of 9,000 infantry, including 15 disciplined battalions, which Scindia had sent across the Nerbudda on the outbreak of hostilities, called the "Deccan Invincibles," and 4,000 cavalry, with 72 guns, which had made no attempt to relieve Agra, and now retreated. Learning that they intended to avoid an engagement,

Lake marched at 11 P.M. with all his cavalry, consisting of eight regiments, including three of British dragoons,* and leaving orders for his infantry to follow at 3 A.M., made a forced march of 26 miles in six hours, and on the 1st November, came up with the Mahratta army at the village of Laswarree, about forty miles west of Bhurtpore. Though the enemy were intrenched in a formidable position, with their guns in front, General Lake resolved to attack without waiting for his infantry. Putting himself at the head of his cavalry, the fiery veteran charged the guns, but the discharge of grape and round shot was so terrible that he was compelled to withdraw with heavy loss. Among the killed was Colonel Vandeleur, commanding the cavalry.

After a brief rest and a hasty meal, the infantry, which had marched 25 miles—consisting of the 76th Highlanders, and six battalions of sepoys—were formed into two columns on the left, close to the village of Laswarree, the first under General Ware, and the second under General St. John, and moved along the banks of the rivulet to turn the enemy's right flank. They were met by a tremendous cannonade and a charge of cavalry, when a desperate conflict ensued, the most severe ' itherto fought in India, not excluding Assaye. Scindia's disciplined sepoys defended their position with tenacity, contesting every foot of their ground ; but, led by General Lake, that noble regiment, the 76th Highlanders,† which bore the brunt of the fighting at Allyghur and Delhi, again would suffer no denial, and their bayonets proved irresistible. The sepoys also did well, and the British dragoons charged through both lines of the hostile infantry, and drove their cavalry from the field. Attacked in front and rear, these 7,000 men, exclusive of cavalry, the flower of Scindia's army, displayed a firmness rarely exhibited by natives, and were cut to pieces where they stood, save some 2,000, who were made prisoners. The whole of their guns, together with all the baggage and equipments, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The British loss, of which the 76th regiment sustained one quarter, was 172 killed and 652 wounded. General Lake, who had personally led the cavalry in the morning, and afterwards the 76th regiment, had two horses shot under him, and though his gallantry

* The 8th Hussars bear the word, "Laswarree," on their standards.

† General Lake says :—"This handful of heroes, though thinned by the enemy's artillery, stood firm, and repulsed the horse. Then Major Griffiths was sent, at the head of the 29th Dragoons, to sweep away the numerous cavalry, a duty which he performed completely, though not without losing his own life, being struck by a cannon ball. Then followed the terrible bayonet charge of the British infantry, the right wing of which was led by Major-General Ware, who was killed, his head being carried off by another cannon shot. He was an excellent officer, and his loss was severely felt and deeply lamented by the whole army. After his death the command of the column devolved upon Colonel Macdonald, who, though wounded, continued in the exercise of the important trust with the utmost activity, judgment, and intrepidity, till the close of the action."

was the admiration of the whole army whose idol he was, yet, like a succeeding Commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, who fought sanguinary battles, trusting alone to cold steel, his strategy was defective, and his victories were won at a terrible cost of life.

The result of the victory of Laswarree was the subjection of Scindia and the loss of all his territories north of the Chumbul. By the treaty concluded, on the 4th December, by General Wellesley, and signed within a fortnight of the submission of the Rajah of Nagpore, Scindia ceded the Doab, lying between the Ganges and Jumna, as well as the territories north of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypore and Jodhpore, Broach, with its dependencies in Gujerat, and Ahmednuggur in the Deccan. This last was ceded to the Peishwa, but the remainder was retained, and the Doab, together with the province surrendered by the Nabob Vizier, was formed into the separate Government of the North-West Provinces.

But Jeswunt Rao Holkar, the most warlike and restless of the great Mahratta chiefs, still remained unconquered, and his military power was much enhanced as the broken remnants of Scindia's and Nagpore's armies entered his service, when he commanded 60,000 horsemen, and 15,000 foot soldiers. Holkar tried to incite the British allies to revolt, and sent to Cabul for the Afghans to assist him in driving the English out of India. Finally, in March, he wrote to General Wellesley, demanding the cession of certain districts in the Deccan, and threatening to carry fire and sword into the Company's territories. Accordingly, on the 16th April, Lord Wellesley directed General (now Lord) Lake to take the field against Holkar, and General Wellesley, who commanded in the south, ordered Colonel Murray, with 5,800 men from Gujerat, into Malwa, to take possession of his capital.

General Lake moved into the Jeypore state, and sent Colonel Don against Rampoora, in the north, which fell on the 16th May. Holkar retreated across the Chumbul, but Lord Lake, instead of continuing the pursuit with vigour, withdrew to the southward, sending Colonel Monson to follow the Mahratta army with a brigade of native infantry, and some freshly-raised regiments of irregular horse. The result was a catastrophe which entailed disastrous results and prolonged the campaign.

Colonel Monson had advanced through the Mokundra pass, and put 200 miles between his force and its nearest support, when, on 7th July, he received intelligence that Holkar was marching against him with his entire army, and that Colonel Murray, upon whose aid he had counted, instead of advancing, was retiring on the Mhye. With only two days' provisions in the camp, at 4 P.M. on the 8th July he began his retreat with his infantry, leaving his cavalry to follow, but Holkar, who was in communication with Bappoo Scindia, the commandant of Scindia's contingent, which accompanied the column, attacked and put to flight

the irregular horse, when Bappoo Scindia went over to the enemy. On the 10th July, Monson reached the Mokundra pass, and succeeded in beating off Holkar's army, but on continuing his retreat, was refused admission at Kotah. Spiking his guns, he continued his retreat, his difficulties increasing at every step, as all the rivulets were swollen, and on the seventeenth day, reached Rampoora, only sixty miles distant from Kotah. Here he was reinforced by two battalions of sepoys and a corps of irregular cavalry, and received a supply of provisions. After a stay of twenty-four days, he continued his retreat, but was attacked continuously by the troops of Holkar and of Bappoo Scindia. From the 26th August the retreat became a disorderly rout, and on the last day of the month, fifty days after the commencement of the retreat, the last sepoy straggled into Agra, with much the same story to tell as, thirty-eight years later, greeted the ears of the Jellalabad garrison on the annihilation of General Elphinstone's column in the passes between Cabul and Jugdulluck. This defeat, the most signal that had befallen British arms since Baillie's rout, in 1780, by Hyder, was attributable entirely to the incompetence of Colonel Monson*—personally a brave officer, as he had shown at Allyghur and elsewhere—and its first effect was to drive the Rajah of Bhurtpore into alliance with Holkar, who, flushed with success, advanced on Muttra with an army estimated at 90,000 men.

Lord Lake lost no time in taking up the gauntlet, and proceeded to Agra forthwith. Holkar, leaving his cavalry to engage the attention of the British general, marched hastily to Delhi to seize the person of the Mogul Emperor. But the British resident here was Colonel Ochterlony, a man of the heroic mould of Clive and Coote and Munro. Seconded by his assistant, Colonel Baring, for nine days he defended the vast city—having a circumference of ten miles, and protected by dilapidated walls and ramparts, with a mixed and not very friendly population—against the utmost efforts of the enemy, 20,000 strong, with 100 pieces of cannon. At length Holkar, despairing of success, drew off his army, and sending the infantry and artillery to assist the Rajah of Bhurtpore, set out with his cavalry to devastate the Doab. Lord Lake started in pursuit of these marauding hordes with six regiments of cavalry and some horse artillery, and after a march of 350 miles, made in fourteen days, came up with him at Furruckabad on the 17th November, having covered no less than fifty-eight miles in the last twenty-four hours. The first intimation the sleeping camp had of the

* Early in 1781 Colonel Carnac had shown what could be done in a similar situation by a competent and energetic officer. He had advanced from the Jumna as far as Seronge in Malwa, when he was surrounded by Scindia's army and reduced to great distress, and began to retreat on the 7th March. He was closely pursued by Scindia, and, at length, on the night of the 24th March, at the suggestion of Major Bruce, who led the escalade at Gwalior, took the aggressive, and attacking the enemy's camp, routed his army and captured thirteen guns.

British force was a round of grape-shot, when Holkar fled with a small escort, and his followers were cut up and dispersed. The pursuit was continued for ten miles, which, considering the previous march, was an effort, says Major Thorn, the military historian of the war, "probably unparalleled in the annals of military history." The Mahratta chief hastened to rejoin his infantry, but found, on re-crossing the Jumna, that they had been utterly routed on the 13th November by General Fraser, whom Lord Lake had left in command of his infantry.

The enemy, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, a large body of horse, and 160 guns, were posted near Deig, in the Bhurtpore State, when General Fraser came up with them. The position was a strong one, lying between a deep tank and an extensive morass, their left resting on the town of Deig, and their right covered by a fortified village, the whole defended by ranges of batteries. Leaving two battalions of sepoys and the irregular cavalry to defend the baggage, the British force, consisting of the 76th regiment, the Bengal Fusiliers, and four sepoy battalions, made a considerable *détour* in order to avoid the morass, and about daybreak arrived in front of the fortified village. Wheeling into two lines, the 76th and two battalions in front, the fortified village was carried at the point of the bayonet by the 76th, which then, running down the hill, charged the first line of guns under a tremendous fire. The guns were abandoned, and the 76th advanced against the second line, supported by the Company's European regiment and the sepoys. At this time General Fraser fell mortally wounded by a cannon shot, when Colonel Monson assumed the command. The second range of guns was carried, and so was battery after battery, until the soldiers found themselves exposed to the fire of the guns of the fort, when they suffered some loss. But the enemy were beaten at all points, and fled precipitately. The British loss was 643 killed and wounded, including twenty-three officers, and that of the enemy about 2,000, with eighty-seven guns captured, including fourteen of those Colonel Monson had lost during his retreat.

Lord Lake crossed the Jumna by the bridge of boats at Muttra, on the 28th November, and, rejoining his infantry, on the 13th December commenced the siege of Deig. On the 23rd, a practical breach being made, the Shah Bourj, or King's Redoubt, was carried by assault, and on the following day, the fort was evacuated.

Lord Lake now undertook a task beyond his strength. This was the siege of the great fortress of Bhurtpore, twenty miles from Deig, and thirty-four from Agra. His lordship thus describes the defences of this great fortress, which baffled every endeavour to effect its capture: "A mud wall of great height and thickness, and a very wide and deep ditch everywhere surrounds it. The fort is situated at its eastern extremity, and is of a square figure. One side of that square overlooks the country; the remaining three sides are within the town. It occu-

pies a situation that appears more elevated than the town, and its walls are said to be higher, and its ditch of greater width and deepness. The circumference of both town and fort is upwards of eight miles, and these walls in all that extent are flanked with bastions at short distances, on which are mounted very numerous artillery." On the 2nd January, 1805, Lord Lake arrived before Bhurtpore. His army, which had hitherto achieved an almost unbroken career of victory, included Her Majesty's 22nd, 75th and 76th regiments, and the Company's European regiment. His lordship forthwith commenced siege operations, and the army did not break up until the 21st April, having experienced a loss in the trenches and at four unsuccessful assaults, of no less than 3,200 in killed and wounded, including 103 officers.

Much of this result was due to the incompetence of the engineers, and the rashness of the Commander-in-chief, who, from his training and impatient temperament, was unsuited to conduct a lengthy regular siege. Among the blunders which contributed to this failure in the early part of the siege were the excessive distance at which the batteries were placed, rather over 700 yards from the wall, and the omission of regular approaches. On the 12th February, General Jones, who had superseded General Murray in the command of the Bombay troops, arrived from Gujerat with 3,000 men, of whom her Majesty's 65th and 86th regiments, 700 strong, formed a part. After the failure of the second assault, the camp was shifted to the north and east of the town, and the operations were commenced anew by regular approaches and erecting the batteries within 400 yards. At the third assault, the 75th and 76th regiments, which had covered themselves with glory throughout the campaign, refused to advance, and two native regiments took the post of honour. But the ditch near the breach was impassable, and the column was repulsed, with the loss of 894 men. The last assault made by the whole of the European infantry, under the command of the Honourable Colonel Monson, was most determined, but the bastion to be attacked was extremely steep, and Major Thorn declared "there was no possibility of getting from the gap in the bastion made by the fire of the breaching batteries to the summit." There was indeed no breach, and the enterprise involved a culpable sacrifice of life by the Commander-in-chief. The loss experienced on this occasion was 987. During the siege, the British cavalry, consisting of the 4th, 27th, and 29th Dragoons, with three regiments of native horse, under General Smith, pursued Ameer Khan, a predatory chief of Bundelcund, and came up with him near Afzulghur, under the Kumaon hills, and defeated him with great slaughter. The cavalry were absent about a month in this pursuit, and traversed over 700 miles.

Lord Lake converted the siege of Bhurtpore into a blockade, and on the 2nd April, on the return of his cavalry, made a sudden attack on Holkar, who had been hovering about the fort during the siege, with

his cavalry and horse artillery, and utterly routed the Mahratta leader, who fled across the Chumbul with the remnants of his army. On the 8th April, the British army changed ground, and two days later, the Rajah of Bhurtpore signed the preliminaries of peace. Lord Lake now marched to the Chumbul with the object of threatening Scindia and his confederates, who retreated towards Kotah. Soon after, Scindia came to terms with the Government, and released Mr. Jenkins, the British Resident at his Court.

Before this event, on the 27th July, 1805, the Marquis Cornwallis, who had been appointed by the Court of Directors to succeed the Marquis Wellesley, landed at Calcutta, and assumed the government as well as the command of the army, thus superseding Lord Lake. But his lordship, who was sixty-six years of age, did not long survive this patriotic act of self-abnegation, so characteristic of him through life, but died at Ghazeepore on the 5th October.* He was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, a Bengal civilian, who gave place in July, 1807, to Lord Minto, and himself succeeded Lord William Bentinck in the government of Madras. Lord Lake resumed the command of the army, and went in pursuit of Holkar, and on the 9th December, 1805, a British army encamped on the banks of the Beeas, one of the rivers of the Punjaub, the classic Hyphasis, to which Alexander had penetrated twenty-one centuries before. Early in the following July Holkar signed a treaty of peace, and hostilities ceased with the Mahrattas for a period of eleven years; but though Holkar died in October, 1811, the seeds of future trouble remained, owing to the reversal of the masterful policy of Lord Wellesley by his successor.

Lord Lake returned to England in February, 1807, broken in health, and died in the following February, a few months before his gallant son, Colonel George Lake, who had accompanied him on his Indian campaigns, fell at Roliça, the first victory gained by Sir Arthur Wellesley in his wonderful career in the Peninsula.

With the departure from India of the great Wellesley brothers, that country was the loser, for the administration fell into incompetent hands. The Marquis of Wellesley, who afterwards filled the offices of Viceroy of Ireland and Foreign Secretary, which, however, did not afford the same scope for his special and commanding talents, was undoubtedly second only to Clive and Hastings in the importance of the services he rendered in founding our Indian Empire, while he stands pre-eminent among his successors for the extent of the territories he annexed, his statesmanlike measures for consolidating our rule, and the personal ascendency and awe for the power of England which he inspired among the native rulers. But, like Clive and Hastings, his

* The East India Company erected a monument to Lord Cornwallis in St. Paul's Cathedral, and statues were put up by subscription in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay.

conduct towards the Indian princes was occasionally harsh and tyrannical, though the opposition of his enemies was often inspired by faction and base personal motives. His promptitude and skill in suppressing Tippoo were most praiseworthy, as the struggle was not only for supremacy, but for existence. But in depriving the youthful ruler of Tanjore of the administration of his principality, and in his dealings with the young Nabob of the Carnatic, who was treated in a similar fashion, on account of his predecessor having carried on an incriminating correspondence with Tippoo, which Mill declared was forged, his lordship exceeded the bounds of justice. His treatment of the Nabob Vizier of Oude was also equally arbitrary and indefensible, though we fear the acquisition of our Indian Empire has been marked by too many such instances of high-handedness and unfair dealing. For his vigorous suppression of the Mahratta princes, Holkar, Scindia and Nagpore, on the other hand, we find nothing that is not admirable. But, above all, the gratitude of his countrymen is due to Lord Wellesley for being the first to discern the genius of England's greatest soldier, the saviour of Spain, Portugal, and, indeed, of all Europe, from the tyranny of Napoleon. But for Assaye and Argaum, Vittoria and Waterloo would never have been fought, and the most glorious pages in our military history would have remained unwritten.

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CHAPTER X.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

1793—1800.

Expedition under the Duke of York to Holland—The Guards at Lincelles—The Siege of Dunkirk—Villiers-en-Couche and the 15th Hussars—British Cavalry Action near Cateau—Repulse of the French at the Marque and Pont-a-Chin—Retreat of the Duke of York across the Meuse and Waal—Loss of Nimguen, and Retreat of the British Army to Bremen—The Operations at Toulon and Capture of Corsica—The Rebellion in the West India Islands and the Maroon War in Jamaica—Reduction of the Cape of Good Hope and the Dutch Possessions in the East and West Indies—Attack on the French and Spanish Islands in the West Indies—The Expedition to Holland in 1799—The Actions of the 27th August and the 10th September—Battle of Bergen—Action at Kastricum—Return of the Army to England.

WITHIN eight days of the execution of Louis XVI., in January, 1793, the French Minister was ordered to leave London, and on the 1st February, the National Convention declared war against Great Britain, Spain and Holland. The British Government took a large body of Hessian and Hanoverian troops into its service, and subsidized the King of Sardinia to join the Austrians in Italy, and all the powers of Europe, with the exception of Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland, entered into an agreement to exclude French ships from their ports. In the preceding year the French Republican forces, led at Valmy by Kellermann (afterwards Duke of Valmy, and the famous leader of Napoleon's cavalry in most of his battles, including Waterloo) and at Jemappes by Dumouriez, had achieved victories over the Prussian and Austrian troops on the Northern frontiers, and now the combinations of the allies, including a body of British troops sent to Holland under H.R.H. the Duke of York, numbered no less than 355,000 combatants, while the French Republic could only muster 270,000 men. But though inferior in numbers, equipment and discipline, the Republican forces were animated by the fiercest patriotism and a belief in the beneficence of the new form of government, and gained the most surprising successes against troops led by veteran generals such as the Austrian Clairfait,

the Prince of Coburg, who had served against the Turks under Suwarrow, the Duke of Brunswick, the hero of the "Seven Years' War," and others. The monarchs of Europe, on the other hand, fearful lest the poison of the democratic principles of the revolution should spread into their own countries, took up arms to combat the new doctrines, and their people paid the penalty in lives and treasure. As Horace says, "*Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*"

On the 5th March, 1793, the British troops, under the Duke of York, landed at Helvoetsluys, and the first success was achieved by the raising of the siege of Williamstadt. General Dumouriez now proceeded to take command of the army, under Miranda, but was compelled to retire within the French frontier after the battle of Neerwinden on the 18th March, and soon after his career came to an end by his defection from the Republican cause, due to his displeasure at the execution of the French king.* Generals Dampierre, Custine, Kilmaine and Houchard in succession commanded the French armies of the north, but suffered defeat by the allied forces, under the Duke of Coburg and the Duke of York, who commanded the English, Dutch and Hanoverian divisions.

In the action fought on the 8th May, the first in which British troops met the French in this war, the three regiments of Guards displayed impetuous courage and held their ground, but suffered heavily from the fire of the enemy's guns. While the Duke of Wurtemberg conducted the blockade of Condé, to the Duke of York was entrusted the siege of Valenciennes, with the British and Hanoverians, assisted by thirteen battalions and twelve squadrons of Austrians, under General Ferrari. The first parallel, armed with fifteen batteries, was completed on the 15th June, and the besiegers, encouraged by the surrender of Condé and Mayence, advanced on the night of the 25th, in three columns of attack, each consisting of 900 men. The first column, under General Abercrombie, of British and Hanoverians, was directed against the left re-entering angle of a strong horn-work, and, in conjunction with the second column, captured the horn-work without loss, and the third also carried the ravelin. The Duke of York again summoned the place, which capitulated after a siege of forty-five days, the garrison of 7,000 men engaging not to bear arms against the allied armies, though they were employed against their own countrymen in La Vendée.

The allied army was in motion on the 6th August, and on the following day the Duke of York's corps of 22,000 men crossed the Scheldt, and the 15th Hussars distinguished themselves by a gallant charge. The French army continued to fall back, and the Duke pushed on in

* General Dumouriez died in England, where he had taken refuge, in 1823.

pursuit with 2,000 British cavalry, but nothing was effected. The enemy, now commanded by General Houchard, showed no disposition to make a stand at Cambray, but the allies, instead of making any further advance into France, divided their forces, the Duke of Coburg, with him the Austrian divisions, numbering 50,000 men, invested Quesnoy, which he captured, and the Duke of York, with a like number, composed of British, Dutch and Hanoverian troops, fell back, on the 14th August, towards Dunkirk.

While leisurely marching to Menin on the 18th August, a cannonade was heard in the direction of Lincelles, where the Prince of Orange had made an attack on the French. General Lake was ordered, with three battalions of British Guards, to retake the village, from which the Dutch troops had been driven by the Republicans, and the Guards carried the entrenched position with a rush at the point of the bayonet, notwithstanding a heavy fire of grape and small arms, and captured twelve guns.* On the 20th August, the Duke divided his army into two corps, one of which, consisting of eighteen battalions and thirty-eight squadrons, under Marshal Freytag, took post to cover the siege of Dunkirk, while the other, of twenty-eight battalions and nineteen squadrons, undertook that operation. The French War Minister, Carnot, the celebrated "organizer of victory," despatched 10,000 men, under General Jourdain, to assist Houchard in his measures for the relief of Dunkirk, in command of which General Souham was now placed, superseding O'Hara, with the young Republican leader Hoche as his adjutant-general. On the 6th September the French attacked Marshal Freytag's covering army at Hondschoote, and the same afternoon, the garrison of Dunkirk made an attack on the right wing of the British army, but was driven back. During the conflict, the 14th regiment suffered severely, and Colonel Moncrieff, commanding the Engineers, was killed. On the 8th the French again attacked the allied position at Hondschoote, now commanded by Walmoden, Freytag having been wounded, and also the Duke of York, who, on hearing of the retreat of the covering army, hastily abandoned the investment on the night of the 9th September, leaving behind the thirty-two siege guns, and retired to Furnes. During the fighting that succeeded the Dutch lost heavily, and the division, some 12,000 strong, was soon after withdrawn by the Duke of Coburg, who laid siege to Mauberge, thus leaving to the Duke of York, who had made Tournay his headquarters, the defence of Flanders.

The year 1793 closed with the triumph of the French arms all along the line, Alsace and Lorraine being freed from the foe, the Prussians

* The three regiments of Guards have the name "Lincelles" on their colours in honour of this brilliant affair. Colonel Bosville, commanding the Coldstreams, was killed in this action.

being driven across the frontiers, and the Austrians over the Rhine, Valenciennes and Quesnoy alone on French soil being occupied by an enemy. In the following year, the French army in the north, hitherto commanded by Hoche and Jourdain, had as their Commander-in-chief Pichegru, who lay between Cambray and Guise, having as his principal opponents the Duke of Coburg, and the Austrian General Clairfait, but as the Duke of York refused to serve under the latter, the Emperor Francis nominally assumed the command on the 16th April. A forward movement across the Meuse was made by the allied armies, which advanced in eight columns, the fourth and fifth being under the English general. On this occasion a squadron of the 16th Light Dragoons charged and took four guns and a howitzer, and four squadrons of the 15th Light Dragoons captured two guns and a colour. The same day the Prince of Orange, with the Dutch division, undertook the siege of Landrecy, the Duke of York being in observation towards Cambray.

On the 24th the garrison made a demonstration towards Villiers-en-Couche, when the Duke of York detached General Otto with two squadrons of Leopold's Hussars and two of 15th Dragoons, which were supported by General Mansell, with a brigade of British cavalry. Otto came unexpectedly on the enemy, and charging with the hussars, drove them back upon a strong body of infantry and cavalry, said to number 10,000, occupying the outskirts of the village. In spite of the musketry and grape, the gallant dragoons rode down the front rank of the infantry and broke the French cavalry in the rear, who fled in panic. The English loss in this affair was fifty-seven killed and seventeen wounded.*

Pichegru, the French General-in-chief, having determined to succour Landrecy, on the 26th April made a forward movement of his whole army from Dunkirk to Philippeville, and General Chappuis, with two columns, advanced against the position of the Duke of York, and obtained possession of the village of Troisville, whence he advanced against the British entrenched camp before Cateau, but was driven back by the fire of the British artillery. General Otto, under instructions from the Duke, moved rapidly forward with some Austrian cuirassiers and Mansell's and Vyse's brigades of British cavalry, and captured 2,000 French infantry and 14 guns. Otto, leaving General Dundas with a brigade of British light dragoons and

* The Emperor Francis was so struck with the audacious gallantry of this affair, that he ordered a gold medal to be struck, and presented a copy to each of the eight officers engaged, and in 1800, when the statutes of the Maria Theresa Order were enlarged so as to admit foreigners, each officer received a cross. The 15th Hussars bear on their standard the name of "Villiers-en-Couche" in remembrance of this feat of arms.

German hussars to follow a retreating brigade of French cuirassiers, attacked the rear of Chappuis' infantry division, and, seconded by a regiment of Austrian cavalry on the enemy's left flank, captured eight guns. Pushing on, he sent Mansell's brigade against a large body of infantry and fourteen guns; but these gallant troopers, consisting of the Blues, 1st and 16th Dragoons, and 1st Dragoon Guards, were met by such a heavy fire of grape that they suffered heavily, the General and his aide-de-camp being among the killed. Colonel Vyse, taking command, charged the enemy vigorously, when they fled or surrendered with all their guns, and in the pocket of Chappuis, who surrendered his sword to Major Tiddieman of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, was found the whole of Pichegru's plans for investing Flanders. The British cavalry had 2 officers and 54 men killed, and 4 officers and about 100 men wounded in this affair, which was the first in which Lord Combermere was engaged. The Duke of York proceeded to Tournay to reinforce Clairfait's corps, and in a few days later Landrecy surrendered.

But Pichegru, nevertheless, carried into effect his plan for a grand attack on the allied position, and inflicted a heavy defeat at Moescroen on Clairfait, who was wounded, and repaired to Tournay, some of his troops flying to Oudenarde, leaving in the hands of the enemy 33 guns, 4 colours, and 1,200 prisoners.

On the 10th May Pichegru, crossing the Marque, advanced to attack the Duke of York in position between Lamain and Blandain, and the Duke directed General Harcourt, with sixteen squadrons of light horse, and two of Austrian hussars, supported by Dundas' brigade and Laurie's and Vyse's regiments of heavy cavalry, to attack the enemy. After a brief combat the French retired from Camphlin, when the British artillery opened with effect upon the retreating columns, who left fourteen guns behind them. Dundas' brigade also scattered two battalions and made 400 prisoners. The French were more successful in their attack on the Hanoverians, but retired on the following day.

In accordance with a grand plan of campaign, formulated by General Mack—a name associated with the capitulation of Ulm—with the object of enveloping the whole French army, the Duke of York advanced on the 26th May, with twelve battalions and ten squadrons, and, at Roubaix, encountered the French, whom he drove out of their position, and again at Mouvaux, where the brigade of Guards greatly distinguished itself. A French corps, 16,000 strong, on the 18th May made a determined assault on the Duke's flank at Roubaix, taken up under the orders of the Austrian Emperor, and the brigade of Guards, under General Abercrombie, and General Fox's brigade at Roubaix, suffered severely, and lost all their prisoners and some guns. Five days later took place the action of Tournay, or Pont-a-Chin, where the French

General Macdonald five times captured that position, only five times to be driven out of it, and at length the British infantry, after fifteen hours' fighting, remained in possession of the village. It is said that some 9,000 men were killed and wounded in this sanguinary encounter, which may clearly be regarded as a British success. Pichegru now turned against the Austrian General Clairfait, and, on the 17th June, Ypres was taken by the French, and a few days later, he gained a great victory over the Duke of Coburg at Fleurus. The Duke of York, on hearing of the defeat of the Austrians, feeling that his position at Tournay was isolated, on the 3rd July fell back to Renaix, and thence to Malines. At this time, 8,000 British troops landed at Ostend, under Lord Moira, who, after a severe action with the French at Alost, fell back and joined the Duke near Malines. Ostend fell into the hands of Pichegru on the 13th July, and that officer, with the object of preventing the British army from embarking for England, also despatched 16,000 men to secure the island of Walcheren at the mouth of the Scheldt. The whole allied army had now relinquished the line of the Scheldt and retired behind the Dyle. On the 10th July, Brussels fell into the hands of the French, and the whole of West Flanders was in their occupation, Pichegru being at Brussels, and Jourdain at Nivelles.

A complete separation took place between the allied army on the 13th July, the Austrian troops, under the Duke of Coburg, seeking to keep open their communications with Germany by Cologne and Coblentz, while the Duke of York, with the British and German army, 35,000 strong,* exclusive of Lord Moira's division, and the Dutch division under the Prince of Orange of 15,000 men, sought to cover the Netherlands.

While Jourdain advanced against the Austrians, Pichegru, at the head of 84,000 men, directed his attention to the Duke of York. On the 16th, the Earl of Moira's cavalry, consisting of the 8th, 15th and 16th Dragoons, encountered the French horse near Rosendaal, when Colonel Churchill killed the colonel of the French 8th Dragoons in single combat. The Duke of York, finding his position untenable now that the Austrians had crossed the Meuse, on the 22nd took up a position at Rosendaal, between Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom.

The French continued their career of victory, capturing Quesnoy, Landrecy, Valenciennes, and Condé, until the soil of France was clear of the invader, and at length, on the 5th September, Pichegru put his

* This total was made up as follows:—British troops—Harcourt's brigade of cavalry, under Walmoden; Balfour's, Graham's, and Fox's brigades of infantry, and thirty-four squadrons of cavalry, under Erskine. The reserve, under Abercrombie, consisting of Hull's brigade of Guards, and thirteen squadrons of British and Hessian Dragoons. In addition, there were two brigades of Hanoverians, under Hammerstein, three brigades, under Walmoden, and a brigade of Hessians with the reserve.

army into motion against the Dutch and Anglo-Prussian forces. On the 14th he attacked and carried the post of Boxtel, defended by the Hessians, when the Duke of York sent forward General Abercrombie with the reserve, consisting of the brigade of Guards, the 12th, 33rd, 42nd, and 44th regiments, and some squadrons of cavalry and guns. During the fighting that ensued, the illustrious Duke of Wellington, then Lieutenant-Colonel Wellesley (or Wesley), commanding the 33rd regiment, first smelt powder. On the enemy being discerned in the morning, the English dragoons advanced to drive them in, supported by the Guards, with the 33rd and 44th regiments, but they were met by such a heavy artillery fire, that they were compelled to fall back. In the retreat, the cavalry, getting "mobbed" in a lane with one of the household battalions, a regiment of hussars charged them, whereupon Colonel Wellesley deployed the 33rd into line in the plain in front of the household troops, and received the advancing horsemen with such a murderous fire that they fell back in confusion, and the retreat was continued without molestation. On the same day the Duke of York retired behind the Meuse, and Pichegru followed a few days later. On hearing of the retreat of the Imperialists behind the Rhine, the Duke withdrew his army across the Waal, and established an entrenched camp at Nimeguen. Pichegru crossed the Meuse without opposition, but the Duke sent General Abercrombie to take command on the right of the too extended British position, with the Guards, Lord Cathcart's brigade, and several battalions of British and Hessians garrisoning Bommel, Fort St. André, and other places. Pichegru, taking advantage of the defective dispositions of the Duke of York, dashed in between the divisions of Abercrombie and Hammerstein. On the 19th, General Souham advanced to the attack with four columns of 3,000 men each, and such was the ardour of the Republican troops that they dashed into the canal, with the water up to their armpits, notwithstanding the rigour of the weather, and gained the top of the dyke, when the allies fell back in haste. One of the columns advancing along the Waal, at Druyton, came upon the left wing of the 37th regiment, which, being attacked by some French hussars in a position where they had no space to form, was cut to pieces, with the exception of two officers and eighty men. General Fox, commanding the post at Druyton, escaped; but one colour and some field guns were captured by the enemy. The 55th regiment and the French Emigrant Legion were also driven back at the Dyke of Appiltern, with the loss of 300 men.

General Hammerstein now joined Walmoden in the entrenched camp at Nimeguen, to which the French army laid siege. On the night of the 3rd November, the Duke ordered a sortie from the camp. General de Burgh advanced with the 27th, 28th, 55th, 63rd and 78th regiments, the Hanoverians and Dutch also sallying out by other gates. The French

were driven out of their batteries and entrenchments, but returned, and the siege was continued, and on the 7th November, the enemy obtained possession of one of the advanced works. The Duke of York now evacuated Nimeguen, and on the 2nd December, hearing of his proposed supercession by Lord Cornwallis, quitted his headquarters at Arnheim for England, leaving General Walmoden in command of a dispirited and defeated army of 45,000 men, of which the British contingent—consisting at this time of thirty-two battalions and thirty squadrons, with fourteen Hanoverian battalions and sixteen squadrons, fourteen Hessian battalions and fourteen squadrons, and eight French Emigrant battalions and twenty squadrons—was placed under General Harcourt.

The sufferings of the troops at this time were excessive. Winter had set in on the 20th November in its most rigorous form, and by the 24th December, the thermometer marked 24 degrees of frost. The canal and rivers became frozen over, and on the 28th December, General Pichegru sent a strong force across the Waal and captured the island of Bommel, garrisoned by the Dutch. The British troops were so indignant at the continued successes of the Republican troops, that they induced General Walmoden to permit an expedition for the recovery of Bommel. Sir David Dundas was placed in charge, and on the 30th December, succeeded in turning the French out of their strong position on the island, which was carried at the point of the bayonet, and they were driven across the ice-bound Waal with considerable loss, including eleven guns they had captured from the Dutch.

Further fighting took place on the 4th January, 1795, in which a wing of the 33rd regiment was obliged to fall back and rejoin the headquarters under Colonel Wellesley, and the 11th Dragoons were repulsed by the French hussars and four guns were lost. General Dundas immediately sent the remainder of Balfour's brigade, together with Laurie's cavalry, who charged upon the ice with great spirit, pursuing the enemy over the frozen river, and in the affray the guns were recaptured by the 42nd Highlanders. On the 6th January, the British and Hanoverians passed the Leck, and on the 8th, encounters took place, in which Lord Cathcart experienced some loss. Two days later, the French crossed the Waal above Nimeguen, and the 55th regiment was hotly engaged, when General Abercrombie withdrew from Buren and crossed the Rhine at Rhenen. Holland was now overrun by the French, the Stadtholder embarked for England, and on the 20th, Pichegru entered Amsterdam, and the Dutch army ceased all opposition to the French.

On the 30th January, was witnessed the unique spectacle of the capture of the entire Dutch fleet of twelve ships, lying at the Helder, by a charge of French cavalry. General Walmoden at first determined

to occupy the line of the river Yssel; but the British Government having resolved on the withdrawal of all their forces from the Continent, a retreat was now commenced across the dreary waste, or open plain, called the Weluwe. During the terrible retreat that ensued, the army had not only the horrors of a winter, rigorous almost beyond memory, to contend with, but every species of injury and disservice that malignity could devise was wrought by the inhabitants of the Dutch villages through which they passed. The barren district, destitute of almost a blade of grass, through which the army retreated, was swept by the keen, snow-laden blast, and many of the sick and wounded, carried in open waggons, and even the hale, perished under the accumulated misery of cold, weakness, and want.

The retreat was effected without opposition until the 24th February, when the French attacked the advanced posts at Oldenvach. On the 4th March, the British withdrew across the Eems before General Macdonald's division, and Jourdain and Moreau took possession of the fortresses of Bourtayes and Bertheim. The allied army was now concentrated behind the Eems, but the British, being relieved by the Prussians from Westphalia, fell back behind the Weser, where the transports awaited them. The embarkation at Bremen was completed by the 12th April, with the exception of a small force under General Dundas, which was withdrawn in the following year.

Throughout the campaign, and notably during the retreat, the British soldier displayed the stubborn valour characteristic of him; but the generals were mostly inexperienced and incompetent, and utterly unable to cope with such officers as Pichegru—of whom Napoleon himself was jealous—Moreau, Macdonald, Kleber, Jourdain, and others, who became famous under their immortal leader as Marshals of France.

During these early years of England's great struggle with France, the unwise military policy was adopted, similar to that which the elder Pitt at one time encouraged, of despatching subsidiary expeditions to harass or attack the French either at home or in the colonies. Thus in November, 1793, a motley force of about 17,000 men, of whom 12,000 were effective, including 2,000 English troops, under Generals O'Hara and Dundas, assisted by the seamen and marines of Lord Hood's fleet, defended the city and suburbs of Toulon against a Republican army of 25,000 men, under General Dugommier. After much severe fighting, the allied force, having blown up the shipping and magazine, evacuated the place on the 19th December. This abortive enterprise is chiefly noteworthy as the first occasion in which a young lieutenant of artillery, Napoleon Buonaparte by name, attracted

attention by his dash and military aptitude, and, by a singular coincidence, Sir Sydney Smith, of the Royal Navy, of whom Napoleon always bitterly spoke as the "British post-captain who foiled his destiny at Acre," served with great distinction in the British batteries with the seamen of the fleet. In the following January, Lord Hood, assisted by some 4,000 men, under General Dundas, effected the conquest of the island of Corsica.* In the fighting that took place at Bastia and Calvi, the immortal Nelson, who lost his eye at Calvi, brought himself prominently to the front.

The British Government, having determined to reduce the French West India Islands, on 26th November, 1793, a combined military and naval expedition sailed from St. Helens, under the command of General Sir Charles Grey and Admiral Sir John Jervis, afterwards Lord St. Vincent. The troops† numbered 11,200 men, divided into three brigades, commanded by Major-Generals Prescott, Thomas Dundas, and Sir Charles Gordon, who was succeeded later by H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. On 5th February, the expedition arrived off Martinique, the force of effectives being reduced to 6,000, the sick troops having been landed at Barbadoes.

The attack was made from three points, and St. Pierre was taken, and on the 25th March, General Rochambeau surrendered Forts Bourbon and Louis after a spirited siege. The expedition then proceeded to St. Lucia, six leagues distant, which was surrendered by General Ricord after some fighting; and then an attack was made on Guadaloupe, so named by Columbus after some mountains in Spain. Fort Fleur d'Epée, in Grand Terre, was taken by storm by General Dundas' brigade, and on the 20th, Palmiste, the key of the fort and town of St. Charles, in Basse Terre, which is separated from Grand Terre by a narrow arm of the sea, was captured, and the whole island was surrendered by M. Collot. On the 3rd June, General Dundas, Fort Governor of Guadaloupe, died of yellow fever, and soon after a French armament arrived from France, and landing at Grand Terre, carried Fort Fleur d'Epée by assault. Brigadier-General Francis Dundas attacked them on the night of the 13th April, and captured by storm the fort of St. Jean, or Gabbare, a point of land opposite to the harbour of Point à Pitre. Siege was then laid to Fort Fleur d'Epée, and some san-

* In August, 1796, on Spain joining the coalition against Great Britain, the island of Corsica was evacuated, the troops and stores being removed by Commodore Nelson.

† The following were the regiments engaged in these operations:—the 6th, 9th, 15th, 39th, 43rd, 56th, 58th, 64th, 65th, and 70th.

guinary fighting took place, the enemy making desperate sorties on the British position at Marcot heights. The rainy season having set in, General Grey made a determined effort to capture the enemy's positions on the heights, round the town of Point à Pitre, but he was repulsed with the loss of 38 officers, including General Symes, Colonel Gomm, 55th Regiment, and Captain Robertson, R.N., commanding the seamen, and 654 men killed and wounded. Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, after securing the camp at Basse Terre, sailed for Martinique, leaving General Graham in command of the British troops at the camp of Berville, at Point à Pitre. These were soon reduced by sickness to 250 men, with 300 Royalists; and after repulsing three desperate assaults, in which the enemy is said to have lost 2,000 men, they were compelled, on 5th October, to capitulate. But the unfortunate Royalists were not included in the terms of surrender, and were all guillotined* or shot by their Republican countrymen. General Prescott, assisted by the fire of the *Boyne*, held out in the fort, commanding the town of Basse Terre, until the 10th December, a period of eight weeks, when the garrison was so reduced by famine and the sword that he evacuated the fort and embarked on board the fleet. The losses of the British army during this disastrous campaign were heavy, and included 27 officers killed, and 170 died of disease.†

In 1795 the slaves in the British West Indies, encouraged by Victor Hugues, Governor of Guadaloupe, who secretly sent them provisions, arms and ammunition, and in some instances even troops, rose in rebellion throughout the islands, and committed terrible atrocities. In April the negroes in St. Lucia suddenly attacked the British troops, who were compelled to retreat, and ultimately, after some fighting, Brigadier-General Stewart was compelled to evacuate the island on the 19th June. Severe fighting also took place in St. Vincent, in which the 46th, 48th, 54th, and 59th regiments, and the 60th Rifles, under Sir John Vaughan and General Irving, were successful in expelling the French.

The insurrection commenced in Granada on 2nd March, when the Governor and many of the English inhabitants were murdered in their beds. The Commander-in-chief sent over troops from Martinique, under General Lindsay, but that officer put an end to himself in a fit of delirium caused by fever. Heavy fighting took place on the 8th April, but the attack on the position of the insurgents failed, with the loss of

* This identical guillotine may be seen by the curious in the very interesting museum of the Royal United Service Institution in London.

† We have derived our history of these operations from "An Account of the Campaign in the West Indies in 1794," by the Reverend Cooper Willyams, chaplain of H.M.S. *Boyne*.

three officers and 100 men killed, and fifty prisoners, who were brutally executed. General Nichols now assumed command, and by the end of June, the rebels having been defeated, gave up all further resistance.

The insurrection in the island of Dominica, which took place in June of this year, failed, as did also a formidable attempt by Victor Hugues to stir up the negroes in Martinique—the British headquarters in the Antilles. A force, with four guns, was disembarked on the island, but the general, Lord Dalhousie, attacked the invaders on the 1st December, and though himself wounded, dispersed and put them to the sword.

In July the maroons of Jamaica broke out into rebellion, but were attacked by the Governor, Lord Balcarres, at the head of the 83rd regiment and some 300 of the 18th Dragoons. In the fighting Colonel Sandford, of the dragoons, and Colonel Fitch, commanding the 83rd, were both killed, but better success attended the efforts of Colonel Walpole, who now assumed command of the troops. The maroons, terror-struck at the employment of 100 Spanish bloodhounds imported from Cuba to hunt them down, sued for terms, and were granted their lives. They were shipped off to Nova Scotia, whence, in 1800, they were removed to Sierra Leone.

Early in August, 1795, a combined military and naval expedition, under the orders of Admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone, with the 78th regiment, commanded by Major-General Craig, arrived in Simon's bay, in the Cape of Good Hope, and the Dutch general was summoned to surrender the settlement in trust for the Stadtholder, who had taken refuge in England after the occupation of Amsterdam by the French army. As he refused, on the 14th August the 78th and Marines were landed and occupied the town, but the Dutch Militia and Hottentot levies occupied a strong position on the road to Cape Town. Accordingly 1,000 seamen were landed from the fleet, bringing up the force to 1,800 men, who advanced along the shore under the fire of the guns of the ships and launches. The enemy evacuated the strong position they had taken up, but on the 3rd September, as they were about to make an attempt in force, with eighteen guns, to retake the post, a reinforcement of troops from India, under Sir Alured Clarke, cast anchor in Simon's Bay, and the Dutch Governor, Shuysheen, on the 14th, surrendered Cape Town and the colony.*

In July of this year, an expedition sailed from Madras, under Rear-Admiral Rainier, to reduce the island of Ceylon, then in possession of

* The Cape Colony was by treaty returned to Holland, but was finally reconquered in 1806.

the Dutch. As the Governor of Trincomalee refused to surrender the port, a body of troops, under Colonel James Stuart, was landed, and after a brief siege, a practicable breach was effected, when the garrison capitulated. Early in February of the following year (1796), Colombo was occupied, and a determined attack made by the Dutch on a body of troops on the line of march, was repulsed.* A small British force also succeeded in obtaining possession of Malacca and Chinsura, near Calcutta, and the other Dutch settlements in India fell into the hands of the English, so that the Dutch paid heavily for their adherence to the cause of the French Republic.

A combined expedition proceeded against the Moluccas. Amboyna was captured on the 16th February, and Banda on the 8th March, after batteries had opened fire on Fort Nassau. Considerable merchandise was captured, both in Ceylon and the Moluccas, and vast sums were distributed in prize-money to the soldiers and sailors.

The Dutch also lost their possessions in the West Indies, consisting of Demerara, Esequibo and Berbice, but the recapture of St. Lucia from the French was not effected without some severe fighting. General Abercrombie commanded the troops, which, with a body of sailors, effected a landing on the 28th April. Morne Chabot was captured by assault on the following day, but twice the British troops were repulsed with loss in the attack on another fort. Finally, on the 26th May, the enemy laid down their arms, and surrendered the island,† the British loss during these operations being between 500 and 600 *hors de combat*. On the 8th June the island of St. Vincent was attacked by General Abercrombie, with part of the 3rd Buffs and the 42nd regiment, and after a smart action, in which the British loss was 38 killed and 145 wounded, the island was surrendered, but the Caribs kept up a guerilla warfare until the following November, when 5,000 of them surrendered to General Hunter. Grenada was surrendered about the same time to General Nicolls' division, and the British, under General Forbes, succeeded in capturing a French fort in the island of St.

* By the treaty of Amiens in 1802, the island of Ceylon was formally annexed to the British dominions, though only a strip round the coast was actually in possession of the English. A British force of 8,000 men, under General MacDowall, marched from Colombo into the interior, and in February, 1803, took possession of Kandy, the native capital, in conjunction with a column from Trincomalee. A small garrison was left at Kandy, but the whole party, three hundred Europeans and seven hundred Malays, either died of fever or were treacherously murdered after a convention for a safe return to Colombo had been signed. The Cingalese now advanced upon this fort, but were repulsed, and Kandy was again occupied, only to be abandoned. Ceylon was finally annexed in 1815, and the King was removed to Vellore, where he died on the 30th January, 1832.

† "St. Lucia" is borne on the colours of the 1st Royals, 27th, 53rd, and 64th regiments.

Domingo, where they had a footing, a British garrison holding Port-au-Prince.

In February, 1797, a combined expedition sailed from Martinique for the capture of the important island of Trinidad, then a Spanish possession, and was successful in effecting its object without loss. An attempt was now made by General Abercrombie, with 3,000 men, on the island of Porto Rico, but the castle was of very great strength, and after losing 100 killed and wounded, and 125 missing, the General was compelled to abandon the enterprise. Chronicle should here be made of another failure of a small British expedition. In 1798, the Government despatched a squadron, with 1,200 men and six guns, under General Eyre Coote, to destroy the sluices and basins of the Bruges canal at Ostend. The troops were landed on the 19th May, and destroyed the sluices, but were unable to re-embark owing to the weather having become boisterous. The enemy now arrived from Bruges, and the British, after sustaining an attack for three hours, were compelled to surrender. This is one of those small failures of the British army of which we have heard nothing from the patriotic historians of those times. In this year also the British fleet occupied Malta, and in November, after some fighting, a combined force, the soldiers being under the command of General the Hon. C. Stuart, captured the island of Minorca. During the year the island of St. Domingo was evacuated by the British and French forces, and an attack made by the Spaniards on the British settlement at Honduras was repulsed by the navy and a detachment of troops stationed there.

The Second Expedition to Holland.

The English Cabinet decided, in 1799, on undertaking a second expedition on a large scale against Holland, which, two years before, impelled by the example of France, had adopted Republican institutions, the state hitherto known as the "Seven United Provinces" assuming the title of the Batavian Republic.

Accordingly, in August, 1799, an army of about 27,000 men* was despatched to Holland, under the command of Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of York. At break of day on the 27th August, some

* The British troops engaged were four battalions of Guards, the 7th, 11th, and 18th Dragoons, and the following regiments of the line, in addition to Royal Artillery and Engineers:—1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 9th, 17th, 23rd, 25th, 27th, 29th, 31st, 35th, 49th, 55th, 69th, 79th, 85th, and 92nd.

2,500 men, under Generals Sir James Pulteney* and Coote, was landed at the Helder, where they were attacked by about 5,000 Dutch troops, who were driven back after a spirited skirmish. The rest of the British army was quickly disembarked. At this time General Daendels, commanding the Republican army until the arrival of General Brune from Paris, came on the scene with ten fresh battalions and 500 horse, with artillery, and renewed the attack. The British fell back, and the Dutch advancing, exposed their flank, when they were attacked in turn by the 23rd, 29th, 55th, and 85th regiments, who held their ground and compelled the Dutch to retire to a position behind the Zype. In this action the enemy lost 1,400 killed, wounded, and missing, and the British 450.

During the night General Daendels evacuated the fort of the Helder, and on the 30th August, the Dutch fleet, under Admiral Story, was surrendered to the British Admiral Mitchell, and the command of the Zuyder Zee was acquired by the invaders. As this exposed his right flank, General Daendels fell back the same day between Alkmaar and Hoorn, and Abercrombie moved forward on the 1st September and occupied the abandoned ground. General Brune now arrived, and moving up the French troops, concentrated his whole force at Alkmaar. On the 10th, the enemy, 20,000 strong, advanced against the English position, which Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was in command till the arrival of the Duke of York, had made very strong. General Vandamme was repulsed by two brigades of Guards, under General Burrard, with the loss of Brigadier-General David, so was Dumonceau, who made a determined attempt to carry by assault the entrenchments in his front, and General Daendels, who attacked the village of St. Martin, defended by the 17th and 49th regiments, suffered a disastrous repulse, and his men fled panic-stricken. In this action the British lost 180 killed and wounded, among the latter General Moore and Colonel Smith, commanding the 20th regiment, and the loss of the Anglo-Dutch army was estimated at 2,000. General Brune now resumed his position at Alkmaar, and on the 12th September, the Russian division of 7,000 men, under General Hermann, arrived, raising the allied army to about 35,000 troops. On the following day the Duke of York assumed the command, and on the 19th, marched with the whole army to attack Brune's position at Bergen and Alkmaar, where the combined force of 13,000 French and 15,000 Dutch troops was concentrated. The attack was made in four columns, numbering about 28,000 men. The result was indecisive, as, although the divisions of

* Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Sir James Pulteney, and General Dundas commanded divisions, and the brigade commanders were:—Major-Generals Coote, Burrard, D'Oyley, Hutchinson, Moore, Don. and Lords Chatham, Cavan, and Mawers.

Generals David Dundas, Sir James Pulteney, and Sir Ralph Abercrombie—the first to turn the French left, and the last to turn their right by penetrating between them and the Zuyder Zee—were successful in carrying out the plans of the Duke of York. the fourth column, consisting of Hermann's Russians, operating against Bergen, which was held by French troops, was driven back, after capturing the place, and left their brave leader a prisoner in the hands of the enemy, when General Essen assumed the command. It was in consequence of this defeat of the Russian column, that the Duke of York, who accompanied Dundas's division, was compelled to order the evacuation of the village of Schoore, and a retreat on Petten. The third column, led by Sir James Pulteney, consisting of the brigades of Generals Coote and Don, achieved considerable results. While Coote's brigade marched by the left, the General accompanied Don's brigade in the attack on Oudt Carspel, where they were opposed by General Daendels. The dykes and bridges had been destroyed, but the troops advanced under a raking fire, the 17th and 40th regiments, under Colonel Spencer, especially displaying dashing courage in crossing the dyke and charging the enemy, when they were joined by General Don with the Scots Guards, then known as the 3rd regiment of Guards. The British troops pushed forward and entered the entrenchments, capturing fourteen guns, and causing a loss of 1,700 men to the enemy in killed, wounded, and missing. In consequence of the defeat of the Russians, Sir James now received an order to fall back, and evacuated the entrenchments, after throwing the guns into the canal. The casualties in his column were under 250. A fatal mistake was committed by the Duke of York in detaching Abercrombie's division of 7,000 men by a great détour over bad roads, so that their services were not available in repairing the consequences of the Russian defeat.

The British loss was two lieutenant-colonels in the Guards, three other officers and 100 men killed, 400 wounded, and 500 prisoners. The Russians lost 3,000 prisoners, including General Hermann, and twenty-six guns, in addition to those killed and wounded. On the other hand, the enemy had also suffered severely, including 3,000 taken prisoners. Each side resumed its former position. The Duke of York was reinforced a few days later by a Russian division of 6,000 men, under General Emmé, and a detachment of the 60th Rifles and some squadrons of the 15th Dragoons, raising the army to about 40,000 effectives.

But the winter was fast approaching, and mindful of his past experience in Holland, the Duke, with 30,000 men, marched to attack the enemy, who had taken up a strong position between the canal of Alkmaar and the sea. The army was, as before, divided into four columns. The first, of 8,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, under General Abercrombie,

was directed to march along the coast to Egmont-op-Zee, in order to threaten the French left flank and rear, while the second, consisting of 8,000 Russian infantry and 400 cavalry, under General Essen, was to march direct on Bergen. The third, or General Dundas's column, of 6,000 men, with seventeen guns, was to support these two columns on the side of Bergen, while Sir James Pulteney, with the fourth column, some 7,000 strong, was to keep General Daendels occupied in his front, so as to prevent his detaching troops to the left flank of the French army.

About 11 A.M. the troops marched to their several stations, got into line, and assaulted the enemy's position, which was carried, though they still held their ground on the sand-hills commanding Bergen. The 4th and 31st regiments, belonging to Lord Chatham's brigade, moved to the support of the 85th, of Coote's command, and drove back the enemy more than a mile, thus exposing the village of Bergen to attack; but General Essen refused to march across the plain to that place, so that General Dundas was able to do little more than hold his ground. Abercrombie, on reaching Egmont-op-Zee, found himself confronted by a strong force of the enemy posted on the sand-hills, under General Vandamme, and after an obstinate engagement, continued for some hours, succeeded in repelling every attack of the French general, who had been reinforced by General Brune from Alkmaar.

Towards nightfall, however, Vandamme, finding the artillery far in advance without support, charged at the head of his cavalry, and captured the whole of them. But the loss was quickly retrieved by the gallantry of the 15th Dragoons, the same regiment that performed the brilliant exploit at Villiers-en-Couche. Headed by Lord Paget, they instantly charged the French cavalry, whom they routed and pursued, retaking the guns. Abercrombie's division bivouacked for the night on the sand-hills opposite Egmont, and Essen's Russians advanced and occupied some villages, while Burrard pushed forward his Highlanders on Alkmaar, which General Brune hastily abandoned, and General Daendels also withdrew from St. Pancras before Pulteney.

In this victory*—for such it was, as the allies established their right at Hoorn and their left at Egmont-op-Zee, in the positions occupied by the French when Bergen and Alkmaar fell into their hands—the British casualties were 1,600, including twelve officers killed and eighty wounded, and that of the Russians about 600. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, ever in the hottest of the fire, had two horses shot under him. General Moore, the intrepid hero of Corunna, whose brigade charged with the

* "Egmont op-Zee" is inscribed on the colours of the following regiments:—The 15th Hussars, and the 1st, 20th, 25th, 49th, 63rd, 79th, and 92nd regiments of infantry.

bayonet, was wounded in the thigh and face with musket balls, and the 92nd Highlanders, which greatly distinguished itself and suffered heavily, lost its colonel, the Marquis of Huntly. General Coote's brigade of Dundas's division also did excellent service, the 27th and 85th regiments specially distinguishing themselves. The enemy's force in this battle was some 15,000 French and 10,000 Dutch, and their losses were about 3,000 men and seven guns.

The Duke of York determined to push his success, and on the morning of the 6th October, Burrard's brigade, supported by Coote's, obtained possession of the village of Akersloot and Limmen, the 3rd Guards, under Colonel Clephane, having driven the enemy out of the first-named at the point of the bayonet.* The Russians also took possession of Bakkum, but pushing on without orders to Kastricum, General Brune sent two brigades against them, and after four hours' fighting, Essen was driven back, and sent to Abercrombie for assistance. Sir Ralph was hotly engaged close to the sea-shore; but nevertheless marched with four battalions to Count Essen's support, sending Coote with two more to Kastricum, and the French were repulsed at all points. General Hutchinson's brigade, with the cavalry, also encountered a strong column of French troops, and drove them back at the point of the bayonet, the 11th Dragoons capturing 500 prisoners in the sand-hills. In this obstinately contested but resultless action, the British lost 100 killed, 600 missing, including nineteen officers, and 700 wounded. Among the officers slain was General Hutchinson, and Colonels Bainbridge, of the 20th, and Dickson, of the 4th regiments. Colonel Maitland, of the Guards, and Major Campbell, of the 20th, also died of their wounds. The Russian losses were over 1,100 men and six guns. Owing to these heavy losses, the inclement state of the weather, and the inability of the English army to advance, due to the almost impregnable position of the enemy, who were reinforced by 6,000 French troops, the Duke of York, on the advice of a council of war, retreated on the night of the 7th from Egmont to Schagan, a distance of thirty miles, and took up his old position on the Zype dyke. The Duke now entered into negotiations, and on the 18th October, a convention was concluded at Alkmaar, by which the allied troops were re-embarked at the Texel for England, and 8,000 French prisoners out of 15,000 detained in England were surrendered, together with the military stores and ordnance mounted within the British lines. Altogether, the campaign, notwithstanding the valour displayed by our soldiers, was disastrous to our arms, and aroused feelings of discontent and resentment against the Duke of York, who for the second time displayed incompetence.

* *See* Cust's "Annals of the Wars," and E. Walsh's "Narrative of the Expedition to Holland in 1799."

The policy of confiding the command of our armies in important operations to Royal princes, on considerations other than their fitness, is one fraught with disaster to the State. This was shown when the Duke of Cumberland failed so signally, and again in 1794, and now, when the Duke of York showed incompetence, and the interests of the country were sacrificed to the wishes of the King. In spite of these lessons, we have seen in more recent times—we refer to the Crimean War—a high command bestowed on a scion of the Royal House who had never seen a shot fired in anger, while veterans of approved experience were placed in subordinate posts. With the increasing democratic tendencies of the age, this folly is scarcely likely to be repeated.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR—(*continued*).

1801—1814.

The Expedition to Egypt—The Disembarkation at Aboukir Bay—The Battle of Alexandria and Death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie—Surrender of Cairo and Alexandria—Capture of the French West India Islands—Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope—The Battle of Maida—Failure of the Expedition to Egypt—The Capture of Monte Video—Disaster at Buenos Ayres—The Capture of Copenhagen—Capture of Cayenne and Martinique, and Expulsion of the French from the West Indies—The Expedition to Walcheren—Bombardment of Flushing—Return of the Army to England—The American War of 1812-14—Campaign of the Lakes—Capture of Oswego—Action at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, and Repulse at Fort Erie—Battle of Bladensburg and Capture of Washington—Failure of the Attacks on Baltimore and Plattsburg—The disastrous Expedition to New Orleans.

THE eighteenth century closed inauspiciously for the British arms, but the nineteenth opened under happier conditions. By the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire—corresponding with the 9th November, 1799—Buonaparte dispersed the legislative bodies at St. Cloud, and secured his election as First Consul, which was accepted by a national plebiscite of three million votes. But not content with anything short of a dictatorship, no long time elapsed before he assumed the dignities of Emperor of France, and King of Italy, and placed his brothers Jerome, Louis, and Joseph, respectively on the thrones of Westphalia, Holland, and Spain. The attention of the British Government had been directed to the isolated condition of the French troops at Malta—where a small force, under General Vaubois, had held out in the citadel of Valetta since the surrender of the island in 1798—and of the French army in Egypt, where it had remained since Nelson's victory of the Nile, and Buonaparte's departure for France. On the 3rd September, 1800, General Vaubois surrendered the citadel at Valetta to a British force under General Pigot, but the expulsion of the French from Egypt was a more serious undertaking.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, an officer of distinguished service and great ability, was selected for the command of an army to effect this object, and, on the 22nd June, arrived at Minorca, whence a united naval and military expedition sailed for Marmorice harbour, on the

coast of Caramania. The force assembled here on the 29th December, 1800, mustered 15,330 men, inclusive of 1,000 sick and absent, and about 500 Maltese. Besides these troops a division of 6,000 men from India, under General Baird, was expected to form a junction in Egypt, to expel the French army, which numbered at this time some 21,000 fighting men, under the command of General Menou, who had succeeded General Kleber, on his assassination by a fanatic at Cairo on the 14th June of the preceding year.

The fleet, under the command of Lord Keith, embarked the troops in Marmorice Bay, and, on the 1st March, arrived in Aboukir Bay, but the weather was too boisterous for the disembarkation of the army until the morning of the 8th March. At 9 A.M., on the signal being made from the flag-ship, the boats of the fleet, each conveying fifty men, pushed off for the shore in two lines, while launches containing field artillery and seamen acted in co-operation. Captain Sir Sydney Smith, R.N., commanded the boats, which contained about 5,500 men, consisting of the brigade of Guards, under General Ludlow; the 1st, 54th and 92nd regiments, under General Coote; and the reserve, consisting of the 23rd, 28th, 40th, 42nd and 58th regiments, under Generals Moore and Oakes. General Friant, the French Governor of Alexandria, who had sent word to Cairo of the arrival of the British armament, had placed his force of 1,600 infantry and twelve squadrons of cavalry, in position on the sand-hills, and his ten guns, on a lofty bluff commanding the shore. No sooner did the flotilla come within range, than a heavy fire of round shot, grape and musketry was opened on them, the castle of Aboukir on the left of the French line joining in the warm reception prepared for the invaders. Several boats were sunk, but the remainder pushed through the fire, and General John Moore, who fell at Corunna, drawing up the 23rd and 40th as they landed, led them up the heights on the enemy's position without firing a shot. The French troops bravely contested every foot of ground, but were driven back, and Sir Sydney Smith's sailors soon dragged up some guns. A detachment of the Guards had a momentary check from a charge of French cavalry, but forming square, drove them off until reinforced. The French retired with the loss of 300 men and eight guns, and took up a strong position between Lake Mareotis and the sea, covering Alexandria. The British casualties in both Services were about 130 killed and 600 wounded and missing.

By the morning of the 9th March, the whole army was disembarked with its guns and stores, and, after some skirmishing on the 10th and 12th, the British Commander-in-chief advanced on the following day to dislodge the French, who had been reinforced by about 4,000 infantry, 500 cavalry and twenty-one guns. The British advanced in three columns, on the commanding position occupied by the enemy, who had the sea on their left flank and the canal on their right

Lanusse, commanding the French left, impetuously descended the hill, and sent his cavalry to attack the 90th Foot, which repulsed the horsemen, and the whole British army coming up, the enemy retreated across the plain into their fortified lines before Alexandria. Sir Ralph's first intention was to attack the French army in their positions, but on reconnoitring, he found it of such strength that he changed his mind. During this time his centre was exposed to a heavy fire from thirty guns, but four of these were captured by Lord Cavan's and General Doyle's brigades. The British loss during the day was about 1,300 killed and wounded, and Sir Ralph had a horse shot under him.

On the 17th, the castle of Aboukir, which had been attacked by heavy guns, landed from the ships, was surrendered, thus securing the communication with the fleet. Abercrombie now strengthened his position by the erection of batteries on the left towards the lake of Aboukir, and works and gunboats on the right overlooking the sea, and in the vicinity of the ruins of a Roman palace. On the 20th March, General Menou arrived from Cairo with about 9,000 men, and made preparations for an immediate attack on the British Commander-in-chief, who issued general orders to his army, in which every contingency was provided for, including an attack by the enemy in the dark, when he enjoined his general officers "not to throw away fire, but to use the bayonet as much as possible." He concluded by promising victory, provided only "prudence and discipline" were enforced.

Battle of Alexandria.—21st March, 1801.

On the morning of the ever-memorable 21st March, 1801, the British army, numbering now some 11,000 effectives, including 300 cavalry, with thirty-five guns, was, as usual, under arms at 3 A.M., when the action was opened by the French, whose numbers were about the same, but included 1,400 well-mounted cavalry, with forty-six guns. General Menou's plan was to make a false attack on the British left, which was under General Cradock's command, while the right was to be outflanked by Lanusse, and General Rampon, supported by Regnier, was to force the centre. The cavalry, under Rougé, was drawn up in a second line behind the centre, to act as circumstances might require. General Cradock easily repulsed the false attack, though the darkness that still prevailed assisted the enemy, and but for the excellent discipline of the British soldiers, would have ensured a disaster. Lanusse also met with a check, first from the 58th, under Colonel Houston, and then from the 28th, which defended a second redoubt in

the Roman ruins. The gunboats also shook the advance of the second brigade, led in person by Lanusse, who was shot while encouraging his men. The 23rd, followed by the 42nd, now arrived at the ruins, when a desperate conflict raged, the 28th actually repulsing attacks both in front, flank and rear.* General Hutchinson, second-in-command, says, in his despatch, of this part of the action :—"The attack on our right was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. They were received by our troops with equal ardour, and with the utmost steadiness and discipline. The combat was unusually obstinate. The enemy were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with our infantry. They at length retired, leaving a prodigious number of dead and wounded on the field." While this was passing on the right, Rampon's division had reached the centre, and attempted to turn the left of the brigade of Guards, but was received with so hot a fire that the general had two horses shot under him, his adjutant-general was killed, and General d'Estaing was wounded. Brigadier Eppla, moving on the right, was also wounded and his column driven back, and at length Regnier, seeing the failure of Rampon and Lanusse's attacks, advanced to their support in the interval between the centre and left, sending Friant on one flank and himself marching on the other. But Regnier fared no better than his comrades, and meanwhile, General Menou, seeing the discomfiture of his lieutenants, ordered Rougé to charge with his cavalry, and that officer, after vainly remonstrating with his chief, sent forward the first line, led by Broussard. Thundering over the tents and obstacles of the British position, they overwhelmed the 42nd, and passed to the rear of the camp, where they were attacked by the 40th, commanded by Colonel Spencer, and a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued. At this juncture, the Minorca regiment arrived to reinforce the 42nd, which, though broken, had continued the conflict, when the second line of French cavalry, led by General Rougé, made a desperate charge. These regiments opened their ranks and let the dragoons pass through the encampment, and then poured upon them such a volley as brought man and horse to the ground, including their gallant leader.

At length, about 10 o'clock, Menou ordered a retreat, and fortunate it was he did do so, as the ammunition of the troops on the right had been completely exhausted, the 28th having actually pelted the French with stones, and a battery had only one cartridge left. The left of the British line had not been seriously engaged, but no attempt was made to follow up the retreating enemy.

Meanwhile, in the *mêlée*, during the charge of the French cavalry,

* In commemoration of this memorable achievement, the 28th Foot, now the Gloucestershire Regiment, were privileged to wear their number on the back as well as the front of their shakoes.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie received his death-wound. Being dismounted and unattended, all his staff having been despatched on duty, he was attacked by French hussars. An officer made a thrust at him, but the general wrested the weapon from his antagonist, whom a private of the 42nd then bayoneted, and a hussar, who aimed a blow at him, was shot dead. But the gallant veteran had received a sabre wound in the chest, which, however, was of a trifling nature, and a musket-ball in the thigh, which was of a more serious character. He refused to leave till the day was gained, when he was carried on board Lord Keith's flag-ship, where he expired of mortification of his wound, in his 68th year, on the evening of the 28th March.*

This great victory was gained on the British side with the loss of 1,464 killed, wounded and missing, including General Moore, Sir Sydney Smith, Brigadier-Generals Hope, Lawson, and Oakes, and Colonel Paget. The total loss of the French was computed at between 3,000 and 4,000, of whom 1,040 dead were buried by the victors on the field of battle. "I never saw a field," says General Moore, "so strewed with dead," and General Hutchinson, who now assumed the command, reported that, "His Majesty's troops in Egypt have faithfully discharged their duty to their country, and nobly upheld the fame of the British name and nation." Among the French officers of rank killed were Generals Lanusse, Rougé, and Bandot, and among the wounded, Generals d'Estaing, Silly and Eppla. The victory at Alexandria soon bore great results.

Rosetta was surrendered to a force composed of 1,000 British, and 6,000 Turkish troops, landed on the 3rd April, and on the 19th, Fort Julien capitulated to Lord Dalhousie. By cutting the canal, the sea was let into Lake Mareotis, when a flotilla of gunboats cut off the French army of 6,000 men, under General Menou, at Alexandria from the interior, and isolated a division of 4,000 men left at Rahmanieh, under General Lagrange. This officer could now expect no assistance from General Belliard at Cairo, as 25,000 Turkish troops, under the Grand Vizier, were advancing on the capital by the side of El Arisch. Threatened by General Hutchinson, Lagrange abandoned Rahmanieh, leaving all his stores and supplies, and a few days later, a detachment of 560 men, sent by Menou to Lagrange's assistance, finding themselves confronted by a superior English force, under Brigadier Doyle, surrendered without firing a shot.

General Belliard advanced with 8,000 men to meet the Turkish force,

* A noble monument was erected at St. Paul's to the memory of this gallant veteran, whom Sir John Moore describes as "a truly upright, honourable, and judicious man; his great sagacity, which had been pointed all his life to military life, made him an excellent officer." His private virtues were not less conspicuous than his public services.

and a slight action was fought on the 15th May at El Hanka, when the French general retreated on Cairo. On the 10th June, the British army effected a junction with the Turks and Mamelukes, and on the following day, Colonel Lloyd, with the first detachment of General Baird's division from India, arrived from Suez. On the 20th, Cairo was invested on both sides of the Nile, across which a bridge of boats insured an easy communication between the armies, and eight days later, Belliard, acknowledging the hopelessness of either defending the city or of receiving reinforcements from Alexandria or France, signed a convention by which Cairo was surrendered. The French garrison evacuated the city on the 9th July, and some 13,754 persons, military and civil, exclusive of women and children, sailed for France on the 31st July, the same day that General Baird, sailing down the Nile from Kenneh, arrived from India at Rosetta with his division of 7,500 men, including the 8th Dragoons and five British battalions.

In August, General Hutchinson concentrated his army of 16,000 men for the siege of Alexandria, where General Menou still held out with 4,500 men. Siege operations were at once commenced against Fort Marabout,* which capitulated, and General Coote, with his division of three brigades, advanced across the isthmus to attack the fortifications defended by Eppla with 1,200 men. The French made no serious resistance, but abandoning their heavy guns and baggage, fell back to a fresh position.

General Coote, who was reinforced by Colonel Spencer's brigade and some Turkish troops, on the 23rd August, directed an attack on the French entrenched camp, and a heavy fire was maintained on their works during the 23rd and succeeding day, when General Menou expressed his desire to enter into negotiations. Ultimately, on the 2nd September, a treaty was signed, and the British and Turkish flags waved over the forts of Alexandria.

Thus concluded this brief and admirably conducted campaign, during which 26,000 French soldiers laid down their arms, and the power and prestige of France in the East suffered a disastrous eclipse, while ours was equally raised, and for the first time the sight was witnessed of troops drawn from England and India being concentrated on the shores of the Mediterranean. General Hutchinson was created a peer, and both he and General Coote received the order of the Bath and a pension of £2,000 a year. Promotion and honours were freely given to the officers, and every regiment engaged was ordered to bear on its colours the Sphinx, with the word "Egypt."

* The 39th Foot bear the word "Marabout" on their colours in acknowledgment of their services on this occasion.

Capture of the French West India Islands and the Cape.

During the year 1802 peace reigned between England and France, but the breathing-time afforded by the treaty of Amiens was brief, and on the 12th March, 1803, Lord Whitworth, our ambassador in France, demanded his passports from Buonaparte, who, on the 6th November of the following year, was elected Emperor of France, and on the 2nd December, was crowned by the Pope at Notre Dame.

The first fruits of this war was the capture of the French West India islands, including St. Lucia, which now, for the fourth and last time, changed hands, also of Tobago, and the colonies of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice, while San Domingo secured its independence and expelled its French oppressors. In December, 1804, the King of Spain issued a declaration of war against England, but the defeat of his navy, combined with that of France, by Nelson, at Trafalgar, on the 21st October, 1805, made the enmity of Spain of little account, and the rapid march of events changed her from a foe to an ally, who owed her freedom to the assistance of her *quondam* enemy.

In 1805, the British Government, fearful of the communications with India falling into the hands of the French, determined on regaining the Cape Colony, which had been restored to the Dutch by the treaty of Amiens, and an expedition was despatched under General Sir David Baird and Commodore Sir Home Popham. The squadron arrived off the Cape on the 4th January, 1806, and a division under Brigadier Beresford was sent to Saldanha Bay, there to disembark, the remainder under the general landing at Gaspard's Bay. Sir David marched on Cape Town on the 8th, and on an elevated ridge intersecting the road about four miles from the bay, found General Jansens, the Governor, with a force about equal to his own numerically, drawn up to oppose his advance. Brigadier Ferguson attacked with the 71st and 93rd regiments, and the enemy stood their fire, but fled when they charged with the bayonet, leaving 700 men on the field, the British loss being only fifteen killed, 189 wounded, and eight missing. On the following day Baird reached Salt river, and Jansens fell back towards Stellenbosch, when the British general pushed on for the capital, which was surrendered by the inhabitants, and the British flag waved over the capital on the 10th January.* The troops then marched for Simons's Bay, and Brigadier Beresford, who had taken no part in these operations, was despatched to follow up General Jansens, who, on the 17th, signed a

* The troops engaged were the 20th Light Dragoons, and the 24th, 59th, 71st, 72nd, 83rd, and 93rd regiments, in all, with artillery and engineers, 6,654 men. All these bear on their colours the words "Cape of Good Hope, 1806."

treaty of surrender, and from that date the Cape Colony was constituted an integral part of the British dominions.

In this year also took place the important victory of Maida. While Naples and all the mainland of Italy had submitted to Napoleon, who had made his brother Joseph King of the two Sicilies, Gaeta alone held out, being assisted by Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, who threw supplies into the place and concerted means for its defence, with the Prince of Hesse, commanding the garrison. General Sir John Stuart at this time commanded the British and native troops in the island of Sicily, and urged on by the Queen of Naples and Sir Sydney Smith, resolved to encourage the garrison of Gaeta, and keep alive the movement in Calabria by a descent on the mainland. He accordingly set sail from Palermo in the British squadron, and on the 1st July, landed in the gulf of St. Euphemia with about 4,800 men,* of whom one-third were Sicilians. General Sir John Stuart at once marched to encounter General Regnier, who had taken the field with 4,000 infantry and 300 cavalry, and was in the expectation of being reinforced by a division of 3,000 troops.

Battle of Maida.—4th July, 1806.

Sir John Stuart learned on the 3rd July that General Regnier had made a rapid march and was encamped on the sloping side of a wooded hill below the village of Maida, about ten miles distant. On the following day the British army moved in the following order. The advance, led by Colonel Kempt, was followed by Colonel Cole—both among Wellington's most distinguished Peninsular and Waterloo officers—with the grenadiers of the 27th and 35th, and some Sicilian volunteers with three guns. Then came Brigadier Ackland with the 78th and 81st, and three guns, and Colonel Oswald, with the 58th and 61st, and two guns. These troops, coasting the sea, threatened the French left, and took up their ground with their right resting on the Amato, at its embouchure, which ran in front of the French position. The skirmishers were soon engaged, and General Compere, about nine o'clock, moved to cross the stream, but the fire of the British skirmishers was so deadly that over 600 were left on the field, the French general being himself wounded. Kempt, at the head of the leading brigade, now advanced to meet the enemy, and a deadly conflict ensued. Both sides fired volleys as they advanced, and then, as if by preconcerted

* The British regiments engaged at Maida were the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, 61st, 78th, and 81st, all of which bear the battle on their colours. The exact number engaged was 4,795, including the 20th Foot, which landed during the action.

signal, on nearing each other, ceased firing and closed with the bayonet. The struggle was sharp though short, and the cheers of the British troops appeared to strike terror into the hearts of their foes, who turned and fled in disorder towards Catinzaro. Assisted by Ackland's brigade, General Kempt pursued the enemy, when Regnier, perceiving General Stuart's deficiency in cavalry, sent some French horsemen to turn Cole's brigade, on the left, but the grenadiers of the Inniskillings remained unshaken, and the 20th, which had just landed, opened so heavy a fire on the horsemen, that they joined their comrades in flight. The British loss in this decisive action was only forty-four killed and 284 wounded, while the victors actually buried on the field the bodies of over 700 French soldiers. In addition to the wounded, General Compere surrendered with about 1,000 men.

The battle of Maida was pre-eminently a battle of bayonets. Sir John Stuart had no cavalry, and his guns, 6-pounders and 4-pounders, were of little use, and indeed scarcely fired a shot. But the indomitable British infantry relied on that "queen of weapons," as Napier called the bayonet; and it stood them in good stead, as it had done in many a stoutly-contested field. Stuart and Regnier also were old enemies, having met in Egypt, whence the French general had succeeded in effecting his escape before the capitulation of Alexandria. Regnier was probably partly influenced by vanity in quitting the almost impregnable position he occupied, and crossing the river to attack his former antagonist on an open plain where his cavalry could act. Stuart says in his despatch :—"Had General Regnier thought proper to remain on his ground, the difficulties of access to him were such that I could not possibly have made an impression upon him."

The action of Maida—though on a small scale, compared with such a combat of giants as the battle of Austerlitz, fought early in this year, when three Emperors, those of France, Russia and Austria, contended for the mastery of Europe—had still important, though but temporary results, while its moral teaching, as showing the British superiority over Napoleon's choicest troops, was of incalculable value at this time.

The peasants rose against the French army, massacring the soldiers whenever an opportunity offered, and they retaliated by burning and pillaging the villages. Ultimately the French were obliged to abandon the forts on the sea coast, but, on the other hand, Massena obtained possession of Gaeta on the 18th July, after a siege of six months' duration. This success set free 16,000 French troops, and before the close of the year, they recovered possession of Scylla, opposite to Messina, which General Stuart had occupied, and the British troops were withdrawn from the Peninsula.

CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Expeditions to Egypt, Buenos Ayres, and Copenhagen.

In 1807 was undertaken the second expedition to Egypt, but its objects and results were widely different from that carried to a successful issue six years before. At this time the Emperor Napoleon was all-powerful at Constantinople, where his minister, General Sebastiani, had unbounded influence. In consequence, a British fleet, under Admiral Duckworth, suffered severely in forcing the Dardanelles, and, on their return from Constantinople, an expedition was despatched to Egypt. Some 5,000 troops were sent from Messina, in Sicily, under General Fraser, and, on the 20th March, the Governor of Alexandria capitulated, and the city was entered on the following day, being the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria. An attempt made with an insufficient force to effect the reduction of Rosetta, ended in a repulse, after the loss of 300 men, when a stronger column of 2,500 troops, under Brigadiers Stewart and Oswald, appeared before the town on the 9th April, and the Governor was summoned to surrender. On his refusal batteries were opened, and Colonel Macleod was sent with 700 men to El Hammed in order to facilitate a junction with a body of friendly Mamelukes. But instead of receiving a reinforcement, the detachment at El Hammed was attacked by an overwhelming force of Turkish horse, and, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to lay down its arms. Upon this, Stewart made a hasty retreat on Alexandria, losing 1,000 killed, wounded and missing on the march.

Mehemet Ali now appeared before Alexandria with a formidable force, and General Fraser, seeing no help of succour, made terms with the Pasha, by which he agreed to evacuate the country on the release of all the English prisoners. The remains of the British force embarked for Sicily, and so ended this abortive and ill-conducted expedition.

Not less disastrous than this affair was the expedition in this year to South America. After the capture of Cape Town in January, 1806, Commodore Sir Home Popham and Brigadier-General Beresford, without orders from home, proceeded to Buenos Ayres, which was captured on the 28th June, but the Spaniards retook the city on the 12th August, and Beresford's small force was cooped up in Maldonado. On hearing of this disaster, the British Government, in October, despatched Brigadier-General Sir Samuel Achmuty, with 3,000 men, to effect his release. On the 13th January, Maldonado was relieved and evacuated, and Brigadier-General Achmuty and Admiral Sterling proceeded to attack Monte Video, a strongly fortified seaport, mounting 160 guns. A landing was effected about eight miles from the town, and on the 19th, when the

army encamped close to the place, the enemy, some 6,000 strong, made an attack upon the British position. They advanced in two columns, the right of cavalry, on the British left flank, and the left, consisting exclusively of infantry, attacked in front. In repelling the attack on the left, the 40th regiment displayed great gallantry, and speedily the enemy fell back in confusion without their cavalry coming into action. On the 25th, Achmuty opened his breaching batteries, but the defences of the place were found very strong, and as a reinforcement of 4,000 men, with twenty guns, was at hand, the British general resolved to hazard an assault, though the breach could scarcely be pronounced practicable. Accordingly, an hour before daybreak on the 3rd February, the troops selected for the assault, under Colonel Browne, moved forward in the following order:—The light infantry, under Colonel Brownrigg, in advance, followed by the grenadiers, under Major Campbell, and the 38th, under Colonel Vassall, and supported by the 40th, under Major Dalrymple, and the 87th, under Colonel Butler. The advance of the troops was discovered, and a heavy fire opened upon them, but Captain Renny, of the 40th, led the way up the breach, followed by the advance, and soon penetrated into the town; and, notwithstanding much opposition, so great was the impetuosity of the storming parties, the city was carried. In this glorious affair, Captain Renny was killed and Colonels Vassall and Brownrigg died of their wounds. The British loss since the landing was about 240 killed and 350 wounded.*

On the 2nd June, a reinforcement of 4,200 men, under General Craufurd, diverted at the Cape while on their way to India, landed at Monte Video, and on the 15th, General Whitelocke arrived from England to assume command of the entire force, 8,000 strong, with eighteen pieces of artillery. The first undertaking was an attack on Buenos Ayres, and a landing was effected about ten miles to the eastward of the town. On reaching Reduction, General Whitelocke, leaving two regiments, with the heavy guns, under Colonel Mahon, crossed to the opposite bank of the river Chuelo, on which the enemy had constructed a formidable line of works. In an attempt to turn this position General Leveson-Gower, in command of the right column, attacked and defeated a corps of the enemy, near the ford called the Passe Chies, and on the 5th July, Buenos Ayres was invested. The city had been strengthened since its first capture by Beresford. Ditches had been dug across the streets, in which guns had been planted to sweep the chief thoroughfares, while the windows and flat roofs of the houses were manned by riflemen. Under such conditions the attempt made by Whitelocke to carry the place by assault, without previous bombard-

* The 38th, 40th, and 87th regiments bear the words "Monte Video" on their colours.

ment, resulted in one of the most crushing disasters sustained by a British army.

Sir Samuel Achmuty, indeed, succeeded, with the 38th and 87th regiments, in possessing himself of the strong post of the Retiro, and the Plaza del Toros, where he captured 600 men and thirty-two guns, but the other columns failed signally. Brigadier Lumley, leading the 36th and 88th regiments, was received by so deadly a discharge of musketry from the houses and grape from behind ditches cut across the streets, that the 88th were overpowered and made prisoners, though the 36th, led by the Brigadier, overcame all obstacles, capturing two guns, and effected a junction with Achmuty at the Plaza del Toros. Colonel Pack's brigade was yet more unfortunate, for having failed to carry the Jesuits College, they were surrounded and taken prisoners; and General Craufurd's division was, in like manner, foiled in an attempt to capture the convent of St. Domingo, and finding themselves cut off from the other columns, surrendered, as did also Colonel Duff, with the detachment under his command. By four in the afternoon, General Achmuty found himself in the centre of the town with only 2,500 men under his command, and felt constrained to negotiate with Colonel Liniers, the Governor, who agreed to surrender all his British prisoners on the British general withdrawing from the La Plata and restoring Monte Video. The British loss was 2,500 killed, wounded and prisoners, the latter numbering ninety-four regimental and twelve staff officers, and 1,818 men.

On his return to England the popular indignation was so great against General Whitelocke, that he was tried by court-martial and dismissed from the army.* But some of the blame clearly rested on the Ministry which had appointed an incapable and inexperienced commander.

The next expedition undertaken by England was against Copenhagen, with the object of seizing the Danish navy, which Napoleon, having reduced the three great European empires, proposed to employ, with the fleet of Spain and the other maritime powers, against England, which alone reared its head unconquered. On the 27th July, a formidable fleet of seventeen sail-of-the-line, under Admiral Gambier, convoying 300 transports, with 20,000 troops, sailed from Yarmouth. Off Elsinore the army was increased to a strength of 27,000, by the arrival of troops from Stralsund, under Lord Cathcart, who assumed the Command-in-chief, with Sir Arthur Wellesley as second-in-command. The troops were landed on the 16th August, and on arriving before the capital, batteries were thrown up, while a division of 4,500 men was sent, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, to disperse

* The court-martial sat at Chelsea between the 28th January and 15th March, and was presided over by Sir William Meadows. The veteran Lord Lake, one of the members of the Court, died during its progress.

the Danish militia. This was easily effected, and four battalions of regulars, with ten guns, were made prisoners, when General Wellesley* advanced into the interior of the island of Zealand to collect supplies. The British batteries, mounting forty-eight mortars and howitzers and twenty 24-pounders, opened fire on the 2nd September, and the town was set in flames in several places; but the heroic inhabitants refused to surrender. Within three days 1,800 houses were consumed, and 1,500 people had lost their lives, and at length, on the 5th September, the Danish general consented to an unconditional surrender of the citadel and fleet, numbering seventeen ships-of-the-line, besides frigates, together with the naval stores, which were of such amount as to fill ninety-two transports. In these operations the British loss was fifty-six killed and about 200 wounded. The Crown Prince refused to ratify the capitulation, and on the death of his father, declared war against England, which found arrayed against her a coalition of Prussia, Russia, and Sweden. A further result of the hostilities with Denmark was the capture of Heligoland, which has since remained a British possession.

In December, 1808, a British expedition, assisted by some Portuguese from Brazil, captured the French dependency of Cayenne, and in January of the following year, Sir Alexander Cochrane, with a powerful fleet of twenty-eight ships, carrying 10,000 men, under General Beckwith, sailed from Barbadoes for the reduction of Martinique. A division of 3,000 men, under General Maitland, effected a landing on the lee side of the island, and the remainder of the force, under Sir George Prevost, landed in the bay of Cul-de-Sac Robert. On the 1st February, General Prevost attacked the heights of Desfourneux, surrounding the capital, which were carried with the loss of 400 men; and other points being secured, Fort Dessaix, a very strong work, was invested. Assisted by the seamen of the fleet, six batteries were thrown up and armed, and five others were commenced on the 24th, when the French Governor capitulated, and the island became an English possession.† In the following June, a British force from Jamaica, under General Carmichael, landed in San Domingo, and invested the capital, then held by French troops. On the 6th July, the place capitulated, when 1,200 troops laid down their arms; and thus was extinguished the French power, not only in Hispaniola, but throughout the West Indies.

* Wellington's horse Copenhagen, which carried him at Vittoria and Waterloo, where he remained in the saddle for eighteen hours, received its name from the city, whence its mother was brought to England. Copenhagen lived to an honoured old age at Strathfieldsaye until 1835.

† Several British regiments bear the word "Martinique" on their colours.

The Walcheren Expedition.

The British Government resolved on despatching an expedition on a large scale to reduce the strong fortress of Antwerp, which gave Napoleon the command of the Scheldt, and afforded protection to a fleet whence the shores of England might be harassed. Instead of rapidly advancing, either by the Scheldt or on shore across Beveland, and carrying the city by a *coup-de-main*, which was practicable at this time in the opinion of most military writers, including Napoleon himself, who had reduced the garrison to 2,400 men, the expedition of thirty-seven sail-of-the-line, under Sir Richard Strachan, and the army of 40,000 men, with seventy breaching guns and seventy-four mortars, commanded by the Earl of Chatham, with Sir John Hope and Sir Eyre Coote commanding the two wings, only quitted the Downs on the 28th July, 1809, after two months of ostentatious preparation. A landing was effected at different points on the Scheldt, and an advance was made on Flushing, where the erection of batteries was commenced on the 3rd August. Assisted by the fire of a division of the fleet, the batteries rained bombs on the devoted city for forty-two hours without intermission, when General Monnet surrendered. The British loss in achieving this success was 112 killed and 498 wounded. Meanwhile, Antwerp was rapidly placed in a state of defence, and was reinforced by 6,000 men, under King Louis Buonaparte in person, who was followed, on the 14th August, by Marshal Bernadotte. While 10,000 men were left to hold Walcheren, the remainder of the troops were despatched to reduce the strong forts. But a more potent enemy than the sword now decimated the ranks of the British army in the fever which broke out, caused by the miasma arising from the surrounding country, where the dykes had been cut by order of General Rousseau.

A council of war, convened by the military and naval commanders, proposed the abandonment of the enterprise, as not only was sickness daily increasing, but 30,000 men were assembled to oppose an advance, and the French fleet was in security five miles above Antwerp. By the 4th September, Beveland was evacuated, and no troops were left within the mouth of the Scheldt except a garrison to defend Walcheren. Ultimately the island was abandoned, and the basin, arsenal, and sea-defences of Flushing—the capture of which formed the sole result of this ill-conducted enterprise—were destroyed, and on the 23rd December, the garrison was withdrawn. No less than 7,000 men perished from the "Walcheren fever," and nearly every one was attacked, over 12,000 being struck down in fourteen days. At this time England was engaged in her great struggle with France in Spain, and these valuable lives would have turned the scale against Napoleon. The

following caustic epigram expressed the disgust of the English public at this disgraceful *fiasco* :—

"The Earl of Chatham, with his sword drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.

The American War of 1812–1814.

Though not in strict chronological sequence, we will here introduce the war with the United States of America between the years 1812–15, so that the record of Wellington's campaign from Roliça to Waterloo, may not be interrupted by the introduction of irrelevant matter.

This war, which arose out of the struggle with France, as we sought to enforce the right of search, until the removal of Napoleon to Elba was carried on chiefly by the navy, with results not wholly satisfactory to our national pride. In 1812 the Americans, under General Hull, invaded Upper Canada, but were driven back, when General Brock followed them to Fort Detroit, on the American side of the St. Lawrence, which surrendered on the 16th August, with the garrison of 2,500 men and thirty-three guns. In the following October, General Wadsworth crossed the frontier near Niagara; but that fort was taken by the British under General Evans, and General Brock advanced to the defence of Queenstown, beleaguered by the American army, which he totally defeated, capturing Wadsworth with 900 men. Unhappily, the gallant Brock fell mortally wounded in this engagement. Undeterred by their failures, the United States Government despatched, for the third time, a force of 10,000 men, under General Dearborn; but he met with no more success than his predecessors, and on the 22nd November, withdrew his army. In 1813 took place the campaign on the lakes. General Winchester was defeated and captured, with 500 men, at Frenchtown, the British loss being 180 killed and wounded. General Dearborn now embarked 1,700 men at Sackett's harbour, on Lake Ontario, and captured York after some heavy fighting, in which the 8th regiment lost more than half its complement. In the meanwhile, Colonel Proctor, crossing Lake Erie with 900 Europeans and 1,200 Indians, attacked General Harrison on the American side of the lake, near Miami, and after being driven back by Harrison, who had been reinforced with 800 men under General Clay, Proctor surrounded and defeated two of his regiments, with the loss of 200 killed and wounded and 500 prisoners. In May a powerful force of Americans attacked Fort Niagara, which Colonel Vincent, after a gallant defence, was compelled to evacuate. An expedition against Sackett's harbour, of sailors and 750 soldiers, under Sir G. Prevost, suffered a

severe repulse, losing 260 men. Further severe fighting occurred, in which Colonel Vincent succeeded in effecting the surrender of twenty-three officers and 500 men. In September, the British flotilla was defeated on Lake Erie, and Proctor was compelled to abandon Detroit, and was pursued by General Harrison, who inflicted a severe defeat on the British commander on the 5th October, capturing 600 men and eight guns.

The Americans now invaded Lower Canada, but General Hampton was defeated by an inferior force of militia, and fell back to Plattsburg on Lake Champlain; and General Wilkinson was attacked by Colonel Morrison with the 48th, 49th and 89th regiments at the bayonets' point, losing 250 men besides prisoners. Upon this the invasion of Lower Canada was abandoned, and the Americans withdrew. Montreal being now safe, Colonel Murray in December carried the war into the enemy's country, and surprised Fort Niagara with its garrison of 400 men and vast military stores. Following up this success, General Drummond advanced with 800 men to Black Rock, which was stormed, and the British and Canadian militia pursued the fugitives to Buffalo, which was taken and burned on the 28th December.

In May of the following year, 1814, a British expedition, including 1,000 troops, under General Drummond, captured Oswego, on Lake Ontario, with the loss of eighteen killed and sixty-four wounded. Early in July, Fort Erie was surprised by the Americans, computed at 6,000 strong, who then marched on the lines of Chippewa, where General Riall had some 1,500 regulars, besides militia. Riall attacked the enemy, but his men, especially the Royal Scots and 100th regiment, were so severely handled that he was forced to retreat, with the loss of 180 killed and 320 wounded, including Colonel Gordon and Lord Tweeddale, commanding those regiments. General Drummond, reinforced by some of Wellington's Peninsular troops, proceeded from Quebec to Niagara with 800 men, and assumed the command, when a severe action was fought at Lundy's Lane. General Brown made desperate efforts to break the Peninsular veterans, and the bayonet was freely used, but ultimately the enemy were repulsed in every attempt to force or outflank the line, with the loss of 930 killed, wounded, and prisoners, and two guns, the British casualties being 878, including eighty-four killed.* Drummond now attacked Fort Erie, and, on the 15th August, made an attempt to storm the entrenched camp resting on the fort, and garrisoned by 3,500 men. The attempt was made in three columns, and though one succeeded in making a lodgment in the fort, a terrible explosion created a panic, and the troops fell back. The other two columns, led by Colonel Drummond, of the old 104th, and Colonel Scott, of the old 103rd, did not

* The 41st (Welsh regiment) bears the words "Detroit," "Queenstown," "Miami," and "Niagara" on its colours. The 1st, 8th, and 89th also bear "Niagara," and the 49th, "Queenstown."

arrive until Colonel Fischer's assault had failed. In this disastrous affair the British loss was sixty killed, 300 wounded, and no less than 539 missing.

Reinforcements from the Duke of Wellington's army in France enabled General Ross to undertake an expedition up the Chesapeake. On their arrival, the 4th, 44th, and 85th regiments, with artillery, were despatched on their errand, quickly followed by the 7th, 21st, 27th, and 62nd regiments, all of which arrived in the bay of Chesapeake. General Ross, on the advice of Admiral Cockburn, resolved on an attack on Washington itself, by the route of the Patuxent and Bladensburg, while the Admiral undertook the destruction of the Baltimore flotilla. But Commodore Barney anticipated this step by blowing up his vessels, and his right flank being now secured, General Ross, on the 22nd August, moved his force of 3,500 men, with two guns, and a rocket brigade, to Upper Marlborough, and on being joined by the Admiral with a body of marines and seamen, marched, on the 24th, to Bladensburg, where the American army was drawn up in two lines, ready to oppose his advance.

The force led by General Winder, who was accompanied by President Madison, consisted of 6,500 infantry, 300 cavalry, and twenty-six guns, the latter worked by 600 seamen, and occupied a commanding position, with artillery enfilading all the approaches leading to the bridge across the Potomac.

Ross attacked in two columns, the 85th and light companies of the other regiments, under Colonel Thornton, forming one for the attack of a fortified house, in which was the American advance, with artillery; and the second column, consisting of the 4th, 44th, and Royal Marines, led by Colonel Brooke, was directed to move against the enemy's left.

The first column carried the fortified house with a rush, and the enemy were driven to higher ground, while Brooke crossed the stream under a heavy fire, and forced the enemy at the point of the bayonet to abandon his guns, and fall back on his second line, when the rocket battery compelled a retreat, in which Commodore Barney was wounded and taken prisoner. The British loss in the action was 60 killed, and nearly 200 wounded.* Washington was occupied that morning, and though an offer was made to ransom the public buildings, the wholly indefensible step was adopted of burning the capitol, arsenal, and navy-yard, as well as the treasury, war office, President's house, and great bridge across the Potomac, buildings valued at four millions sterling, all of which was effected in accordance with the orders of the British Government, "to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the

* "Bladensburg" is borne on the colours of the following British regiments: The 4th, 21st, 44th, and 85th regiments. The commanding general acquired the title of "Ross of Bladensburg."

United States found accessible to the attack of British armaments." The British army retired from Washington, but two frigates and some bomb vessels, under Captain Gordon, ascended the river, occupied Fort Washington, and obtained the submission of the town of Alexandria, together with the rendition of 22 vessels, with their merchandise. When returning down the river, the British ships engaged and silenced some batteries, and on the 9th September, sailed out of the Potomac. In some land operations up the Chesapeake, Captain Sir Peter Parker* fell mortally wounded, together with many of his brave seamen.

The naval and military commanders now resolved on an attack on Baltimore, but the city, which had been in an almost defenceless condition, was quickly strengthened by redoubts, and a large force of soldiers and sailors was assembled for its defence. Accordingly, on the 12th September, when the troops marched on Baltimore, distant about fourteen miles from the confluence of the Patapsco with the Chesapeake, they were met by a determined opposition. General Ross received a mortal wound while riding in the advance, when Colonel Brooke assumed the command. Within five miles of the city a body of about 6,000 troops were drawn up to oppose the advance, but the brigades under Colonels Mullens and Paterson and Major Innes, carried some obstacles, and in fifteen minutes dispersed the enemy, who left behind two guns. On the 13th, the army arrived within a mile and a half of the city, but its defences were so formidable that after a reconnoissance, and an attack by the boats under Captain Charles Napier, R.N., the military and naval commanders decided to abandon an attempt which must have caused a great loss of life. The troops accordingly fell back on the 14th, and were re-embarked in the ships.

An expedition in September from Halifax to Maine, under Sir John Sherbrooke, was more successful. After defeating a body of the enemy at Hampden, formal possession was taken of a portion of the State between the Penobscot river and the British frontier, having a breadth of 100 miles.

On the other hand, a British expedition against Plattsburg, situated at the junction of the Saranac with Lake Champlain, ended disastrously. Sir George Prevost took the field on the 1st September with 12,000 men, and entered New York State with the object, in conjunction with the navy, of making an attack on the shores of Lake Champlain from Crown Point to Ticonderoga. Assisted by the Canadian militia, General Prevost commenced his attack on Plattsburg, on the 11th September, with 7,000 men; but the American squadron was more than twice as powerful in guns and men as the Canadian flotilla, and

* Sir Peter Parker's memory has been immortalized in some beautiful lines by his relative, Lord Byron.

the latter were all taken or escaped, with the loss of 84 killed and 110 wounded. Meanwhile two British columns, led by Generals Robinson and Brisbane, advanced against General Macomb's little army, advantageously posted behind strong works; but the first column lost its way in the woods, and Sir George Prevost ordered a retreat, abandoning his sick and wounded, together with provisions and stores. The British loss in this disastrous expedition was about 235 men, and the greatest indignation prevailed among the troops, which included some of Wellington's Peninsular veterans. Prevost resigned his command in Canada and returned to England, and would have been tried by court-martial but that death interposed.

Fort Erie had been invested by the British since Drummond's repulse in August, and on the 17th September, a formidable sortie was made by 5,000 men, under cover of a thick mist and rain, on the entrenched camp of the blockading force, under Generals Drummond and de Wattville. The enemy captured two batteries, but, after some spirited fighting, were driven out of the siege works by the British force, which included the Royal Scots, the 6th, 9th, and 82nd regiments. On the 5th November, General Izzard blew up Fort Erie and withdrew from Canadian territory. The varied success of this, on the whole, unfortunate American War, received another illustration in the expedition to New Orleans, conducted under instructions from the Home Government, the most disastrous and sanguinary of the series. The occupation and destruction of Washington was a poor set-off to the failures at Baltimore and Plattsburg.

The expedition quitted the Chesapeake on the 8th December, and while a portion made a descent at St. Mary's, on the coast of Georgia, the remainder proceeded to the mouth of the Mississippi, where the ships assembled on the 12th December. General Jackson (afterwards President), known as "Old Hickory," who commanded the troops in the South, hearing of the intended attack on New Orleans, was enabled to concentrate 12,000 troops, and place the city in a state of defence. New Orleans is protected from attack on the east by Lake Pontchartain, but small bays and inlets furnish means of approach from the south and west, though they are obstructed by shoals and bars. The troops were disembarked at the bayou Catalan, at the head of Lake Borgue, and the United States flotilla was defeated, and six gunboats were captured, after a sharp conflict,* by a force of 42 launches, under Captain Lockyer. On the 22nd December the advanced column of 1,688 men, under Colonel Thornton, of the 85th, ascended the bayou Mazant, and landed at Isle-aux-Rois, a marshy spot at the mouth of

* The Naval General Service Medal, granted, like the military war medals, many years after the events they commemorated, was conferred on the navy, under the command of Admiral Sir Alexander Cockburn, for their gallantry on this occasion, and also for the expedition up the Potomac, under Captain Gordon, already referred to.

the Pearl river. On Christmas Day Sir Edward Pakenham, with General Gibbs, arrived and took command of the army, which, on the following day, advanced in two columns within six miles of New Orleans. The American army occupied an entrenchment 1,000 yards in length, extending from the Mississippi on the right to an impassable swamp on the left, and protected by heavy guns, with flanking bastions; and on the opposite side of the river—here about 800 yards broad—by a redoubt mounting twenty guns, enfilading all the approaches. A battery of sixteen 18-pounders was prepared to open on the city, but as the guns were of superior calibre, it was determined that an assault should be attempted, and about fifty armed boats and barges were brought up by a canal, cut with extraordinary labour, in rear of the British position.

At daybreak on the 8th January, 1815 6,000 British troops moved to undertake the formidable task. Colonel Thornton was to cross to the right bank of the Mississippi with 1,400 men, and storm the redoubt, and, in the event of success, was to advance on the city. He was to be supported by the armed boats, carrying the 85th regiment, while a brigade of seamen and marines was to move up on land. At the same time, the main attack was to be made by two columns, under the command of Generals Gibbs and Keane.

Unfortunately for the success of his plans, General Pakenham ordered Gibbs to advance before Thornton had got across the river. No sooner did the 4th, 21st, and 44th commence the advance, than every gun from the entrenchment opened on them. Undismayed, the gallant regiments moved on to the edge of the works, when it was discovered that, by some culpable oversight, scaling ladders and fascines had been forgotten. While they were being sent for the troops stood still, decimated by the murderous fire. Sir Edward Pakenham* rushed to the front, and, leading on his men, had reached the slope of the glacis, when he fell. General Gibbs was at the same time mortally wounded, and Sir John Keane—afterwards Lord Keane, the conqueror of Ghuznee—was struck down, so that all their leaders being *hors de combat*, the line was thrown into confusion; but the 93rd Highlanders, with brilliant valour, mounting on each others' shoulders, entered the works, only to be cut off to a man.

Meanwhile, the gallant Thornton had fulfilled his task with success. Crossing the river, during the night of the 7th, with a portion of his force, he made himself master of the redoubt, though it was defended by 1,700 men and 22 guns. But General Lambert, who, by his charge, had retrieved the day at the battle of Toulouse, under Wellington, assumed command as senior officer, and drew off his men, though the

* General Pakenham was brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, and his Adjutant-General in the Peninsula.

7th and 43rd regiments, forming the reserve, under his command, who were drawn up within 600 yards of the enemy's works, were burning to retrieve the disaster. The army retreated on the night of the 18th, and was re-embarked a few days later.

The British loss before New Orleans was 3 generals, 7 colonels, 75 officers, and 1,781 men killed and wounded. Soon after, peace was concluded at Ghent, under the mediation of the King of the Netherlands, between England and the United States, on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests, but owing to the ignorance of the British negotiators, there was much subsequent angry discussion on the Maine frontier question, which the award of the King of the Netherlands, twenty years later, did not tend to allay, though ultimately the question was settled, much to the advantage of the United States.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PENINSULAR WAR.

1808—1809.

State of Europe on the Eve of the Peninsular War—Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeds to Portugal—Action at Roliça—Battle of Vimiero—Supercession of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and Convention of Cintra—Advance of Sir John Moore into Spain—Defeat of the Spanish Army and Entry of Napoleon into Madrid—Cavalry Actions at Sahagun and Benevente—Retreat of the British Army on Corunna—Battle of Corunna, and Death of Sir John Moore.

When, in 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley first appeared on the European theatre of war in independent command, the military status of England was at a low ebb, notwithstanding the successes in Egypt and at Maida. The French fleet had been annihilated at Trafalgar, and henceforth avoided engaging the British navy in line of battle; but the army had been engaged in small expeditions, which had mostly ended in failure. But the genius of the hero of Assaye, whom Napoleon ridiculed as the "Sepoy General," was soon to effect a change, and henceforth England undertook military operations on an extended scale.

Napoleon, now Emperor of France and King of Italy, had arrogated to himself the *rôle* of arbiter of Europe, and had placed on the thrones of Holland, Westphalia, and Spain, his brothers Louis, Jerome, and Joseph, while his stepson, Eugene Beauharnais, was his viceroy in Italy, and his brother-in-law, Murat, was King of Naples and Sicily.

The first of the great powers to succumb to Napoleon was Austria, at Austerlitz, on the 2nd December, 1805, and then, before the close of the following year, Prussia lost her independence at Jena. In 1807, the battle of Friedland—following on the sanguinary field of Eylau, when 45,000 men were left on the ground—brought about the treaty of Tilsit, by which the Emperor Alexander, after his memorable interview

with Napoleon on a raft, on the river Niemen, withdrew from all opposition to the ambitious designs of Napoleon, who found himself confronted by England alone.

Buonaparte had, indeed, attained the zenith of his dazzling career, but, intoxicated as he was by the incense of universal adulation, he had the good sense to admit, when standing by the tomb of the Great Frederick, at Potsdam, "Had he been alive, I should not have been here." But when aggrandizing his family, by conferring on them the thrones of half Europe, he did not apparently bear in mind the ephemeral nature of sovereignties which had no basis on the national will, or the vanity of military glory. Had he done so, he might, when moralizing at the sepulchre of the Great Frederick, have brought to mind the reflections of Alexander when, just before his victory at Issus, he visited the tomb of the once great king, Sardanapalus:—

"Go, Passenger; Eat, Drink, and be merry; for the rest is nothing."

During the past few years England had frittered away her resources in small, and in many cases fruitless, expeditions, contrary to the *dictum* of the Duke of Wellington, that "a great country should not engage in small wars." But all this was to be changed, and henceforth England was to lead the coalition against the great Dictator of Europe. The commander to effect this transformation, was at this time utterly unknown to European warfare, though in India he had acquired a great reputation.

In 1807 a French army, under Junot, Duke of Abrantes, one of Napoleon's marshals, took possession of Portugal, when the royal family retired to Brazil, and a regency was established to govern the kingdom of Portugal.* On the same day, the 29th November, Marshal Junot entered Lisbon with the advance guard of the French army of 21,000 men, and hoisted the tricolour. Napoleon's next step was to seize on Spain. Madrid, Barcelona, and other chief cities were occupied, and the frontier fortresses were seized. Upon this Charles IV. abdicated the throne, and Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed king under French auspices. Napoleon was at Bayonne directing these steps, and thither both the late and present sovereigns of the once proud Castilian dynasty proceeded, in humble obedience to his mandate. But the people of the capital were not so subservient. They rose in rebellion on the 2nd May, 1808, and were ruthlessly shot down by Murat, who became military dictator of the kingdom under a decree of Charles.

* On their restoration to the throne the Crown Prince remained in Brazil, and was proclaimed Emperor as Pedro I.

These events aroused the entire Spanish nation to take up arms, and, meanwhile, Charles, having revoked his resignation of the crown, and Ferdinand being thus reduced to the position of Prince of the Asturias, Napoleon, on the 7th May, put an end to the anomalous situation by issuing a decree, to which an appearance of legality was given by a junta he had convened at Bayonne, conferring the crown of Spain on his eldest brother, Joseph, at this time King of Naples. A new constitution was promulgated by the junta, and on the 9th, Joseph entered Spain, escorted as far as the frontier by the Emperor, who then returned to Paris.

The British Government now responded to the appeal for assistance made by the Spanish patriots,* and, on the 14th July, a league offensive and defensive with the nations of the peninsula, in the names of Ferdinand VII. and the Prince Regent of Portugal, was signed, and Parliament voted liberal supplies for the prosecution of the war. On the 12th July, 1808, about 9,000 troops, under Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley left Cork for Lisbon, and this country found itself embarked on one of the most eventful and important contests in our history.

King Joseph, thanks to the victory of Bessieres at Rio Seco, entered Madrid on the 20th July, but only three days later took place the capitulation of Baylen, when Generals Dupont, with 8,200 men, and Vedel, at the head of 9,400, laid down their arms. This disaster, the first Napoleon had suffered, coupled with the successful defence of Saragossa, unsurpassed in history,—where the population of an open town successfully resisted for forty days the skill and resources of 17,000 of the best troops in Europe,—determined Joseph to leave his capital, and on the 2nd August, he established his headquarters at

* Napoleon misread the Spanish character, and knew little of the tenacity of purpose and unquenchable patriotism which were among their noblest attributes. Had he read their history aright he would have remembered their genius for carrying on a "guerilla" war, a word of Spanish coinage, in the times of the Roman Conquest, and again in the early years of the eighteenth century, when they finally overcame the foreign allies of the Archduke Charles, after they had apparently been subdued. As Macaulay says:—"Nothing can be more contemptible than the regular military resistance which Spain offers to an invader; nothing more formidable than the energy which she puts forth when her regular military resistance has been beaten down. Her armies have long borne too much resemblance to mobs; but her mobs have had, in an unusual degree, the spirit of armies. The soldier, as compared with other soldiers, is deficient in military qualities; but the peasant has as much of those qualities as the soldier. In no country have such strong fortresses been taken by surprise; in no country have unfortified towns made so furious and obstinate a resistance to great armies." Minas and other Spanish guerilla leaders became names of terror to the veteran troops, who, at Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, had defeated the disciplined armies of Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

Miranda, having previously issued orders for the retirement of the French army behind the Ebro.

As General Wellesley found, on a conference with Sir Charles Cotton, commanding the British fleet off Lisbon, that a landing near the capital was impracticable, owing to the strength of the French position, between the 1st and 3rd August he disembarked the British troops at the mouth of the Mondego, and by the arrival of General Spencer's division from Cadiz, his effective strength was raised to 12,000 men. Immediately on landing, Sir Arthur arranged with General Freire, commanding the Portuguese forces, that 260 dragoons and 1,400 infantry should be placed under his command, and then set to work to collect transport and supplies, those that were deposited at Leria for the use of the British army having been seized by the Portuguese Government.

Roliça.—17th August, 1808.

Junot, on hearing of the advent of the British force, despatched General Laborde with 5,000 infantry and 500 cavalry to meet the enemy, and ordered General Loison, with 7,500 men and six guns, to strengthen Laborde, while he took the field with a detachment from Lisbon. On the 9th August, Wellesley marched from his ground on the Mondego, and on the 11th, he reached Leria with his whole force, thus succeeding in preventing the junction of the two French divisions, as Loison, finding the British had anticipated him, fell back on Santarem, through Torres Novas, where he remained two days to recruit his troops, who were exhausted by the great heat. Meantime, while Laborde, not knowing where his colleague might be, advanced from Lisbon to Batalha, and then fell back to Obidos, where the first brush took place between the soldiers of the rival nations, the 60th Rifles and the 95th Regiment (now known as the Rifle Brigade) being engaged, with the loss of two officers and twenty-seven men killed and wounded. Obidos was occupied by Wellesley, and Laborde fell back on the 16th to Roliça, where he took up an advantageous position, and notwithstanding his disparity of force, awaited with confidence the British onset.

About 7 A.M. on the 17th August, General Wellesley marched against the enemy from the town of Obidos, with 14,000 men and eighteen guns, in three columns of attack, with riflemen in the intervals. Hill, with his brigade, and 1,200 Portuguese, under Colonel Trant,

moved on the right of the valley to make a long detour to turn the French left, while Ferguson, with his and Bowes' brigades, and six guns, advanced up the hills on the left, to meet Loison, whose arrival at Rio Major had been ascertained, and to render untenable the heights of Roliça, which, and the valley below, Laborde held with 5,000 men. Sir Arthur in person led the centre, consisting of the brigades of Nightingale, Beresford, and Fane, with two batteries, along the high road against the enemy's post in the valley before the village of Roliça. Laborde now fell back by the passes to some rocky heights, and this retrograde movement so lengthened the march of Ferguson's and Trant's columns, that the centre fought the action unsupported. Thus Wellesley lost the advantage of superior numbers, as only 4,000 British troops could engage in the narrow pathways. The defence was desperate, but Laborde, who was wounded early in the fight, was unable to maintain his ground, and retreated in good order, as Ferguson's column was now coming up on his right flank. During the fighting, the 9th and 29th regiments specially distinguished themselves, and the latter was engaged with the bayonet and suffered severely, losing their gallant commander, Colonel Lake, son of Lord Lake. In the action, which lasted from 9 A.M. till 5 in the evening, the French lost three guns and 600 men, and the British 500. Sir Arthur Wellesley, learning that a large fleet of transports was off the coast, instead of pursuing Laborde, marched close to the shore to cover the landing of his reinforcements, and on the evening of the 19th, took up a position near the village of Vimiero.

Battle of Vimiero.—21st August, 1808.

Junot had quitted Lisbon, on the day before the action at Roliça, taking with him three battalions and a regiment of cavalry, with ten guns, and, at Torres Vedras, effected a junction with Laborde, and was soon after joined by Loison, who had fallen back before Ferguson's flanking march. On the night of the 19th August, the brigades of Anstruther and Ackland were landed from the transports, and, on the following day, joined Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose force was thus opportunely raised to 16,000 men and eighteen guns. But the English Government were not alive to the fact that in the officer now leading the British army, they had the inestimable advantage of possessing a soldier of genius, such as the service had not produced since Marlborough's days, and with that crass folly which distinguished all their

proceedings since the commencement of the Revolutionary War, they had nominated no less than three other general officers, one to supersede the other as they arrived in succession on the scene, namely, Burrard, Moore, and Dalrymple.

Sir Harry Burrard arrived on the scene on the night of the 20th, and Wellesley went on board the frigate in Maceira roads to report to him the state of affairs. He explained to him that Junot was in front of him with 14,000 men, including a strong body of cavalry and twenty-three guns, but that he had projected a plan to march that night to turn the French left and gain Mafra, without assailing the strong ground of Torres Vedras. Burrard, however, forbade this advance on the ground that Sir John Moore was expected with reinforcements, and would assume the conduct of operations. But Junot forced the adoption of more energetic measures by assuming the offensive, and, on the morning of the 21st, he appeared within four miles of the British outposts. Wellesley had now landed and resumed the command of the army.

The position of Vimiero was a steep, mountain ridge, resting its right upon the sea, and trending on the left hand towards a plateau, on which is situated the village which gives its name to the battle. A ridge of less elevation continued on the other side of a ravine or dry bed of a rivulet. Junot, seeing that the British left was lower and less strongly occupied than their right, ordered his cavalry, under Margaron, to turn the position on that side, while he directed Brennier and Laborde, supported by Loison and a reserve of grenadiers, under Kellerman, to assail the lower elevation only. Wellesley detected this error, and denuding the left ridge of troops, except Hill's brigade, he sent the four other brigades, which had been posted there, across the plain to the left-hand ridge, while the Portuguese, under Trant, were despatched to the extreme left, to watch the road taken by the cavalry.

These steps were adopted without exciting Junot's attention. The ground about Vimiero is so broken and wooded that the approach of Laborde's division was not perceived until, pushing up the hill, they burst upon the British centre; but, nevertheless, they met with so warm a reception by Fane's brigade and the battery of six guns, quickly reinforced by the reserve artillery, that they were first checked and then driven down the hill, the 50th Regiment doing special good service. Anstruther, on Fane's left, had equal success, and Laborde brought up Kellerman's reserve, but the 43rd Light Infantry, a regiment which acquired undying fame throughout the war, met them with ringing cheers in the village churchyard, and drove them back in disorder. A flank attack on the retiring French column was also made by Ackland's brigade, and the enemy were driven to the foot of the plateau. Towards

noon Junot, finding that he could not pierce the British centre, sent forward two of Loison's brigades to turn a ravine which led to the English left; but on emerging from this broken ground, they were encountered by the 36th, 40th, and 71st, under Brigadier Ferguson, and driven back in confusion, with the loss of six guns. One of the French brigades again advanced and retook the guns, though finally they were compelled to retreat with great loss, including their Brigadier, Brennier, who was made prisoner. As the enemy were retiring, 400 men of the 20th Dragoons and some Portuguese horse, led by Colonel Taylor, charged them and captured one of the battalion's commanders, when Margaron's cavalry drove the allied horsemen back, with the loss of their gallant leader. At this period of the action, Anstruther sent to ask Sir Arthur Wellesley if he should bring up his brigade to his assistance, but the characteristic reply he received was :—"No, sir, I'm not pressed; and I want no assistance. I'm beating the French, and am able to beat them wherever I find them."

By 2 o'clock the enemy were in full retreat, and Wellesley proposed to push forward his right and centre on Montachique by Torres Vedras, which would have completely cut off the French retreat on Lisbon, and have effected their surrender, but Sir Harry Burrard, who had now arrived on the ground and assumed the command, directed that the army should halt and remain in position until the arrival of Sir John Moore, momentarily expected. On receiving this order, Sir Arthur could not restrain his disappointment, but remarked to his staff, "Gentlemen, nothing now remains to be done but to go and shoot red-legged partridges."

The British loss in this brilliant victory was 720 officers and men, and neither the reserve nor Hill's brigade were engaged, while Trant's and Ferguson's columns had but few casualties. Junot now summoned a council of war at Montachique, to deliberate on the situation. He had lost 1,000 killed or missing, and over 1,000 wounded, and as it was no longer possible to hold Portugal, his only chance was to retreat into Spain through a hostile population. It was resolved to send Kellerman, son of the hero of Valmy, to negotiate with the British General, and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, who had arrived on the previous night and assumed command of the army, appointed Sir Arthur Murray, Quartermaster-General, to represent him in the negotiations.

A suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, with the River Liazzandro as a line of demarcation between the two armies. Difficulties arose in settling the terms of the convention, which included the evacuation of Portugal, but as Sir John Moore had disembarked at Maceira with 11,000 men, Junot conceded the point in dispute, and the treaty was ratified by Dalrymple at Cintra on the 31st August.

The French army set sail for France early in September, and were landed on the coast of Brittany, only to re-enter the Peninsula by way of the Pyrenees. The three generals were recalled to England to account for the conclusion of a convention which let the French off so easily, and Sir John Moore remained in chief command.*

Sir John Moore's Campaign in Spain.

Sir John Moore now prepared to march into Spain. The artillery, with a column he sent by way of Badajoz to Talavera, while the rest of the army was despatched in three divisions to Almeida, on the frontiers of Portugal. General Hope, with 6,000 men, took the road by Elvas; General Beresford, with two brigades, advanced by Coimbra, and General Fraser, with three, by Abrantes. It was Sir John's intention that all these divisions, numbering 20,000 men, should unite at Salamanca, with a separate corps, 10,000 strong, under Sir David Baird, sent from England to Corunna. The columns having commenced their march, Sir John Moore quitted Lisbon on the 27th October, and arrived at Almeida on the 8th November, and five days later, at Salamanca, where he halted to assemble his army and obtain intelligence All that he received was certainly not of a reassuring character, though Joseph had quitted Spain, and the insurrection had assumed formidable proportions. Four Spanish corps were in process of formation,—under General Blake, in the North, of 4,500 men; in the South, under General Castanos, of 30,000 combatants; in Arragon and Catalonia, under General Palafox, numbering about 18,000 men; and a reserve.

Confident of victory since the success at Baylen, the Spanish military

* Popular resentment in England turned against Sir Hugh Dalrymple, but the onus for not prosecuting the war lay with Sir Harry Burrard. Writing to the Duke of York the day after the battle, Sir Arthur Wellesley said:—"I think if General Hill's brigade and the advanced guard had moved forward, the enemy would have been cut off from Torres Vedras, and we should have been at Lisbon before him; if, indeed, any French army had remained in Portugal. But Sir Harry Burrard, who was at this time upon the ground, still thought it advisable not to move from Vimiero, and the enemy made good their retreat to Torres Vedras. Sir Hugh Dalrymple arrived this morning, and has taken the command of the army." Of his army he says in the same letter:—"I cannot say too much in favour of the troops; their gallantry and their discipline were equally conspicuous; and I must add that this is the only action that I have ever been in, in which everything passed as it was directed, and no mistake was made by any of the officers charged with its conduct."

Junta proposed to advance to the Ebro and overwhelm the French army of 60,000 veteran troops, commanded by the greatest soldier of the age. But Napoleon was not idle. After his memorable interview with Alexander at Erfurth, on the 27th September, that remarkable man, equally great as statesman and warrior, returned to Paris, and at once organized an army of 200,000 men for the invasion of Spain, divided, with the troops already there, into eight army corps.*

On the 3rd November, Napoleon was at Bayonne, and quitting that city on the following day, he arrived at Vittoria on the 5th. A few days later, Lefevre and Victor inflicted a defeat on Blake at Espinosa, and Marshal Soult put the whole army to flight near Burgos, whither Napoleon removed his headquarters. Sir John Moore received information of these events on the 13th November, at Salamanca, where he had assembled 28,000 men, and further he heard that the enemy had already advanced to Valladolid, within sixty miles of his headquarters.

Meanwhile Napoleon now heard of the advance of the British army into Spain, and directed Soult and Junot to proceed against it, while he sent orders to Laborde and Loison to cross the Bidassoa with their divisions, and occupy the ground thus vacated, and directed Lefevre and Victor to pursue the broken forces of Blake and Romagna, leaving Bessieres,† with two corps, in observation, and Marshals Lannes and Ney, with the 3rd and 6th corps, to engage the forces of Castanos and Palafox in Arragon. With an enemy in hot pursuit of them, these generals disagreed as to the best mode of meeting the French advance, the former recommending an avoidance of battle, while Palafox proposed acting on the offensive in Navarre. Amid such

* Napier, in his history of the Peninsular War, states that on the 15th November, 1808, Napoleon had assembled in Spain 335,000 men, including the veterans of Jena, Austerlitz, and Friedland, and two hundred guns.

† Bessieres, Duke of Istria, proceeded to Spain in March, 1808, with 6,000 of the Imperial Guard, and after the Emperor quitted Spain, returned to his master's personal service, and was killed at Lutzen on 1st May, 1813, and buried in the same grave as the great Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus, who fell there in 1632. On the 22nd of the same month, Marshal Duroc, Duke of Friuli, Napoleon's other intimate friend, was killed by his side at Bautzen. Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, also at this time in Spain, was killed in battle at Essling in 1809. Some of the eighteen marshals, created by Napoleon in 1804, proved faithless to their master. Bernadotte, who owed to him his kingdom of Sweden, deserted him, and, with General Moreau, assisted by his advice the allied sovereigns in the campaign of 1813; indeed, Moreau received his death-wound by a cannon ball at the side of the Czar Alexander, at the battle of Dresden, on the 7th August. Joachim Murat, created King of Naples, intrigued with Austria against his Imperial brother-in-law, but he threw in his lot with Napoleon after his success at Lutzen, and was placed in command of all his cavalry, 429 squadrons.

distracting counsels, Lannes arrived before them near Tudela, and inflicted a crushing defeat, capturing thirty guns. The French victories at Espinosa, Burgos, and Tudela were followed by a fourth gained at Somo Sierra, and by Napoleon's arrival before Madrid on the 2nd December, the anniversary of Austerlitz and of his coronation. The capital was now again occupied by a hostile army, and the triumph of Napoleon was complete.

These disasters determined Sir John Moore to retreat; but the traitor Spanish general, Morla, at the moment he was entering into terms with the conqueror, wrote to the British commander, requesting that he would unite with Castanos, who, he declared, had 40,000 men under his command, and fall on the rear of the enemy. But the British military agent with the Spanish army, Colonel Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch), put Moore in possession of the real state of affairs, and that general issued his instructions for a retreat to his divisional commanders, Baird and Hope, when he received a letter, on the 5th, from Mr. Frere, the British minister at Madrid, announcing that the capital had resisted a first assault, and begging him to advance to its relief.

Sir John Moore now again changed his plans, and, on the same day, sent word to Baird and Hope to join him with all speed at Astorga. Accordingly, on the 10th December, Sir John Hope arrived with the artillery and cavalry, and communications were opened with Romagna. Three days later, the cavalry, under Lord Paget (afterwards the Marquis of Anglesey), and Beresford's brigade entered Toro, and on the 18th, Brigadier Charles Stewart (afterwards Lord Londonderry) surprised a detachment of French cavalry and infantry near Rueda, killing and wounding the whole and taking eighty prisoners. An intercepted despatch from Marshal Berthier to Marshal Soult, at Valladolid, now apprised Sir John Moore that the fourth corps was moving on Badajoz, and that Junot, at the head of the eighth corps, had passed the Pyrenees. Moore, seeing the toils of the enemy closing around him, halted his army at Toro on the 14th, and effected a junction with Baird at Benevente. On the 20th, he moved his whole army forward to within three leagues of Sahagun. Lord Paget received information that 700 French cavalry were posted in that town, and determined to try and cut them off. Sending General Slade with the 10th Hussars to enter the town from the side of the Cega, his lordship led the 15th Hussars and some horse artillery by a different route, and at dawn, fell upon the outlying picket, one of whom, however, managed to escape and apprise the enemy of his proximity. Accordingly, on clearing the town, Paget found the French cavalry drawn up to receive him in the open plain. The 15th Hussars immediately charged, clearing a broad ditch in front of the foe, and after a brilliant hand-to-hand conflict, the

enemy fled, leaving two colonels and 160 men prisoners.* Moore established his headquarters at Sahagun, and resolved to march, on the 21st December, against Soult, who was posted at Saldana with 18,000 men, having arranged with Romagna to move the troops that remained to him in Leon upon Minsilla. The British general at this time had concentrated at Sahagun his army of 23,000 bayonets, 2,278 sabres, and sixty guns.

Napoleon, on hearing of Moore's audacious movement into Spain, ordered Soult to fall back to Burgos, whither he directed Junot to advance with dispatch, and himself quitted Madrid on the 18th to annihilate the English. It was six days later, when Moore's advance had reached Tordesillas, that he awoke to the danger of his position, and forthwith ordered a retreat. Quitting Sahagun on the same day, he reached Benevente four days later, the weather being very inclement, with snow lying on the ground. Napoleon, pushing through the passes of the Guadarama, where his artillery was with difficulty moved through a blinding snowstorm, came up with Ney's corps at Rio Seco, whence he marched to Valderas on the 28th, and the following day, approached Benevente.

The British cavalry crossed the Esla two days before, and destroyed the bridge leading into Benevente, and Moore continued his retreat by the main road to Astorga, while Hope marched by La Banessa, Paget covering the rear with his cavalry. On the morning of the 29th, a body of over 500 French cavalry forded the Esla, when the British pickets retired slowly. Paget, observing the enemy were about to charge, led the 10th Hussars against them, and a spirited *mêlée* took place, in which General Lefevre-Desnouettes, a distinguished cavalry officer, and seventy men were taken prisoners. It was a creditable affair to the British horsemen, who lost fifty men, the French casualties being 130, besides the prisoners. Astorga, where Romagna had already arrived, was reached on the 30th, and on the following day, Sir John continued his retreat on Villa Franca. Soult crossed the Esla on the same day, and on the 31st, Napoleon arrived at Astorga. Here the French Emperor received intelligence that the Austrians were preparing to take the field, and accordingly, left the further pursuit to Soult, and returned with all despatch to Paris, where his presence was urgently demanded.

Moore, with the main army, now continued the retreat on Corunna by Villa Franca, while Craufurd proceeded by Orense to Vigo. The weather was terrible; snow or rain fell continuously, and the British army became insubordinate, breaking out into excesses, and pillaging the wine-vaults at Bembibre and Villa Franca. But they were always

* "Sahagun" is borne on the standard of the gallant 15th Hussars.

ready to fight, and now and again turned upon their pursuers. On the 3rd January, 1809, a skirmish took place, in which the 95th drove back the French, killing General Colbert, leading the attack. On the 6th, the army halted at Lugo, which stands on an eminence, and awaited Soult's attack. There was some cannonading between the armies on the following day, but Soult hesitated to accept his rival's challenge, and the retreat was resumed on the 9th. The disorganization in the British army increased; but, fortunately, Soult did not push his advantage. On the 10th, Paget, with the reserve, halted at Betangos, where there was a slight affair of outposts, and on the 11th the army reached Corunna, without having lost a gun or a colour during the retreat. On the following day, the French arrived on the ground behind the Mero, and as the transports Moore expected had not arrived, he was constrained to give battle.

Battle of Corunna.—16th January, 1809.

The British general at first took up a position of considerable natural strength, his left resting on the Mero, at the bridge of El Burgo, and his right, on a conical hill behind the hamlet of Castries; but it was too extended and remote from the harbour, and he was compelled to leave the commanding heights to the enemy, and take up one lower down. A proposition was now made to Sir John by some of his generals to propose terms of capitulation to the enemy, but this he indignantly rejected, and thus added to the military history of his country one of its brightest pages. The troops passed the night of the 12th in quarters, and on the following day, took up their positions, Sir John Hope on the left, on the Betangos road; Sir David Baird on the right, behind the village of Elvina; while the divisions of Generals Paget and Mackenzie Fraser were in reserve in the rear of the right, and so placed as to watch the road to Vigo. The ground between the positions of the opposing armies was broken, with stone enclosures, and the ridge on which they were posted, ended abruptly in a narrow valley with a stream running through it.

The 13th was passed by both armies in making dispositions, and the French threw up a battery of eleven guns, which enfiladed the whole of the British line from its right to its centre, and repaired the bridge of Burgo. On the 14th, the transports arrived in sight, when the dismounted cavalry and the artillery, except one brigade, were sent on board, some thousands of horses being shot to prevent them

falling into the hands of the enemy. On the evening of the 15th, Colonel Mackenzie, on the extreme left, made an attempt, with his Brigade, to capture two of the enemy's guns, but he was killed, and the regiment returned *re infecta*. Moore resolved, with the daring characteristic of him, to send Paget's and Fraser's divisions, at a suitable time, along the valley to the right of Elvina, while Baird and Hope were expected to hold their ground against the attacks of the main army.

At two o'clock on the 16th, the battle was begun by the enemy opening fire from his 11-gun battery, which was responded to by six British guns, while his whole line advanced to the attack. Merlet's division threw themselves into Elvina, where they were met by the 50th, under Majors Charles Napier and Stanhope, but the regiment —"the dirty half-hundredth," as it was familiarly called—turned by its right, was driven out of the village, when Brigadier Lord William Bentinck,* brought up the 4th and 42nd in support. In leading them Sir David Baird had his arm shattered by a grape-shot, but the brigade drove the French out of the village with slaughter, when Sir John Moore, who witnessed the desperate struggle, called out approvingly, "Well done, 50th! well done, my Majors!" But, as he spoke, Major Stanhope, son of Lord Stanhope, and nephew of Mr. Pitt, received a mortal wound, and Major Napier was dangerously wounded and left for dead on the field.†

The Commander-in-chief himself cheered on the Highlanders with the words, "Remember Egypt!" and the gallant regiment responded to the stirring appeal of the general, who had fought at Alexandria. Owing to some mistake, the Guards did not arrive in support, and the 42nd, having expended their ammunition, fell back, but were directed to return to the village. Sir John Moore again took up his station at the ridge to direct the operations, and concluding that Soult had put

* This officer, who had been Governor of Madras at the time of the Vellore Mutiny, afterwards commanded the Anglo-Sicilian Contingent under Wellington, and was Governor-General of India, where he earned a reputation as one of the most enlightened rulers that country has had. The Charles Napier here mentioned is also well known in Indian history, as the conqueror of Scinde in 1843, and Commander-in-chief in 1849 in succession to Lord Gough. Sir David Baird survived many years after losing his arm at Corunna, but was not again employed. He served with great distinction in the war against Hyder Ali in 1780, and again in 1793. At the capture of Seringapatam in 1799 he was second in command, and led the storming column. He also served in command of the Indian Contingent in the campaign in Egypt, but arrived too late to take an active part. He was in command at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope in 1806, and second in command under Sir John Moore at Corunna.

† Sir Charles Napier owed his escape from death, as he lay wounded on the ground, to the intervention of a French drummer.

forth his full strength, directed Paget and Fraser to advance with the reserve. While observing the progress of the attack, the general was struck by a cannon-shot on the left shoulder and breast, and hurled to the ground. His aide-de-camp, Captain Hardinge,* who had just returned from ordering up the Guards to support the 42nd at the village of Elvina, took the hand of his general, who raised himself from the ground in a sitting posture, intently observing the Highlanders, and Colonel Thomas Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch) rode off for a surgeon, but it was quickly seen that the wound was mortal.

Sir John Hope, who succeeded to the command—his two superior officers being incapacitated—made no change in the dispositions. Paget's and Fraser's columns advanced up the valley, driving back the French, and the British left and centre repelled an attack by Laborde, and gained possession of Palacio, where General Foy commanded. Thus ended the battle of Corunna, which terminated gloriously a disastrous retreat, and proved that even the hardships and demoralization attendant upon such an operation in presence of a numerically-superior foe, in the depth of winter,† could not abate one jot the high courage of the British soldier when the hour for battle had struck.

Meanwhile, the fast-dying Commander-in-chief was removed to the rear in a blanket. As he was being lifted from the ground, the hilt of his sword pressed against the wound, when Captain Hardinge would have unbuckled the weapon. But the veteran soldier forbade it, saying, "It is as well as it is; I had rather it should go out of the field with me." Major Colborne—afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Seaton—Chief of the Staff, came up and reported that the fight was over, when Moore eagerly asked if the enemy were beaten, and on being assured of a favourable result, added, "It is a great satisfaction for me to know that we have beaten the French. I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice. You know I have always wished to die this way."

His wounds were of a terrible nature, the left shoulder being shattered, and the arm hanging by a shred of skin, while the ribs over the heart were broken, and the muscles of the breast torn in long strips. After lingering in great pain, he expired without a struggle.

* Afterwards Field-Marshal Viscount Hardinge, "the hero of Albuera," Governor-General of India, in succession to Lord Ellenborough in 1845, and Commander-in-chief at the Horse Guards.

† Among those who died from the effects of the hardships and inclement weather was Major-General Robert Anstruther, who commanded the rear-guard of the army. He was buried in the ramparts of Corunna, and, at his request, Sir John Moore was interred beside him.

At midnight the remains of the deceased general were removed to the citadel of Corunna, and in accordance with his expressed wish that, if slain in battle, he should be buried where he fell, a grave was dug upon the ramparts by a party of the 9th Regiment. No coffin was procurable, but he was wrapped in blankets and his military cloak, and buried in the early morning by the flickering light of lanterns, the ceremony being hastened, as an attack by the French was threatened.*

"No useless coffin enclosed his breast,
Nor in sheet nor in shroud we wound him;
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

The British loss in the battle of Corunna was over 800 men, and that of the French is said to have been between two and three thousand. It is probable that no army but an English one, after all the demoralization and privations of a retreat, could have inflicted a repulse on an enemy well-provided and in a high state of discipline, and flushed with the ardour of pursuit.

Moore's conduct of the campaign has been severely criticized by military writers, but the greatest, and most experienced British soldier of the age, declared, with characteristic magnanimity, that he only detected one error. The Duke of Wellington wrote:—"In Sir John Moore's campaign, I can see but one error; when he advanced to Sahagun, he should have considered it as a movement of retreat, and sent officers to the rear to mark and prepare the halting-places for every brigade. But this opinion I have formed after long experience of war, and especially of the peculiarities of a Spanish war, which must have been seen to be understood; finally, it is an opinion formed after the event."

Sir John Hope directed the troops to march through the town for embarkation in the transports, and General Beresford covered the operation, which was carried out during the night without hindrance and in perfect order. The vanguard remained on shore till noon of the 17th, and were then safely embarked, and Corunna capitulated, on

* A plain tomb was placed over his grave by order of Marshal Soult, which has since been enlarged by his countrymen, and bears the following inscription:—"John Moore, Leader of the English Armies, Slain in Battle, 1809." His gallant opponent, the Duke of Dalmatia, had a Latin inscription cut in the wall, near the spot where he received his death-wound. The Spaniards afterwards removed the body to a more conspicuous position, and erected a splendid monument over the remains. His grateful countrymen also placed a monument to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral.

the 20th, to Marshals Soult and Ney, who treated the English sick and wounded left in the hospitals with consideration.

The column, under Brigadier Craufurd, which marched through Orense, embarked at Vigo, and so Spain was evacuated under circumstances of mingled gloom and glory, only to be entered again very shortly, under happier auspices, and with brighter results, by a more successful commander.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
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CHAPTER XIII.

THE PENINSULAR WAR (*continued*).

1809—1811.

The Situation in Spain and Portugal—Arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley at Lisbon—Expulsion of the French from Oporto—Marshal Soult is driven out of Portugal—The Military Position in the Peninsula in 1809—The British Advance on Madrid—The Battle of Talavera—Construction of the Lines of Torres Vedras—Action of the Coa—Retreat of the British Army into Portugal—Battle of Busaco—Retreat of the French from before the Lines of Torres Vedras—Victory of General Graham at Barossa.

MARSHALS SOULT and Ney remained until the middle of February at Corunna, to recruit, by order of Napoleon, who received news of the battle of Corunna and embarkation of the British army, at Valladolid, and then Ney proceeded to occupy Galicia and the Asturias, while Soult, with 26,000 men, marched by Braga, on Oporto, which was carried by assault on the 29th February. Meanwhile, matters everywhere had gone against the Spaniards. Joseph once again entered Madrid on the 22nd January, and, in the preceding December, commenced the second siege of Saragossa, by an army of 38,000 men, commanded by Junot, who was superseded by Marshal Lannes. But the city held out for fifty-two days, under Palafox, with a heroism unsurpassed in history, and for which a parallel only occurs in our annals of the defence of Londonderry, and only surrendered on the 21st February, when 2,400 men capable of bearing arms quitted the city, in the defence of which 54,000 souls had perished. But neither this reverse, nor the defeats in the field of Madellin and Ciudad Real, abated one jot the spirit of the ill-organized Spanish levies. Soon after Moore's army had returned to England, most of the regiments were despatched to the Tagus, under Sir John Cradock, who had soon 14,000 men under his command, and acting on the advice of Sir Arthur Wellesley,* the Government despatched General Beresford, in March, to the Portuguese capital, with several British officers, with

* Sir Arthur Wellesley's "Memorandum on the Defence of Portugal," dated 7th March, provided for every contingency, and is a masterpiece of conciseness.

whose assistance he speedily organized an army of about 14,000 men, over which he was placed in command with the rank of Marshal. Magazines were established at Coimbra and Abrantes, and Colonel Trant and other officers organized a Militia force as an auxiliary. A division of British troops was also sent to Cadiz, to offer its services to the Spanish Junta, but these being declined, General Sherbrooke returned to the Tagus, and rejoined Cradock's army, which, about the middle of March, moved from Lisbon to Santarem.

But the step fraught with the most important consequences, was the despatch to Lisbon of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, on his arrival on the 22nd April, was appointed by the Regency, Marshal-General of their armies. His arrival immediately infused fresh life into every department of the state, and he set himself to work to organize the defence of the kingdom and, elaborated a plan of campaign. He resolved to attack Soult, who was seventy-five leagues distant in the north, and as soon as he had beaten him, to return and operate against Marshal Victor in Estremadura, and communicated his intention to Cuesta, the Spanish General, who was requested to keep Victor in check. A division of British cavalry and infantry, under Generals Mackenzie and Fane, together with a Portuguese corps, was placed in support of the Spanish general near Abrantes, and the Lusitanian Legion, under that able officer and remarkable man, Sir Robert Wilson, was sent to Alcantara to defend the right bank of the Tagus, and prevent the French crossing the river during the movement on Oporto.

Wellesley moved his headquarters to Pombal and Coimbra, on the 1st May, and, in a few days, assembled a force of 13,000 English, 9,000 Portuguese, and 3,000 Hanoverian troops. On the 4th he received intelligence that the Portuguese General Sylveira had been driven out of Amaranthe, when Sir Arthur despatched Marshal Beresford with the Legion across the Douro, to attack Loison, who abandoned the bridge at that town, when Sylveira joined the Marshal. Meantime, on the 7th, General Hill advanced with a column to the left upon Aveiro, while the Commander-in-chief marched with the remainder of the army on Vouga. Hill crossed the lake Ovar in boats, and, on the 10th, suddenly came upon the French cavalry advance, which fell back upon Mermet's division, and Soult prepared to meet an attack from the shipping at the mouth of the Douro, and destroyed the pontoon bridge at Oporto. The French front and right were threatened by Hill, and their rear and left by Beresford, though Soult considered a deep, wide, and swift river sufficient protection against a land attack. But the French marshal did not know the character and resource of the adversary opposed to him. Wellesley determined to cross the Douro, and having succeeded in discovering and bringing away four large barges, the passage was made by

Hill's division, under the protection of eighteen guns, though not without some fighting, in which Paget was severely wounded. The Guards, under Sherbrooke, also crossed from the suburb of Villanova, and the Hanoverians over the ferry at Avintas. Soult now retreated from Oporto, and, destroying his artillery and baggage, passed over the Sierra de St. Cathalina to Guimaraens, where he joined Loison, and then continued his retreat on Braga, which he reached twelve hours before the British pursuing columns.

Sir Arthur Wellesley overtook Soult, on the evening of the 16th, at Salamonde, and the French lost heavily, while the infuriated peasantry massacred all stragglers. At Orense, on the Spanish frontier, which the French marshal reached on the 19th, with 19,000 men, the pursuit terminated, with the loss of 6,000 men and all his guns, baggage and military chest, rivalling thus in its disastrous course the British retreat on Corunna. Ney joined his brother marshal beyond Lugo, the combined army numbering 30,000 men, who were cantoned in Galicia until June, when orders were received from Napoleon for Soult to assume the supreme command of the corps of Ney and Mortier, and withdraw to Zamora, on the Douro, while Ney, who had suffered reverses in Galicia, was directed to evacuate that province and proceed to Astorga, on Soult's right.

On his part Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had, in twenty-eight days, driven the French out of the kingdom of Portugal, quitted Oporto, leaving Colonel Trant in command as military governor, and marching to the south, put his army into quarters at Abrantes.*

At this period the Spanish army of Arragon and Valencia, under General Blake, had been repulsed in an attempt to recover Saragossa, and utterly defeated by Suchet on the 18th June. Cuesta, with 33,000 men, held the left bank of the Tagus at Almaraz, while Blake was in Valencia with 20,000 troops, and Romagna in Galicia with 15,000. On the French side, Marshal Victor, who was at Beira with 23,000 men, on hearing of Soult's reverses, crossed the Tagus and returned to Merida. Sebastiani still held La Mancha with 18,000 men, and was opposed by Vanegas with a like force; 10,000 men were at Madrid under Jourdain and King Joseph; 40,000 were in Arragon and Catalonia, and Kellerman kept the communications open in Old Castile with a division of cavalry. Napoleon, after his reverse at Essling, was too much engrossed to spare troops to reinforce his armies in the Peninsula,

* The British army at this time was almost in as bad a state of discipline as during the retreat on Corunna, though they displayed in the hour of battle equal resolution and valour. Wellesley, who was always very hard to please, and declared that the army that gained Waterloo was the worst he ever commanded, wrote at this time to his Government :—I have long been of opinion that a British army can bear neither success nor failure."

while Wellesley, whose reputation was greatly enhanced by his recent successful operations, had 22,000 men under his orders, and was preparing for a swoop on the Spanish capital. But he was without money, which has been well called "the sinews of war," and all this time the British Government was wasting its resources and strength in the abortive and disastrous expedition to the Scheldt.

The Spanish authorities undertook to supply the British army with provisions on the line of march, and on the 27th June, Sir Arthur Wellesley, having perfected his arrangements with General Cuesta to act in concert against Marshal Victor's army, intervening between him and Madrid, broke up his cantonments at Abrantes, and directed his march on Placentia and Talavera, by Castello Blanco and Coria, with the object of ousting Joseph from the Spanish capital. But he was ignorant that Napoleon had directed Soult to advance with his corps and those of Ney and Mortier on the flanks of the British army, and cut off their retreat out of Spain. Wellesley arrived at Placentia on the 8th July, and proceeded to the headquarters of Cuesta to concert measures, but found the Spanish general obstinate and impracticable. However, he agreed to provision his army on the line of advance, and returning to Placentia, he marched thence on the 13th, and effected a junction with Cuesta on the 20th July.

Pushing on, the allied army advanced to Talavera, where it took up a position on the 22nd; but there was ill-concealed discord between the two commanders, Cuesta, from age and constitutional indolence, being averse to attack Victor, who was enabled to withdraw unopposed towards Toledo, a strategic point of considerable importance, as it brought him into communication with Sebastiani, thus increasing the combined army to nearly 50,000 men, with 90 guns. Wellesley now wrote to Cuesta requesting his co-operation in an attack on the French army, but got a refusal. On the 23rd, he formed his columns for attack, but nothing was done, as he says, "Cuesta contrived to lose the whole of the day, owing to the whimsical perverseness of his disposition." On the following day, Victor commenced falling back towards St. Ollala and Torrijos, and Wellesley wrote, "I have not been able to follow the enemy as I could wish, on account of the great deficiency of transport, and owing to my having found it impossible to procure even one mule or cart in Spain." But no sooner had Victor begun to withdraw, than Cuesta changed his mind, and thinking the enemy were about to retreat on Madrid, proposed a forward movement, and heedless of Wellesley's advice, who disbelieved in a French retreat, crossed the Alberche in pursuit.

The French army were now concentrated behind the river, and Wellesley, feeling himself compelled to co-operate with his rash but weak colleague, sent to his assistance the whole of his cavalry and two

divisions of infantry, under General Sherbrooke. As Wellesley expected, the van of Cuesta's army was attacked on the 26th, and driven back in confusion, and was only saved from rout by the steadiness of the Spanish cavalry. At length, the Spanish general, at the earnest and even humble entreaties of his English colleague, who used to declare, with grim humour, that he even went on his knees before the arrogant old man,* agreed to withdraw his army to Talavera; and Wellesley, having satisfied the vanity of Cuesta, was now permitted to assume supreme command of the combined armies. The British general posted the Spanish army in two lines upon his right, resting their flank on the town, which touched the river, their entire front being covered by a grove of olive and cork trees.

Battle of Talavera.—27th and 28th July, 1809.

The allied army occupied a strong position on some commanding ground, about two miles in extent, strengthened by field-works. The right flank rested on the town of Talavera, the suburbs of which were occupied by Spanish riflemen, and the left flank was closed by a mound, crowned with a large field redoubt. The British troops had taken post on some hills of moderate height, on the left of the plain, their front covered by a ravine, at this time dry. The British right and the Spanish left were joined by a ten-gun battery, on the summit of the knoll in rear of which were posted the allied cavalry. The front of the Spanish infantry was strengthened by ditches and felled trees, and a large house, with a wood, also stood there. From the mound on the left flank, the British line was posted in the following order:—Campbell's division, in two lines, then Sherbrooke's in one line, then Hill's, who had two brigades of artillery posted in his front for the defence of an isolated hill, the key of the position, and at which it terminated.

Marshal Victor marched from St. Ollala early on the 27th August, and fording the Alberche, the divisions of Lapisse and Rufin attacked General Mackenzie, who, being without cavalry outposts, and the woods by which the enemy approached being unguarded, was surprised before he had time to form line. Wellesley being at the time engaged in the house writing his despatches, was nearly captured, but placing himself at the head of the 45th regiment and some companies of the 60th Rifles, kept the French at bay, until the 87th and 88th

* The Duke, when once asked as to this incident, replied that it was true, and characteristically added that, where an important public object had to be attained he did not care "a twopenny d—n" about going on his knees to any man.

regiments, which had been separated and driven back in some disorder, returned to his assistance. In this encounter he lost 400 men. Mackenzie's division now took up its allotted position in the line of battle, and Victor rapidly advanced across the plain, while Sebastiani pushed forward his cavalry towards the Spanish infantry. The latter, some 10,000 in number, after a general discharge of musketry, fled, with all the artillery, headed by Cuesta in person, but when Wellesley brought up some British cavalry to flank them, the Spanish general recovered heart, and brought back about half his men, the remainder having dispersed.

Towards evening, Victor ordered Rufin to make a circuitous march to his right with the main part of his division, and sent the 9th French regiment to attack the hill on that side, and another to press down the valley and get to the rear of the British position, while the third was to attack Hill's right, where Villette's division was to join in support, and Lapisse was to make a diversion. The assault was vigorously carried out, the enemy penetrating the British lines, and, in the darkness, General Hill, mistaking the French for his men, was nearly made prisoner, and his Brigade-Major, Fordyce, was killed. General Deakin's brigade had to fall back, and the 9th French regiment reached the crest of the hill, which was the key of the position; but General Hill arrived in time with the 29th, which charged up the hill, and drove the enemy down in headlong flight. The French loss in this affair was about 1,000 men, and the British 800.

Thus the night of the 27th passed away, and at eight on the following morning, Victor renewed the attack, after informing King Joseph of his intention, and requesting that Sebastiani might be ordered to move simultaneously against the British centre. Victor sent forward two fresh regiments, and Rufin prepared to ascend the hill, while Lapisse attacked the German brigade of Sherbrooke's division. The French infantry were supported by the fire of fifty guns, but met with a hot reception by the brigades of Tilson and Stewart, and after some severe fighting, the French columns were repulsed and driven down the hill, with the loss of about 2,500 men. It was now about 10 A.M., and Joseph consulted with Victor and his chief adviser, Marshal Jourdain, who proposed that they should await Soult's arrival before again assaulting the British lines, but messages were now received that that marshal could not attack the British rear before the 3rd August, and that Vanegas had passed Toledo, and was advancing with his army on Madrid. It was resolved, therefore, that a vigorous assault should be made all along the line, and the bugles and drums sounded the attack.

Meanwhile the British commander, seeing the determined attacks made by the enemy on the hill and valley on his left, had prolonged his

left flank across the valley, thereby bringing the high ground beyond into his line of defence, by posting a division of Spanish infantry on its lower slopes. About 2 P.M. the enemy advanced to the attack, Rufin crossing the valley by the foot of the mountains, so as to turn the British left, followed and supported by Villatte's and Lapisse's divisions, the whole under Victor, with Mortier's cavalry brigade to assail the hill and Sherbrooke's division, to the right of it, while Sebastiani's was to fall on the Spanish centre.

Sir Arthur Wellesley witnessed from the hill the development of the attack, which commenced by Sebastiani's attack on the mound covered by a redoubt, already referred to, where were posted Campbell's division and Mackenzie's of British troops, and two Spanish battalions. Regardless of the French skirmishers, the British charged with impetuosity, and driving the enemy before them, captured a twelve-gun battery, and the French were only rallied on their supports.

On the other side, as Rufin was skirting the mountains, he was attacked by Anson's brigade of cavalry, but the 23rd Light Dragoons, now seeing a dry water-course in front of the French squares, charged into it, and suffered severely, losing over 200 officers and men in the *mêlée*. During the progress of this attack, Victor, with Lapisse and Latour-Maubourg's cavalry brigade, crossed the water-course, under cover of the guns, and encountered Sherbrooke's division, whose fire forced them to fall back, leaving Lapisse dead on the ground. The Guards, however, followed up their success with too great ardour, and coming upon the French supporting division, drew upon themselves a heavy artillery fire, under which they got into confusion, and had to fall back.

Sir Arthur, seeing the Guards shaken, sent the 48th regiment from the hill to their assistance, and also some light cavalry, under General Cotton, afterwards Lord Combermere. This was a critical and decisive point of the battle. A close and deadly volley checked the advance of Rey's brigade of Sebastiani's corps, and the Guards rallied, and when the French turned upon the gallant 48th, the Guards, with cheers, advanced to their support. At this moment, Cotton's cavalry charged the enemy's wavering columns, and the French generals, failing to bring up their reserves to their support at the critical moment, they fell back, while the British fire grew hotter, and their shouts more animated.

It was only six o'clock, but Marshal Jourdain, who had been opposed to giving battle at all, with Joseph's sanction now ordered the army to retire beyond the Alberche, and by nightfall, all had withdrawn, leaving the field of battle in possession of the victorious English commander.

In this hardly contested engagement, the British loss was Generals Mackenzie and Langewith and 767 rank and file, killed, and three generals (including General Hill) and 3,718 men, wounded. On the

French side, two generals and 944 men were killed, and 6,294 wounded. They also lost 17 guns, 10 captured by the English, and 7 left behind in the wood. The Spanish casualties were reported as 1,200, but their conduct proved that they were not to be trusted, and Wellesley resolved for the future to rely on his own unaided efforts.

During the day succeeding the battle of Talavera, Sir Robert Craufurd arrived in Lord Wellington's* camp, with the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th regiments (afterwards the Rifle Brigade) which, with the Portuguese regiments attached, known as Caçadores, became famous as the "Light Division,"† and were ever in the advance throughout the war. They had made one of the most memorable marches on record, having covered sixty-two miles in twenty-six hours in the hottest weather.

Lord Wellington remained at Talavera for a few days, establishing his hospitals and collecting supplies,‡ and, on the 3rd August, marched to encounter Soult, leaving Cuesta to watch Joseph's army. On the latter day he arrived at Oropesa, and Soult at Navel-Moral, while Joseph, with Jourdain and Sebastiani, came up to Valdemoro, and Victor to Maquedo, so that the narrow valley of the Tagus swarmed with hostile armies. The Spanish provinces to the north and west were free to the patriots to carry out their designs, and Sir Robert Wilson, with the Lusitanian Legion, had quitted the passes on Soult's approach, and now threatened Madrid from the side of the Guadarama, while Vanegas, who had occupied Toledo, sent patrols as far as the capital.

* Sir Arthur Wellesley was raised to the peerage on the 4th September, 1809, with the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington.

† These three regiments were selected and organized by Sir John Moore, and Napier records that "they sent forth a larger number of distinguished officers than any three regiments in the world." Their great distinction was due to their superior discipline, "the greatest secret of war," as the historian calls it. It was said of them, "Six years of warfare could not detect a flaw in their system; nor were they ever matched in courage and skill. These three regiments were avowedly the best that England ever had under arms."

‡ His lordship writes:—"They have no magazines, nor have we; nor can we collect any, and there is a scramble for everything. I wish that the gentlemen of the Junta would either come or send here somebody to satisfy the wants of our half-starved army, which, although they have been engaged for two days, and have defeated twice their number, in the service of Spain, have no bread to eat. It is positively a fact that during the last seven days the British army have not received one-third of their provisions, that at this moment there are nearly 4,000 wounded soldiers dying in the hospital in this town for want of common assistance and necessaries, which any other country in the world would have given even to its enemies, and that I can get no assistance from this country. I cannot prevail upon them to bury the dead carcasses in the neighbourhood, the stench of which will destroy themselves as well as us." At the same time, General Beresford from Almeida was clamouring for blankets and clothes, and provisions for his Portuguese troops.

Joseph, accordingly, despatched Sebastiani to hold Toledo, and ordered Victor to fall back on St. Ollala to drive away Wilson, who, however, soon retired into Portugal.

On arriving at Oropesa, Wellington learnt that Soult was advancing with 50,000 men, including Mortier's and Ney's divisions. Sending off Craufurd to Almaraz to secure the bridge, his lordship, taking with him as many wounded as he could transport, crossed the Tagus, while Cuesta took post at Oropesa, prepared to hold it while the British army traversed the passes between it and Almaraz. But he was attacked, on the 6th August, by Mortier, and his army beaten and dispersed, though his successor, Equia, collected some of the fugitives. Sebastiani also defeated Vanegas with heavy loss at Toledo, and Joseph returned to Madrid in triumph.

On the 3rd September, Wellington cantoned his troops about Merida, whence he could cover Portugal and the south of Spain, and ordered the construction of the lines of Torres Vedras, for the protection of Lisbon, on which he expected to have to fall back as soon as Napoleon, after his recent success at Wagram, should pour his armies into the Peninsula with a view to its complete subjugation. While his army rested on the Guadiana, he accordingly repaired to Lisbon with Colonel Robert Fletcher, Chief Engineer, and Colonel George Murray, Quarter-Master-General, to carry out his plans,* and secure the co-operation of the Portuguese Regency. The famous lines were 25 miles in extent on the outer *enceinte*, and 22 in the inner, with 126 field-works, armed with 247 pieces of artillery; 24 miles within the inner line, extending from Passo d'Arco, on the Tagus, and the tower of Jacquera, on the coast, were entrenchments to afford protection to the entire army, mounting 94 guns, and within was an entrenched camp, 3,000 yards in extent, while at the mouth of the Tagus was Fort St. Julien, whose ramparts and deep ditches defied escalade. Such were the works the genius of this great commander evolved, and which amply fulfilled their purpose.

While Wellington was reorganizing his commissariat, for he recognized the truth of the axiom that "an army moves upon its belly," the Spaniards were experiencing defeats at Ocana and Alba de Tormes, and lost Gerona (thrice besieged), and Seville. Ciudad Rodrigo, which Marshals Ney and Massena besieged for twenty-four days, also capitulated, and though the British army lay in the neighbourhood, Wellington had the moral courage to refuse to compromise his whole plan of campaign by striking a blow in its defence. He wrote, in reply to urgent appeals, "I should be very neglectful of my duty to my king and the common cause if I could permit myself to be

* *See* Wellington's memorandum to Colonel Fletcher, dated 20th October, 1809, detailing the principles on which the lines of Lisbon were constructed.

influenced by public clamour to modify the system of operations which I have resolved upon after mature deliberation."

Massena now laid siege to Almeida, on the Portugese frontier, from which Craufurd retired, but, contrary to orders, this rather hot-headed but gallant officer, instead of crossing the Coa, occupied its banks with 4,000 bayonets, 1,100 sabres, and 6 guns.* Ney advanced to attack him with a force more than double his strength. Craufurd crossed the bridge under a heavy fire, nearly meeting with a disaster, and when Ney strove to effect a passage, drove him back, but he was glad to take advantage of the darkness to effect an orderly retreat. Almeida was defended by Portuguese troops, under an English officer, Colonel W. Cox, but treachery was at work, and he was compelled to capitulate to Ney after a siege of only three days.

On the 6th September, 1810, Massena, with 51,000 infantry, 7,500 cavalry, and 84 guns, broke up cantonments and advanced into Portugal, and the same day, Wellington, with 30,000 men, began his march to the rear, moving by the left bank of the Mondego, on the Aloa. On ascertaining the direction adopted by the enemy, his lordship crossed the Mondego, and occupied the strong position of the Sierra de Busaco, a ridge 250 feet above the plain, and about 8 miles in extent, at right angles with, and on the northern bank of, the river Mondego. Lord Wellington took up his headquarters, on the 26th, in a Carmellite convent, situated on the highest part of the ridge, and surrounded by an extensive wood.

Battle of Busaco.—27th September, 1810.

Massena, the "darling child of victory," contrary to the advice of Ney, determined to attack the English in their strong position, the great extent of which he considered rendered its defence most hazardous. It was only possible to pass the mountain ridge of Busaco by two roads across its summit, the one passing by the convent, and the other through St. Antonio de Cantaro. The latter was protected by the divisions of Hill, Picton and Leith, on the left of the position, while Spencer's division of Guards occupied the centre. The road to the convent was defended by Craufurd's light division, supported by a German and Portuguese division, and Cole's division, with Coleman's and Campbell's Portuguese, occupied the right. The 5th division was

* Craufurd's division, besides the three battalions of light infantry, included a corps of Portuguese Caçadores, and the 14th and 16th Light Dragoons, and 1st German Hussars.

posted further to the right, protecting the road which crossed the ridge at St. Antonio. The main body of the cavalry, under General Stapleton Cotton, were moved up to Mealhada, leaving Fane's brigade alone across the river. The position, in its entire extent of eight miles, rested its extreme right on the Mondego, and its left on impregnable ravines.

On the morning of the 27th September, Massena* made two simultaneous attacks on this formidable position at points three miles apart, that on the British right by Ney, from Moira, that on the British left under Regnier, from a point in rear of St. Antonio. The latter column came first into action, one division taking the high road, and two climbing the steep ascent, where they were met by a heavy fire from the Portuguese infantry, while six guns dosed them with grape. Before they could form on the summit, the 45th and 88th, forming a portion of Picton's division, were upon them with the bayonet; both the generals, Merle and Grain d'Orge, and two colonels, were struck down, and the French column wavered. At this moment they were opportunely reinforced by Hendelot's division, advancing by the high road, but General Leith, with the 1st Royals, and the 9th and 38th regiments, promptly attacked them with the bayonet, and General Foy and the colonel leading the advance were severely wounded, and 2,500 of Regnier's division were placed *hors de combat.*

Regnier withdrew his shattered columns down the slope, and General Hill, who arrived on the ground, completed their discomfiture by some telling volleys. Lord Wellington, at this time, also came up, and directed Hill, if they attempted a second attack, to "Give it them in volleys and charge bayonets, but don't let your people follow them far down the hill."

Ney, who attacked with three columns, fared no better than his colleague. While Marchand attempted to turn the British right, Loison advanced straight up the road, and Mermet remained in reserve. But Craufurd's masterly dispositions were rewarded with complete success. The Portuguese were first beaten back, and their guns captured, but as the French continued to ascend, at an opportune moment, the light division charged with the bayonet, and drove them down the hill in headlong flight, leaving General Simon behind, wounded and a prisoner.

* The following were the titular honours of Napoleon's marshals serving in Spain:—Ney, Duke of Elchingin; Junot, Duke of Abrantes; Bessieres, Duke of Istria; Victor, Duke of Belluno; Moncey, Duke of Cornegliano; Soult, Duke of Dalmatia; Lefebvre, Duke of Dantzic; Mortier, Duke of Treviso; and Massena, Duke of Rivoli and Prince of Essling. General Regnier, who commanded a division at Busaco, had witnessed the prowess of British soldiers at Alexandria, and commanded at the defeat of Maida.

Marchand, also, on the left, suffered severely at the hands of McBean's brigade and Pack's Portuguese, supported by the Guards, of Spencer's division. A final effort was made by Ferrey's and Maucune's brigades to renew the contest, but they were driven down the hill-side, and Ney and Massena gave up making any further attempt to carry the British position. The French loss in killed, wounded and missing, including five generals, was 4,500, and that of the British—which chiefly fell on Picton's, "the fighting third division"—only 197 killed, and 1,072 wounded and missing.* The Portuguese, led by British officers, proved that they were fit to stand in line with Wellington's veterans, while the French marshals were proportionately discouraged.

But Wellington recognized that his position was, in effect, turned on his left flank, and that he could not hope to cope with the overwhelming numbers of the French, so, on the following day, he set his troops in motion by the road across the mountains, making the best of his way through Coimbra upon Torres Vedras.

The French advance, led by Junot, followed close upon his tracks by Pombal and Leria, and the entire civil population of Beira, carrying with them everything portable, after destroying what they could not remove, accompanied the British army in its retreat. At Leria, where Wellington arrived on the 2nd October, there was some disorder and drunkenness in the ranks, and three men taken in the act of pillage were hanged on the spot, a wholesome act of discipline, which struck terror into the evil-doers. At length, the retreat of 200 miles was brought to an end by the arrival at Torres Vedras, and when Massena,

* "This movement," says Wellington in his despatches, "has brought the Portuguese levies into action with the enemy for the first time, in an advantageous situation; and they have proved that the trouble which has been taken with them has not been thrown away, and that they are worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops in this interesting cause, which they afford the best hopes of saving." Writing to the Earl of Liverpool, then Prime Minister, his lordship says:—"Throughout the contest on the Sierra, and in all the previous marches, and those which we have since made, the whole army have conducted themselves in the most regular manner. Accordingly, all the operations have been carried on with ease; the soldiers have suffered no privations; have undergone no unnecessary fatigue; there has been no loss of stores, and the army is in the highest spirits. I should not do justice to the service, or to my own feelings, if I did not take the opportunity of drawing your Lordship's attention to the merits of Marshal Beresford. To him, exclusively, under the Portuguese Government, is due the merit of having raised, formed, disciplined, and equipped the Portuguese army, which has now shown itself capable of engaging and defeating the enemy. I have, besides, received from him all the assistance which his experience and abilities, and his knowledge of the country, have qualified him to afford me."

on the 11th October, presented himself before the formidable lines, of the existence of which even he had no knowledge, his antagonist disappeared behind the works with his army of 22,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, and 30,000 Portuguese auxiliaries, and on 20th October, a body of 6,000 Spanish, under Romagna,* was admitted within the lines. Altogether, 130,000 persons received daily rations at British cost, besides 400,000 fugitives, presenting a spectacle unexampled in history.

So matters remained without change, the British troops each morning standing to their arms, while the outlying bodies of Portuguese, under Trant, Miller, and Wilson, harassed the French communications. Massena, unable to force the lines, and seeing his army daily dwindling away under the influence of climate and disease, until it numbered only 45,000 effectives, on the 14th November broke up his camp and retreated from before the position.

Wellington made no attempt to pursue the retreating columns, but despatched Hill's division to the south bank of the Tagus; but this officer and General Fane caught the fever, and were compelled to return to England, when Sir William Beresford took charge of the division.

From the time Wellington emerged from the lines of Torres Vedras, he commenced his onward movement through the Iberian Peninsula until he carried his victorious legions into France, and earned the reputation of being the foremost soldier of the age, with the exception, perhaps, of the great rival with whom he was destined to try conclusions on the field of Waterloo.

Early in the year 1811, Napoleon reinforced his troops in Spain, especially those under Suchet and Macdonald, and a division was sent to Massena. Victor had invested Cadiz, in which the Spanish Cortez was sitting, with 22,000 men, and Soult, leaving Seville, undertook the siege of Badajoz.

This strong place, the capital of Estremadura, capitulated on the 11th March, after the defeat at Gevora of Mendizabel's army, though the Spanish Governor, General Imaz, knew that 12,000 British soldiers, under Marshal Beresford, were within forty-eight hours' march of the fortress.

* The Marquis de la Romagna died soon after of fever, and Lord Wellington did justice to the only reliable one of his Spanish colleagues in the following passage in his despatch:—"I shall always acknowledge with gratitude the assistance I have received from him, as well by his operations as by his counsel, since he has been joined with the army."

Battle of Barrosa.—5th March, 1811.

Leaving 8,000 men, under Marshal Mortier, at Badajoz, Soult quitted that fortress on the 13th March, and marched across the Morena with 7,000 men to the assistance of Victor at Cadiz, where General Graham was at the time in command of 4,200 British troops, the Spaniards in the city numbering some 10,000 men, under Lapena, an incompetent officer. With the object of falling upon the rear of Victor's investing army at Chiclana, the combined army embarked at Cadiz and landed at Algesiras, whence they marched to Tarifa, where the whole force was assembled on the 25th February. Thence they pushed on over country presenting great difficulties and inundated in places, until, arriving at the hills, the Anglo-Spanish army changed its line of march, and about noon on the 5th March reached Barrosa. Victor, leaving 2,000 men under Villatte to defend the left flank of his lines, which were menaced by a Spanish division, under Zaydas, at the Isle of Leon, moved the rest of his force, consisting of the divisions of Laval and Rufin, with 500 horse, to encounter the allied army, which numbered some 11,200 infantry and 800 horse, with 24 guns.

Lapena formed on the sandy heights of Bermeja with the main portion of his Spanish force, while he ordered Graham to take post with the British on the ridge of Barrosa, but fearful of being cut off from Cadiz, the Spanish general sent an urgent message to his English colleague to take up his line of march through the pine wood, and move on to Bermeja. Graham would have preferred to receive the enemy's attack in his strong position, but anticipating that a Spanish division would be left to defend the hill, promptly obeyed the order, leaving the flank companies of the 9th and 82nd to defend his baggage. To his astonishment, however, he discovered that Lapena had collected his entire army at Bermeja; and Victor, seeing the blunder, proceeded to occupy the hills, and drove the Spaniards towards the sea, capturing three guns. Major Brown, commanding the baggage, now sent for orders, and received the laconic mandate, "Fight." The veteran Graham—he was in his sixty-first year—saw at a glance that his only course was to act independently of Lapena, and trusting to the valour of his troops, proceeded to make a counter-attack on the enemy, who already held the key of the position.

While ten guns, under Duncan, opened on Laval's column, and the Rifles, under Barnard, advanced to meet him, General Dilkes, with the right brigade, marched against Rufin, who was already on the summit

of the hill, while the rest, under Colonel Wheatley, hastened to clear the wood, which had concealed the enemy's march, and then went forward in column against Laval, on the plain.

Unchecked by the fire of Duncan's guns, Laval advanced to meet Barnard, and both sides closed in deadly conflict. Wheatley, coming up, ordered a charge, and the gallant 87th Irish Fusiliers, led by Major Gough,* and three companies of the Coldstream Guards, charged the French line, and throwing them into disorder, captured the eagle of the 8th French regiment. Laval's first line was thus driven upon the second, and all attempts to re-form them were frustrated by the fire of Duncan's guns.

Meantime, on the right, Major Brown, in obedience to the order of his chief, held his position until half of his detachment had been struck down, and presently Dilkes' men arrived in support, and a close and sanguinary struggle ensued. Soon, however, British bull-dog valour turned the scale, and they drove the French from the heights, capturing two guns. Both General Rufin and Brigadier Rousseau fell mortally wounded, under the "incessant slaughtering fire," but still the enemy, re-forming, sought to retrieve the day, but in vain. The artillery mowed them down, while Colonel Frederick Ponsonby, at the head of 200 German Hussars, charged and overthrew the French cavalry, taking two more guns, and Whittingham, with three squadrons of Spanish horse, came up in support from the side of the sea.

Lapena, at Bermeja, looked idly on at this terrible conflict, and did not move a man to assist, when, had he thrown himself between Victor's two divisions on the heights, and Villatte's division on the wooded plain, most important results would have accrued. Graham, indignant at Lapena's pusillanimous conduct, without asking orders, on the following day withdrew his troops to the Isle of Leon.

Byron only expressed the general view of the conduct of our allies when he sarcastically wrote:—

> "Bear witness, bright Barrosa, thou canst tell
> Whose were the sons that bravely fought and fell."

The British loss at Barrosa was 1,243, and that of the French is estimated at 3,000, including two generals,† eighteen officers, and 420 rank and file prisoners, with six guns. Lapena had the effrontery to claim the victory achieved by his associates, and one of his subordinate

* Afterwards Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, Commander-in-chief in India.

† General Rufin and Brigadier Rousseau died of their wounds. An affecting story is told of a white poodle dog belonging to the latter officer. The animal was found on the field licking the hand of his dying master. General Graham observed the friendless mourner, and had him removed to his own quarters, whence he was sent to Perthshire, where he remained many years an honoured guest till his death.

generals used some very intemperate language, for which Graham exacted an apology with his sword. Lord Wellington wrote, on the 25th March, to Graham, congratulating him and his army on their signal victory.* Barrosa was a mere episode, though a brilliant one, in the Peninsular War, and was destitute of any permanent results, as, though Victor concentrated his whole force at Xeres, on the return of Soult from Seville, whither he had proceeded to demand reinforcements, the investment of Cadiz was renewed.

* Wellington said in his letter:—"I have no doubt whatever that your success would have had the effect of raising the siege of Cadiz, if the Spanish corps had made any effort to assist you; and I am equally certain, from your account of the ground, that if you had not decided, with the utmost promptitude, to attack the enemy, and if your attack had not been a vigorous one, the whole allied army would have been lost. You have to regret that such a victory should not have been followed by all the consequences which might reasonably be expected from it; but you may console yourself with the reflection that you did your utmost, and, at all events, saved the allied army; and that the failure in extent of benefit to be derived from your exertions, is to be attributed to those who would have derived most advantage from them. The conduct of the Spaniards throughout this expedition is precisely the same as I have ever observed it to be." General Graham was made a Knight of the Bath, and received the thanks of Parliament for his victory.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PENINSULAR WAR—(*continued*).

1811—1812.

Retreat of Massena out of Portugal—Action of Sabugal—Beresford's Operations before Badajoz—Battle of Fuentes d'Onor—Occupation of Almeida—Battle of Albuera—Unsuccessful Assault on Badajoz—Cavalry Affair at El Bodon—General Hill surprises a French Division at Arroyo de Molinos—Defence of Tarifa—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo—Siege and Storm of Badajoz—Hill captures the Forts of Almaraz.

WELLINGTON, after his advance from Torres Vedras, entrenched his army in their cantonments at Cartoxo, in Portugal, and strengthened the lines in his rear, so as to provide for eventualities. Massena faced his great antagonist, and with him were some of Napoleon's bravest and most trusted generals, including Ney, Regnier, Foy and Loison; also Junot, Duke of Abrantes, Wellington's old opponent at Roliça and Vimiero, who, during a reconnoissance on Rio Major, on the 19th May, was dangerously wounded by a carbine ball, which lodged between the cheek and nose. At length, Massena, whose army was in a condition of semi-starvation, resolved to evacuate Portugal, and on the 6th March retreated from Santarem. Wellington followed in pursuit, having despatched Beresford to succour Badajoz, which, however, surrendered a few days afterwards to Soult.

On the 9th, the Light Division came up with the French at Pombal, from which they were driven, and in the night they retired on Redinha, where Soult took up a strong position. Here he was attacked, on the 12th, by Sir W. Erskine, leading the advance of the Light Division, and driven out of the wood. Massena now changed his line of retreat from Coimbra to the Ponte Murcella, and while Ney was directed to dispute the advance so as to enable the army to cross the Alva, Junot was ordered to secure the flank across the Douro. Wellington thereupon despatched Picton through the mountains upon the enemy's left, and Ney, who was surprised and nearly made prisoner, withdrew to Miranda de Coroo, thus exposing Massena's right wing. The latter marshal was compelled by Wellington's skilful movements to retreat behind the Ceira, burning much of his baggage, and in crossing that

river about 500 men were drowned, the French infantry being panic-stricken.

On the 18th March, Massena assumed a position of considerable strength behind the Alox, but owing to Regnier's disobedience of orders, thereby exposing his left wing, he was compelled to retire in haste, and pass through Colerico and Guarda, or "watch tower," so called from its position on the summit of the Sierra de Estrella, the ridge forming the watershed of the Tagus and the Douro, which flow in opposite directions. From this position, denominated the Key of Portugal, Massena was dislodged by Wellington's masterly strategy in effecting a pressure on his flanks. On the 28th the "Fighting Third Division" drove the French out of Freixardas, while Trant and Miller, with their Portuguese levies, secured Pinsel, and cut off all communication with Almeida.

Ney, whose corps, being the vanguard, had suffered most during this disastrous retreat, was so exasperated by this evacuation of Portugal, that he gave expression to the discontent existing among the officers and men, and demanded from his superior the production of the Emperor's orders. Massena replied to this act of indiscipline by relieving the Marshal Duke of Elchingen of the command of the 6th Corps, which he gave to Loison. Ney thereupon quitted the rearguard at Colerico on the 23rd March, and returned to France.

Massena placed the Coa between his own and Wellington's armies on the 29th, placing his right at Rovina, and his left at Sabugal, the 8th Corps, under Regnier, occupying the intervening ridge. The British army arrived on the left bank of the Coa three days later, and rested its right flank opposite the enemy at Sabugal, while Trant and Wilson were sent round with the Portuguese corps to threaten the French right by crossing the river below Almeida, and moving on Ciudad Rodrigo, both held by the enemy.

On the 3rd April, the Light Division, under Erskine, with Slade's cavalry brigade, crossed the upper stream by a wide circuit with the object of forcing the position by turning the enemy's left, while Dunlop's division crossed at the bridge of Sabugal, and Picton acted in support.

Owing to a heavy rain-storm, which obscured everything, Beckwith's brigade of the light division, consisting of the 43rd and 52nd regiments, found itself in the midst of Regnier's corps of 12,000 infantry, having taken the French in flank instead of in rear; but, without flinching, that gallant officer charged the enemy. The 43rd captured a howitzer, which they were hard put to it to retain, and the 52nd, after beating back a squadron of cavalry, were in turn broken by a charge of fresh squadrons. Regnier then put his reserves in motion, but at this moment, the 5th and 3rd divisions passed the bridge under a shower of

grape, and Regnier withdrew towards Rendo, leaving the howitzer in the hands of its captors. Three hundred dead were heaped around the trophy, besides six officers and 300 men taken prisoners, and Wellington only did justice to his gallant soldiers, of whom 200 were killed and wounded, when he declared "this was one of the most glorious actions British troops were ever engaged in."

Massena, continuing his retreat, on the following day passed the Spanish frontier, and on the 8th April, crossed the Agueda, and took up his headquarters at Salamanca, cantoning his troops between the Tormes and the Douro; Almeida being thus exposed, Wellington made preparations to invest that fortress, and the Portuguese levies were sent forward to watch the movements of the enemy between Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo. Wellington had sent one division to reinforce Beresford at Elvas, and took advantage of a little breathing time to inspect the position of officers on the other side of the Tagus.

Beresford had a successful cavalry affair at Campo Mayor, on the 25th March, when the 13th Light Dragoons,* under Colonel Head, charged and broke the enemy's cavalry, pursuing them to the bridge of Badajoz. Beresford crossed the Guadiana on the 6th April, and on the 10th, was reinforced by Cole's division, when he marched against the enemy, and in a cavalry affair, the 13th Dragoons again distinguished itself, capturing 200 French hussars. The French, under Latour-Maubourg, retired before Beresford, leaving all the resources of Estremadura to him, and on the 21st April, Lord Wellington arrived at Elvas from the north, and made a reconnoissance upon Badajoz, the siege of which he resolved to undertake.

In order to effect this he resolved to secure the co-operation of the Spanish armies, under Blake, Ballasteros and Castanos, and selected Albuera as the most central position for a concentration, and the most favourable for a battle, should Soult attempt to interrupt the siege operations. While thus engaged he learnt that Massena had again taken the field, and, leaving detailed instructions with Beresford for the siege, repaired in haste to join his army upon the Agueda.

* Lord Wellington was very wroth at this headlong ride of the 13th, which had newly arrived in the Peninsula, and wrote to Beresford:—"This undisciplined ardour is not of the description of bravery for soldiers confident in their discipline; it is that of a rabble galloping as fast as their horses could carry them, after an enemy already broken and incapable of mischief. If the garrison had thrown out 100 men, regularly formed, they could have disordered and quickly destroyed the whole regiment, for their horses were all out of breath and already knocked up."

Battle of Fuentes d'Onor.—5th May, 1811.

Massena had taken advantage of Wellington's absence in the south, to return to the Coa and attempt to break the blockade of Almeida On the 1st May, Marshal Bessieres, Duke of Istria, arrived in camp, with 1,500 cavalry and six guns, and a supply of provisions and ammunition, and on the following day, the French Commander-in-chief, leaving Clausel behind with 6,000 men, crossed the Agueda with 34,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and forty guns—Regnier being in command of the right, Junot and Drouet of the centre, and Loison, with all the cavalry, of the left, carrying rations for the garrison of Almeida.

On the 28th April, Wellington rejoined his army, which was anxiously awaiting the return of a leader who inspired confidence in all under his command to a degree only equalled by a few great generals in ancient or modern times. The great soldier repaid this feeling by equal trust in the valour and discipline of his incomparable army, and resolved to give battle notwithstanding his numerical inferiority to the enemy.

The Light Division was at Gallegos, behind the Azava, a small stream, but at this time in flood, and retired on the French advance. Wellington, with 32,000 infantry and 1,200 horse, took up a position on a table-land between the Turones and Casas streams, with his centre fronting Almeida, on the high road between it and Ciudad Rodrigo; his right, consisting of the 1st, 2nd, and Light Divisions, was posted in front of the village of Fuentes d'Onor and the height in rear, while the extreme right at Nave de Avel was held by Houston's division, the Casas protecting the entire front. The whole length of the position was five miles. The left flank was occupied by Dunlop's division, holding a river fort, and protecting the main road to Almeida, which was invested by Pack's brigade of Portuguese and one English regiment, under Sir Brent Spencer.

Massena determined to force his way through Fuentes d'Onor—or "Fountain of Honour"—in order to threaten the road to the British rear, at the bridge of Castello Bom, Wellington's only line of retreat across the Coa practicable for artillery.

On the afternoon of the 3rd May, Regnier, with the 2nd Corps, moved upon Almeida, and Loison, with the 6th Corps, attacked the village of Fuentes, defended by five battalions. General Ferrey led the assault, which was so determined and the cannonade so heavy, that the British were driven out of the street, and could scarcely maintain themselves about the church. Wellington accordingly ordered the

7th and 79th regiments, under Colonels Cadogan and Cameron, as a reinforcement, and the enemy were soon driven back. The conflict continued here till nightfall, and about 260 fell on either side, but the British retained possession of the village.

On the following day, Massena concentrated the 6th and 8th Corps, and all the cavalry, some 17,000 men, to crush the British right and seize the bridge on the Coa in the rear; upon which Wellington sent the Light Division to strengthen Houston, and the cavalry under Cotton proceeded to cover the threatened flanks. On the morning of the 5th the battle was opened by the cavalry, under Montbrun, charging the British horse, in the plain, but the latter, being overmatched (1,000 to 2,500), fell back after some fighting in which the French Colonel Lamotte was made prisoner. The Light Division formed square to receive the heavy masses of French horse, and the British artillery opened so deadly a fire that the gallant troopers were compelled to pull up.

An attempt to push down the ravine of the Tormes, where the 1st Division was posted, was unsuccessful, but General Nightingale was wounded. Colonel Hill, commanding the 3rd Guards, was also captured, when his regiment, being attacked by French horse, formed in square; but the British cavalry moved up to their assistance, the regiment re-formed, and, aided by the 95th, the attack was repulsed. Wellington determined to withdraw his right wing and concentrate his force more to the left, as Fuentes was the centre of a fierce fight. The three regiments holding the village were overmatched, Colonel Cameron, commanding the 79th, was mortally wounded, and Drouet's determined efforts succeeded in giving him possession of the rocky ridge on which the church stood. At this critical moment the 88th, led by Colonel Wallace, arrived on the scene, and with loud cheers burst upon the French and forced them to give ground.

Thus the fight lasted till evening, when the British remained in possession of the church and crags above. Massena organized a final effort on Almeida and Fuentes, with Loison's corps, assisted by Regnier and Drouet, when General Eblé reported that the stock of cartridges was exhausted, and Wellington remained in undisturbed possession of those two villages, though the occupation of the lower portion of Fuentes was impracticable, as it was under the fire of the French across the stream.

During the night, Wellington strengthened his position about the villages, and on the 7th, Massena commenced the withdrawal of his army on Ciudad Rodrigo, having failed in his effort to relieve Almeida, which he directed Brennier to evacuate. Owing to the incapacity of General Campbell, now conducting the investment of Almeida with the 6th Division and Pack's Portuguese, the place was skilfully evacu-

ated at midnight on the 10th, by which time the entire French army had retreated across the Agueda. Their loss at Fuentes d'Onor was 2,665, and that of the allies, 235 killed, 1,234 wounded, and 317 missing or prisoners.

On reaching Ciudad Rodrigo, Massena found that Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, had arrived there on the 7th with orders from the Emperor to supersede him, and the "darling of victory," defeated at Busaco and Fuentes d'Onor, and foiled before the famous "Lines," was never again employed by his master, who had affected to despise the ever-victorious "Sepoy General." But the newly-arrived Marshal had to succumb to the same fate as his predecessors, Junot, Ney, Soult and Massena, and Salamanca (in the vicinity of which he now cantoned his army) was destined to be the grave of his reputation for invincibility.

Albuera.—16th May, 1811.

As Barrosa was undertaken by Graham to break the investment of Cadiz, and Fuentes d'Onor by Massena to save Almeida, so the battle of Albuera was fought by Soult to raise the siege of Badajoz, undertaken by Beresford. Acting on information received from that officer, Lord Wellington sent two more divisions to his aid, and quitting his headquarters on the evening of the 15th May, travelled by relays and reached Elvas on the 19th. But, on arriving here, he received information of one of the most obstinately-contested and glorious victories achieved by the British army. Badajoz had been invested on the 8th, and the first breaching battery opened fire on the 11th, when Soult, quitting Andalusia, advanced rapidly with 18,000 men and forty guns to raise the siege of the fortress. Beresford thereupon removed all his artillery and stores, and took post on the ridge of Albuera, with a composite force, numbering 32,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and thirty-eight guns; but one-half were Spaniards, under Blake, and the remainder consisted of British and Portuguese, the former consisting of some 7,000 or 8,000 troops. On the morning of the 15th, a portion of the Anglo-Portuguese force occupied the left half of the intended position, but it was near midnight before Blake came into position, and Cole's division did not arrive upon the ground till between eight and nine on the morning of the 16th, when the battle had begun.

The ridge of Albuera was undulating, with the Albuera river in front, with an easy ascent for both cavalry and artillery, while somewhat in advance of the centre were the bridge and village of the same name.

The Spanish army was to occupy the right in two lines, their left resting on the Valverde road, whence Stewart's division continued the front as far as the Badajoz road, across which stood Hamilton's Portuguese division, which closed the left of the line. Alten's German Legion occupied the village and held the bridge, and Cole's divisior was kept in reserve. Soult reconnoitred the allied position on the 15th, and determined to attack his adversary's right, where a broad height, the key of the whole position, trending back towards the rear, had been left unoccupied by Beresford.

During the night, the French commander concentrated 15,000 men and thirty guns, close to the allied right wing, which was only separated from his left by the Albuera stream, and at nine on the following morning, while Goudinot moved along the high road upon the village and bridge, with Werle's division in support, to distract his adversary's attention from the real point of attack on his right, Soult, with Girard's corps, the greater part of the artillery, under Rutz, and Latour-Maubourg's cavalry, advanced at daybreak on the ever-memorable 16th May, against the hill, under the protection of artillery fire. Beresford quickly divined Soult's intention, and despatched Colonel Hardinge to request Blake to change front, and throw his two lines at right angles to their present formation, but the obstinate Spanish general would not stir until Beresford arrived, and pointed out the gleam of the French bayonets in the wood, and in sight of his flank. In half an hour two-thirds of the French army were actually in order of battle across the allied right wing, and the Spaniards, pounded by their guns, while in the act of forming, were so alarmed at the sight of the hostile cavalry that they quitted the hill, of which Soult proceeded to take possession.

At this juncture, General Stewart advanced the 2nd Division to face the enemy, but in deploying Colborne's brigade in front of the Spanish battalions, in order to charge the French on the hill, Latour-Maubourg, hidden by the thick, drizzling rain, came up in his rear with four regiments of hussars and lancers, and killed or took prisoners two-thirds of the brigade, also capturing six guns. The 31st alone of the three regiments, being still in column, maintained its ground, and Lumley's cavalry, supported by Dixon's guns, which came to their aid, were compelled to retire before the brilliant charge of the French horsemen. In the *mêlée*, Beresford was attacked by a Polish lancer, but being a man of great physical strength, he put the lance aside, and seizing the trooper, hurled him from his saddle to the ground. Meantime, the Spanish cavalry, when ordered to charge, turned and fled.

The obscured state of the atmosphere, which had been the cause of this disorder, now proved the salvation of the allied army, as it prevented Soult from seeing the condition of the British rear, and he halted when the decisive blow might have been struck. General

Stewart now brought up General Houghton's brigade to the assistance of the 31st, which, under Major L'Estrange,* kept its position with undaunted front on the height. Though charged by the Polish lancers, they poured a destructive fire into the French masses, and the Spaniards, under Zayas and Ballasteros, tardily moved forward in support, but the fire of the French artillery was so deadly that the British infantry staggered under it. Here Houghton fell while cheering on his men, and likewise Duckworth and Inglis.

It was now one o'clock, and Beresford was about to order a retreat, when Colonel Hardinge, by an inspiration, took upon himself, using the name and authority of his superior, to order up Cole's division, consisting of Sir William Myers' Fusilier brigade and Harvey's brigade of Portuguese, and at the same time brought with him Abercrombie's brigade of Stewart's division.

Led by Cole, the Fusilier brigade advanced with steady pace on the ground, and undismayed by the artillery belching fire on them, and the repeated charges of the Polish lancers, drove off the latter, recaptured the six guns (when General Werle lost his life while pressing forward at the head of his reserve), and issuing through the smoke and mist, debouched upon the head of the French columns, which stood in confused masses and wavering under the fire of Hartman's artillery. With an *élan*, but regularity of formation, never excelled on the battle-field, the Fusilier brigade moved against the enemy. But the French artillery, firing grape, wrought fearful carnage in those serried ranks. The gallant Myers fell, and Colonels Ellis, Hawkshawe and Blakeney (who lived to be a Field-Marshal) were wounded. Struck by the iron storm of musketry and grape, the battalions wavered, but closing their ranks and setting their faces sternly to the foe, they quickly recovered their formation, and continued the advance up the hill with the machine-like precision of a birthday parade. It was a thrilling sight and struck dismay into the foe, notwithstanding the efforts of Soult, who sought to rally his men—"those veterans, always victors in the north, and so often in Spain," as Thiers calls them in his great work. The British infantry swept on in their victorious course with wild cheers, until the French columns, unable to withstand the withering volleys, delivered at close quarters, or the shock of steel at the charge, staggered and then broke, the whole mass, including reserves, flying in tumultuous rout down the steep, leaving the British Fusiliers in undisputed possession of the hill of Albuera. Beresford hastened to profit by his success by ordering Alten, who, with Hamilton's Portu-

* This officer was singled out by Lord Wellington for special commendation and promotion. He says :—"After the other posts of the same brigade were swept off by the cavalry, this little battalion alone held its ground against all the columns *en masse*.

guese, had abandoned the bridge, to retake it and the village of Albuera, but Goudinot drew back across the river, and by two o'clock in the afternoon, the entire French army had resigned the field of battle to the conquerors.

Sir Thomas Picton wrote "that modern history presents no example of an action so obstinately disputed," and Lord Wellington expressed his opinion that "this action was one of the most glorious and honourable to the troops of any that have been fought during the war."

Never in his history did the British soldier fight with more indomitable valour, and the losses experienced were proportionately heavy. During the four hours the battle lasted, the French had 8,000 men put *hors de combat*, including two generals killed and three wounded; and the British, out of 7,500 engaged, lost 4,300; and 2,000 Spaniards and about 600 Germans and Portuguese were killed or wounded. Napier's estimate is even higher. That historian concludes his well-known and brilliant account of the battle in the following words:—"1,500 unwounded men, the remnant of 6,000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on that fatal hill." Albuera will remain, like Inkerman, "a soldiers' battle." Out of a strength of 570 men, the 57th* lost twenty-three officers and 400 rank and file, who "were lying as they had fought, in ranks, with every wound in front." When the Buffs were mustered, it is said only three privates and one drummer answered the roll-call. Ensign Thomas, of this regiment, when summoned to give up the colours, replied, "Only with my life," and he paid the forfeit, and Ensign Walsh, when he fell severely wounded, and the staff was broken by a cannon-shot, tore the colours away and wrapped them round his breast. Perhaps Mrs. Hemans had the devoted action of this young officer in her mind when she penned the lines in her beautiful poem, "Graves of a Household":—

> "One sleeps where southern vines are drest
> Above the noble slain;
> He wrapt the colours round his breast,
> On a blood-red field of Spain."

Beresford lost a howitzer in this action, and it is a remarkable fact that it was the only gun lost by the British army throughout the war.

The rival armies remained in their respective positions throughout the 17th, but as on that evening, Beresford was reinforced by Kemmis' brigade, Soult retreated towards Seville, leaving nearly 1,000 of his wounded to the charity of his opponent. On the 21st, Wellington arrived and rode over the field, and directed Beresford to follow the

* When they were surrounded by the enemy, and fighting desperately, the Colonel encouraged his men by calling out, "Die hard, my lads, die hard," whence the regiment derived the *sobriquet* of "Die Hards."

enemy continuously.* In the affair at Usagre, on the 25th, Lumley, with the 3rd and 4th Dragoons, encountered two regiments of French horse, whom he charged, taking prisoner several officers, including a colonel and two majors, and 100 rank and file.

General Hill, who had now returned to duty, resumed command of the 2nd Division, relieving Beresford, who returned to his Portuguese levies. On the arrival of two fresh divisions from the Coa, Badajoz was again invested, on the right of the river, by Houston, and on the left, by Picton. Napier says: "Thanks to the negligence of the British Government, no army ever undertook an operation of the sort so badly provided with the means necessary for its accomplishment." The result of Lord Wellington's being without an efficient siege train was that he twice unsuccessfully attempted to assault and carry the place; and as his lordship learned that Soult and Massena designed to concentrate their entire forces in Estremadura, with a view of compelling him to raise the siege, on the 12th June, the siege was abandoned with the loss of thirty-four officers and 451 men killed, wounded and missing.

Marmont, having revictualled Ciudad Rodrigo, united his army with that of Soult, near Truxillo, the whole amounting to 54,000 men, with ninety guns, and the two Marshals entered Badajoz on the 20th June. Four days later they quitted the city, crossing the Guardiana in two columns, directing the left towards Elvas, and the right to Campo Mayor, near to which Wellington had concentrated his army of 28,000 men, behind the Caya, in a favourable position for accepting battle. But the Marshals did not agree as to the line of operations, and on the 27th, Soult retired towards Seville, while Marmont moved off by the valley of the Tagus, and fortified the passage of the River Almaraz, which would maintain his communications with Soult by means of Girard's division at Zafra, and his own army cantoned at Truxillo. Wellington, having succeeded in saving Portugal from a fresh invasion, also rested his army at Pontalegre, and when he resumed operations

* Wellington, in his despatch, attributed Beresford's great loss, and the unmolested condition of the French, after they had crossed the river, to the Spaniards, who, he says, "could not be moved." He added:—"I should feel no anxiety about the result of our operations, if the Spaniards were as well disciplined as the soldiers of that nation are brave, and if they were all movable; but this is, I fear, beyond hope. All our losses have been caused by this defect. At Talavera the enemy would have been destroyed, if we could have moved the Spaniards. At Albuera the natural thing would have been to support the Spaniards on the right with the Spaniards who were next to them; but any movement of that body would have created inextricable confusion, and it was necessary to support the right solely with British, and thus the great loss fell upon our troops. In the same way, I suspect, the difficulty and danger of moving the Spanish troops was the cause that General Lapena did not support General Graham at Barrosa."

assumed the offensive, the French henceforth changing their *rôle* to the defensive.

On receipt of a siege train of sixty-eight heavy guns from England, his lordship determined to invest Ciudad Rodrigo, and quitting Pontalegre, commenced the blockade with 42,000 effectives, 9,000 British and Portuguese being in hospital. But Marmont assembled an army of 54,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 120 guns, at Salamanca, on the 20th September, and advanced against Wellington's extended positions, the centre of which occupied the heights of El Bodon.

On the 28th, fourteen squadrons of the Imperial Guard advanced against General Graham, who commanded the left wing on the Lower Azava, and were encountered near Espeja by the 14th and 16th Dragoons, under Major-General Anson, who drove back the Lancers across the river, but were cut up by the fire of the infantry. At the same time, Montbrun advanced at the head of over thirty squadrons of cavalry, fourteen battalions, and twelve guns, by the road through El Bodon direct on Fuente Guinaldo, which was held by only two English and one Portuguese regiments, three squadrons of German cavalry, and some Portuguese artillery, under General Colville. The British general formed his infantry into squares on the hill, but was driven back by the superior strength of the enemy, and lost two guns. At this critical time, a brigade of the 4th Division and a portion of the 3rd, came up in support, beat back the French and retook the guns. The 5th and 77th regiments, who were in square, received the hordes of French cavalry on three faces, and sent them back with heavy loss, and Montbrun was forced to give up the attempt to break the serried ranks. Wellington found that the enemy were in too great strength for him, and retired with his centre to the protection of the field-works he had thrown up at Fuente Guinaldo. During the night of the 25th, his lordship concentrated his divisions, and the whole French army collected in his front on the following day, but instead of profiting by the opportunity, and attacking the greatly inferior forces of his opponent, for neither Craufurd nor Graham had arrived to his succour, the Duke of Ragusa marched away and suffered Wellington to make good his retreat.

On the 28th, the British army was established on the heights behind Sirto, having the Sierra de Mendas on the right, and Rendo, on the Coa, on the left. The retreat was effected in a most masterly way, and excited the admiration of Marmont when he learned the peril which his rival had escaped.

Marmont, satisfied with having broken the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, returned to the valley of the Tagus, and Wellington cantoned his army between the Coa and the Agueda. During the month of October, General Reynaud, the commandant of Ciudad Rodrigo, was captured by the Spanish guerillas, and General Hill, from his canton-

ment at Pontalegre, surprised Girard's division of 5,000 men, at Arroyo de Molinos. That officer crossed the Guadiana at Merida, and Hill, on the 27th October, during a furious storm of rain and wind, made a successful attack, in three columns, and completely surprised the French troops. The infantry tried to form in two squares at the end of the village of Arroyo, with the cavalry on the left, but the 71st, inspired by the bagpipes, dashed among them and dispersed them, assisted by the fire of the artillery. The 50th and 92nd secured the prisoners, while the 9th and 13th Dragoons dispersed the cavalry. The left column, under General Howard, consisting of the 28th, 34th, and 39th, now appeared on the great road leading from Truxillo, and two generals, with 1,300 men, three guns, and the baggage, fell into the hands of the victors, Girard himself escaping with difficulty.

In the meantime the Spanish armies suffered great reverses. Suchet captured Tarragona, for which he received the *bâton* of marshal, and Macdonald took Figueras, and the whole of Catalonia fell into the hands of the French. Suchet, Napoleon's favourite general in the Peninsula, now laid siege to Murviedro, which surrendered after he had defeated Blake at Saguntum, and early in January he captured Valencia.*

But, on the other hand, Marshal Victor failed to effect the capture of Tarifa, which was defended by 700 Spaniards and 1,000 British troops, the 47th and 87th regiments, the latter commanded by Colonel Gough, the Engineer officer in charge being Captain Charles Smith. The commandant of the fortress, Colonel Skerrett, of the 47th regiment, with his Spanish coadjutor, General Copons, proposed to abandon the place owing to the condition of the defences, but the gallant Gough and Smith, who had skilfully adapted the interior works to resist the fire of the heavy breaching batteries, would listen to no such dishonourable proposal. On the 31st December, 2,000 picked French troops, under General Laval, who was conducting the siege, advanced to the assault, but Gough, at the head of the Irish Fusiliers,† with the band playing "St. Patrick's Day," drove back the assailants with heavy loss. The French dead covered the slopes in front of the ramparts, and ten French officers were brought in mortally wounded. On the 5th January, Marshal Victor abandoned the siege.

The year 1812 opened with another great British success—the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo. Knowing that Suchet had concentrated a large army to effect the reduction of Valencia, and that Marmont, having left to assume the command of the army of the north, had

* For this great success, the last of any importance which the French achieved in Spain, Suchet was created by Napoleon, Duke of Albufera. At Valencia, Blake surrendered with 23 generals, 890 officers, and 10,200 men, and 393 pieces of artillery.

† This regiment bears the word "Tarifa" on its colours and appointments.

quitted the banks of the Tagus for Salamanca, leaving only two divisions of his army at Almaraz, Lord Wellington resolved to make the attempt. He crossed the Agueda on the 8th January, and, fearful of Marmont's advance to its relief, determined to abandon all attempts at a regular siege, and to resort to the method of breaching and assault, with its inevitable loss of life.

On the night of the 13th, the convent of Santa Cruz was surprised by the light companies of the Guards, and on the following night that of St. Francisco was stormed by the 40th regiment, and the same day, twenty-six breaching guns opened fire upon the works of the town, and a battery of seven guns bore upon an old tower, under which a second breach was effected. But General Barrie refused to surrender, and another battery of six guns was brought to play on the great breach, until it was pronounced practicable.

On the night of the 19th, the 3rd and Light divisions, with Pack's Portuguese, organized in four brigades, advanced to the assault, the forlorn hope being led by Lieutenant Machie, supported by Major Manners. Dropping from the rampart into the town, Machie admitted the men of the Light division, while the smaller breach was also stormed by a party of 300 volunteers of the division, under Napier, who had his arm shattered by a grape-shot, the forlorn hope being led by Lieutenant Gurwood. The supporting regiments, the 43rd and 52nd, now came up, and General Craufurd, the gallant leader of the Light division, fell mortally wounded.* Pack's Portuguese also escaladed the gate of San Jago, and soon all resistance ceased, and the usual scenes of riot and violence ensued.

The British loss during this brilliant siege of only twelve days' duration, was nine officers and 217 men killed, and 84 officers and 1,000 men wounded. At the assault, 78 officers and 1,700 men surrendered as prisoners.† The French marshals were thunderstruck at this blow, and Marmont, who was marching to its relief, fell back on Valladolid.

Wellington now took steps to put the fortress in a defensible state, and proceeded to undertake the third siege of Badajoz. Leaving his cantonments on the Agueda on the 6th March, his lordship reached Elvas, on the 11th, with his whole army, except the 5th division and some cavalry. By the 16th, all had crossed the Guadiana, and the

* Sir William Fraser tells an anecdote illustrative of the great Duke's plain matter-of-fact habit of viewing things. Craufurd sent for Lord Wellington, and expressed his regret that some differences had existed between them. "Craufurd talked to me as they do in a novel," was his characteristic comment.

† For this great feat of arms, Wellington was promoted to an Earldom, and received a pension of £2,000. The Spanish Cortes created him Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the Portuguese Regency made him Marquis of Torres Vedras.

3rd, 4th, and Light divisions, and a Portuguese brigade, under Beresford, invested Badajoz the same day; while two covering armies—one under Graham, with the 1st, 2nd, and 6th divisions, and two brigades of cavalry, which moved by Zafra on Lerena, and the second, under General Hill, who had with him the 7th and one Portuguese division, and a brigade of cavalry, which advanced on Merida—were intended to stop any advance from Alvaraz and Seville, and prevent a junction of Soult's and Marmont's armies. As at Ciudad Rodrigo, Colonel Fletcher directed the siege operations.

Ground was broken on the night of the 17th March, and two days later, a sally was made from the town, which Picton repulsed with loss. Fire was opened at midday on the 25th, from twenty-nine heavy guns, on the Picurina fort, which was stormed that night by General Kempt with 700 of the 3rd division. The siege was vigorously prosecuted, and as Soult, with about 24,000 men, was advancing to the relief of the place, and Marmont was also in motion, the 5th division was ordered up from Beira, and on the 3rd April, Wellington, after a personal inspection of the works, resolved to order an assault that evening. All the guns kept up a hot fire throughout the day, and at 7.30, ceased firing, when preparations were completed for the assault. This was to be made by three columns. Leith was to make a false attack with one brigade of his division, and, with the others, a real attack against the bastion of San Vincente, abutting on the opposite side of the river, whose scarp was 30 feet high. Picton's division was to escalade the castle, the walls of which were from 7 to 15 feet in height, while the Light and 4th divisions, under Colonel Barnard and General Colville, were directed to storm the great breaches. Besides these attacks, General Power was to make a feint against a new redoubt near the bridge head, and Major Wilson, with the 48th regiment, had orders to undertake the capture of the lunette of San Roque.

The attack began simultaneously at about ten, and the first to enter the enemy's works was Major Wilson. The 3rd division, under General Kempt, moved forward, and crossing the brook, Rivillas pushed on rapidly at the head of his troops and surmounted the castle hill, but fell severely wounded, together with many of his officers and men, at the foot of the castle. Picton came up as he was carried to the rear, and the assailants, headed by Colonel Ridge, again sprang forward with the ladders, and in an instant were on the ramparts, with others pressing after them. Here the gallant officer fell a victim to his devotion to duty, but it was not in vain, as the castle was won shortly before midnight.

Meanwhile, the Light and 4th divisions advanced to the storm of the breaches. The forlorn hope and storming parties descended into the

ditch without opposition, but with some difficulty, as the counterscarp was twelve feet deep. In another moment the darkness and silence were dissipated by a shower of fire-balls, which lit up the scene as in midday, while the ramparts were seen to be crowded with armed men, and hundreds of exploding shells and powder barrels, blazing rockets and detonating balls, rent the air with deafening uproar, and dealt death around. The Fusiliers turned to the left and strove to mount an unfinished ravelin, which they mistook for a breach, but were shot down in heaps.

The Light division, whose directing engineer was killed, made their way to the breaches in the curtain, which the 4th division, who had missed their way, were to have stormed, and the assaulting parties of both divisions now got inextricably mixed up in the ditch, and great confusion ensued. Some at length found their way to the summit of the breach, but it was only to increase the carnage. The dying and dead were piled together in mounds which the living were unable to pass, while the French poured in their steady volleys without hindrance. About midnight, when 2,000 men had fallen, Wellington ordered the troops to be withdrawn, but, owing to the want of ladders, this was almost as difficult as to advance, though at length it was accomplished.

Leith, with the 5th division, in two columns, advanced against Pardaleros and San Vincente. The former resisted all his attempts, but General Walker's brigade was more successful. A wing of the 4th regiment scaled the ramparts under an embrasure, and got into the town, while the 30th and 44th pushed along the ramparts towards the breaches, and had passed three bastions when, mistaking the flame of a port-fire as a prelude to the explosion of a mine, they broke and fled, panic-stricken, and were pursued back to San Vincente. But Leith had judiciously placed a battalion of the 38th in reserve, and charging with the bayonet, completely turned the tables. During this fighting, General Walker fell severely wounded. The 4th regiment had meanwhile entered the town, and attacked the defenders at the breaches in the rear, but were driven back.

At this time a rumour was spread that the British had effected a lodgment in the town from the river side, and a messenger galloped up with the news of the capture of the castle. Upon this the breaches were at once abandoned, all discipline was relaxed, and the city was given up to pillage, outrage, and bloodshed. Generals Philippon and Veillande now entered Fort San Christoval; but Lord Fitzroy Somerset (afterwards Lord Raglan) pushed after them before the garrison had time to raise the drawbridge, and the Governor, Philippon, surrendered, though he was enabled to despatch fourteen horsemen to Soult to apprise him of the loss of Badajoz.

In this sanguinary conflict, the besiegers had 131 officers and 1,707

rank and file killed, and 564 officers and 6,083 men wounded, while the loss of the garrison was 1,300 killed, and 4,200 were made prisoners.

It is related by Napier that when the havoc of the night was told to Wellington, the pride of conquest sunk into a passionate burst of grief for the loss of his gallant soldiers. In justification of the fearful carnage, he writes in his despatch :—"The assault was a terrible business, of which I foresaw the loss when I was ordering it. But we had brought matters to that state that we could do no more; it was necessary to storm or raise the siege. I trust, however, that future armies will be equipped for sieges with instructed people who can carry them on as they ought to be, that the counterscarp should at least be blown in, instead of leaving the poor officers and troops to get down it and leap the ditch as they can." Badajoz fell after twenty-one days of open trenches, and it was then carried by escalade in two places, where the defences were still entire. In 1810, the French took it after forty-one days' siege, and its capitulation was due to the treachery of the Spanish commander.

For two days and two nights the city was a scene of rapine, lust, and murder, and it was not until Wellington erected a gallows and executed some of the miscreants that order was restored. He then took measures to place the fortress in a state of defence.

Meanwhile, Soult, on the 7th April, was joined by the horsemen who had escaped from Badajoz, and heard with amazement of the great blow that had befallen the French cause. He accordingly withdrew across the Sierra Morena, towards Seville, and Marmont, after a raid into Beira, fell back to Salamanca.

Wellington now resolved to carry the war into the heart of Spain, and fixed his headquarters temporarily at Fuente Guinaldo in order to recruit, while, to prevent the junction of Soult and Marmont, he sent Hill with part of his corps to gain possession of Almaraz, and destroy the bridge and forts there on both banks of the Tagus, and Graham, with two divisions and Cotton's cavalry, was despatched to Pontalegre, in order to support him if necessary. Hill, having repaired the bridge over the Guadiana at Merida, after vainly trying to discover some opening in the mountains through which he might reach the bridge-forts with his guns, left them behind, and marched direct upon the bridge with his infantry. He remained concealed until the evening of the 19th May, when General Chowne, with the 28th and 34th, moved against Fort Mirabete, while General Howard, with the 50th, 71st, and 92nd, making a *détour*, descended on Fort Napoleon at the bridge. Hill's dispositions were crowned with success; for although Mirabete was not reduced, Fort Napoleon was stormed, Howard being the first to jump into the ditch, and the Governor, General Hubert, was wounded and taken prisoner. Its guns were then turned on Fort

Ragusa, which was evacuated, for which craven act its Governor was tried by court-martial and shot. These successes were achieved in the face of three considerable French divisions in the neighbourhood, with the loss of only 177 killed and wounded. Wellington expressed his high appreciation of the skill of the general, and the gallantry of his men, "who took by storm, without cannon, such works as these forts, fully garrisoned and in good order, and defended by eighteen pieces of artillery." On the 16th July, General Foy, who commanded at Almaraz, relieved and evacuated Fort Mirabete, when the pass in the Sierra and the river became completely open.

Soult now sent two divisions of cavalry and one of infantry to reinforce Drouet, and on the 18th June, Hill took post at Albuera. On his corps being raised to a strength of 20,000 English and Portuguese, with twenty-four guns, on the 2nd July he advanced against Drouet, who fell back beyond Lerena, when Hill put his troops into quarters about Villa Franca.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PENINSULAR WAR—(*continued*).

1812—1813.

Wellington marches against Marshal Marmont—Capture of the Convent Fort at Salamanca—Movements of the hostile Armies—Battle of Salamanca—Entry of the British Army into Madrid—Wellington takes the Field against Clausel—Repulse of the British Army at Burgos—Wellington unites with Hill and retreats into Portugal—The Anglo-Sicilian Force—Action at Castalla—The Campaign of 1813—Wellington's victorious March through Spain—Battle of Vittoria—Results of the Victory.

By the middle of June, 1812, Wellington had under his immediate orders, irrespective of Hill's command, some 40,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, the strongest and best equipped army he had yet commanded. Marmont, apprehensive of an attack, had sought to induce Joseph and his adviser, Marshal Jourdain, to send orders to Caffarelli, who had 38,000 men in the north, to reinforce him; but acting under Soult's advice, who expected an invasion in the south, the application had been refused. On the 13th June, Wellington crossed the Agueda, and on the 16th, the outposts of his and Marmont's armies became engaged. On the following day the British commander entered Salamanca, where he was received with acclamation by the people. The army, defiling through the city, took up a position on the heights of San Christoval, while the 6th division, under General Henry Clinton, invested the forts, the siege operations being conducted by Colonel (the late Field-Marshal Sir) John Burgoyne. But the means were most inadequate, and after a portion of the front wall of the convent of San Vincente had fallen under the cannonade, the operations were suspended, owing to the failure of ammunition. On the 20th June, Marmont advanced with 25,000 men to relieve the garrison, and Wellington, having withdrawn the battering guns, despatched a brigade of Clinton's force to reinforce General Graham's covering army, which was formed up in order of battle at San Christoval. But Marmont declined to take up the gage, and retired on the 23rd.

On the following day, as the engineers reported that the parapets of Forts La Merced and San Gayetano were much beaten down, an attempt

was made to storm them, by columns under Generals Hulse and Bowes; but both attacks proved unsuccessful, and 120 men were killed and wounded, including the gallant Bowes, who headed the assault with the dash of an Ensign. Additional guns having arrived, Wellington resumed the siege of the forts, and with such vigour were the batteries worked that, on the following day, he ordered an assault, and all three forts were captured with little resistance. On the 28th June, Marmont withdrew his army from the vicinity of the Tormes, and on the 2nd July, crossed the Douro at Tordesillas. The whole allied loss during the sieges was 540 killed and wounded.

Wellington advanced against the Duke of Ragusa, who having occupied the north bank of the Douro with about 39,000 men and 100 guns, awaited reinforcements; but Soult and Suchet refused to detach a soldier, and Caffarelli only sent 6,000 men from Galicia, under command of General Bonnet. Having now some 45,000 men at his disposal, Marmont, on the 16th July, moved to his right, and crossed two divisions under Bonnet at Toro, when Wellington set his troops in motion towards his left on the Guarena. Suddenly the French troops recrossed the stream, and destroyed the bridge at Toro. On the 17th, Marmont again passed the Douro, and collected his army at La Nava del Rey, having marched thirty miles during the day.

These movements and counter-movements greatly puzzled his adversary, who retraced his steps, and on the 18th, found Cotton engaged with the enemy six miles in rear of the Trabancos, assisted by the 4th and Light divisions. In the *mêlée*, the British Commander-in-chief and Beresford came up, and were nearly slain by a squadron of cavalry, headed by a daring officer. During this episode, Marmont crossed the Trabancos in two columns, when Wellington, not deeming his position favourable, passed over the Guarena, and all the corps of the allied army effected a junction. Some French troops were now pushed across the stream, and the 27th and 40th regiments, with Alten's and Anson's brigades of horse, engaged them, when the enemy retired, leaving General Carrier and 240 prisoners and a gun. Marmont's attempts on the British left now ceased, but he moved on the 19th and 20th, with the object of turning their right, which his adversary met by counter-movements, until the two armies were within musket-shot of each other.

Marmont passed the Tormes on the 21st July, and occupying Alba, on that river, completely outflanked the right of the British army, which had resumed its old position at San Christoval, on the right bank of the river. On the same morning, however, Wellington crossed the river, leaving one division and some Portuguese cavalry on the right bank. During these manœuvres of the rival commanders, the armies presented the grand spectacle of some 90,000 combatants marching in parallel lines, within cannon-shot range, but not engaging, beyond an

occasional interchange, though ready to take advantage of any opening or false move on the part of their respective leaders. The heat throughout was intense, but all were eager for the conflict, and when the night of the 21st set in, the left wing of the British army rested on the low ground on the Tormes near Santa Marta, while the right wing extended along a range of heights, near the village of Arapiles, covering Salamanca, the position being thus nearly identical with that occupied by Graham a month before, when investing the forts. But the enemy menaced with his left the line of communications with Ciudad Rodrigo, whence Wellington received his supplies, and upon which he had come to the resolution of retiring, unless the enemy attacked him.

Battle of Salamanca.—22nd July, 1812.

The night before the battle of Salamanca, like that on the eve of Waterloo, was wild and stormy, and the elements seemed as though at war. Rain fell in torrents, making very comfortless the bivouacs of the rival armies, while thunder pealed incessantly, and lightning lit up the positions which were soon to be rendered memorable as the scene of one of England's greatest victories. The alarm caused by the elemental strife was increased by hundreds of cavalry horses breaking loose and scouring the country, and so being mistaken for the enemy's patrols. During the night Marmont brought up Bonnet's and Maucune's divisions, and took possession of Calvariza de Ariba. A little distance from his left and from the English right, stood a pair of solitary, steep hills, called the Two Arapiles, the possession of which would have enabled Marmont to form his army across Wellington's right. When the morning broke, bright and clear, the English commander sent the Portuguese to seize the most distant, but the French gained the first Arapiles, and kept it, though they were repulsed in an attempt to seize the second. The French and English armies also divided between them the possession of a wooded height in front of the ridge occupied by Bonnet's and Maucune's divisions. Seeing Marmont's advantage, Wellington extended his right to the low ground, holding the village of Arapiles with the light companies of the Guards; and the 4th division, with the exception of the 27th regiment, which remained at the rock, he placed in a gentle ridge behind the village. The 5th and 6th divisions were gathered in a mass on the inner slope of the English Arapiles, where they remained hidden by the configuration of the ground. Wellington also brought up the 1st and Light divisions to confront the enemy's troops on the heights of Calvariza de Ariba,

and posted the Third division and D'Urban's cavalry in a wood near Aldea Tejada, where, unseen by the enemy, they secured the road to Ciudad Rodrigo. Thus the allied position was suddenly reversed, the rear became the front, the left rested on the English Arapiles, and the right on Aldea Tejada, and the interval between the Third and Fourth divisions was occupied by the British cavalry.

About noon Marmont strengthened his position on the French Arapiles, by placing Foy's and Ferey's divisions in support, and soon after, seeing that Wellington would not attack, and fearing he would retreat, ordered Thomiere's division, covered by fifty guns, to menace the Ciudad Rodrigo road, and hastened the march of his other divisions with the intention of falling upon him near the village of Arapiles. But this movement caused a long interval between Thomiere, on the left, and the divisions marching up to form the centre, and there was a larger space between him and the divisions about the Arapiles. At this time also, the French carried the village of Arapiles, and though they were driven from it, renewed the struggle, while a mass of artillery on their right flank opened fire on the British line, though with little effect.

Wellington had left the Arapiles, but returning about 3 o'clock, attentively watched the development of the French attack, and with the intuition of genius, divined the cardinal error committed by his antagonist in separating his left wing from the centre by so long an interval. He says in his despatch to Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for War:—"The extension of his left, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him for which I had longed." Turning to General Alava, he exclaimed, "*Mon cher Alava, Marmont est perdu*," and immediately directed General Pakenham* to order the Third division to stand to their arms, while he rapidly brought from his right a strong body of cavalry for their support. The Fifth division, under Leith, was ordered to form on the right of Cole's (the Fourth) division, connecting the latter with Bradford's Portuguese, and the heavy cavalry, formed on the right of Bradford, closed this line of battle. The Sixth and Seventh divisions, under Clinton and Hope, flanked on the right by Anson's light cavalry, were ranged in a second line, which was prolonged by the Spaniards in the direction of the Third division, forming the extreme right of the army. In rear of all, on the highest ground, the First and Light divisions, with Pack's Portuguese, formed the reserve.

While these dispositions were in progress, Wellington sat down on

* Sir Edward Pakenham at this time commanded the Third division, owing to the illness of its gallant commander, General Picton. Pakenham was Wellington's brother-in-law, and fell at New Orleans in 1814.

the grass with the Third division, and took a hasty repast. This completed, his lordship turned to Pakenham and asked him if he saw "those fellows on the hill?" adding, "Throw your division into columns of battalions—at them directly—and drive them to the devil."

The order was obeyed with enthusiasm, and the Third division and the cavalry, flanked on the left by twelve guns, marched forward to cut off Thomiere's line of march, while the remainder of the first line, including Le Marchant's and Anson's brigades of heavy and light cavalry, were directed to advance as soon as the attack of the Third division was developed.

Marmont, as he watched this movement from the top of the Arapiles, discovered too late the cardinal error he had committed in extending his left, thus dividing his army into three parts, each too distant to assist the others, and despatched officer after officer to hasten up the troops from the forest, and stop the progress of the left wing, when suddenly he saw the Third division, hitherto hidden by the ground, crossing Thomiere's path. He galloped forward in person to remedy the mistake he had committed, when a shell brought him from his horse, with a broken arm and two wounds in his side. It was about 5 o'clock, that Pakenham fell upon the straggling columns of the enemy, and notwithstanding the gallant stand made by the artillery, the Third division and attendant cavalry drove them in confusion on their supports, while the Fifth division and Bradford's brigade coming up, completed the discomfiture of the remaining portion, drawn up on the wooded heights.

Meanwhile the division of General Bonnet, who had assumed the command, having failed at the village of Arapiles, was sharply engaged with the Fourth division, while Maucune retained his position behind the French Arapiles, and as Clausel's division had come up from the forest, the connection of the left and centre was in some degree restored. At this time, Bonnet, who had succeeded Marmont, was wounded, when the command devolved on Clausel, who nobly strove to stem the tide of defeat. Now Le Marchant's and Anson's cavalry brigades advanced on Pakenham's left at the charge, and fell upon the divisions of Thomiere and Clausel, which had effected a junction, and trampled down and scattered 1,200 French infantry. Though in this brilliant attack, Le Marchant and 100 men were slain, the enemy's left was entirely broken, and 2,000 prisoners were taken.

Meantime, in the centre, the Fourth and Fifth divisions in line passed Arapiles village under a heavy cannonade, driving Bonnet's division backwards on to the broken masses of Clausel's and Thomiere's divisions, but at this time, the centre was reinforced by Ferey's division, drawn off from Calvariza Ariba, and by Sarrut's and Brennier's divisions of infantry from the forest, with the cavalry. On this mass of fresh men

Clausel rallied his broken left, and the whole were so disposed as to cover the line of retreat to Alba de Tormes, while Maucune's division, which had defeated with great slaughter Pack's attack on the French Arapiles, and Foy's division on the right, still presented an unbroken front.

So vigorous was the attack made by Foy and Brennier on the Fourth and Fifth divisions, that they were outflanked and gave ground. Cole and Leith were both severely wounded, and Beresford also received a desperate wound, when bringing some troops to flank the advancing columns.

It was the crisis of the battle, and Wellington immediately brought up the Sixth division from the reserve, which made a successful charge, but not without severe loss. Hulse's brigade, on the left, suffered heavily, but Clausel's final effort failed, he himself was wounded slightly, and Ferey mortally. The Third division continued to outflank the enemy's left, Maucune abandoned the French Arapiles, Foy retired from the ridge of Calvariza, and the whole French army was now in retreat, these two divisions, which had suffered the least, being skilfully disposed by Clausel to cover the movement. Wellington immediately sent the Light division, supported by the First division, and two brigades of the Fourth division, with cavalry, against Foy, and the Seventh division and the Spaniards followed in reserve. Maucune was also hard pressed by Pakenham and Clinton's divisions, and handled his troops with great ability, enabling Foy to retreat into the forest.

Wellington accompanied the Light division in the pursuit, and while riding close behind the 43rd, was struck in the thigh by a spent musket-ball, which passed through his holster. His lordship, however, pushed on for the ford of Huerta, but on arriving at the river's bank, he found that by the error of the Spanish general, Carlos d'Espana,* who evacuated the Castle of Alma de Tormes without orders, they forded the river without hindrance.

The British loss in this great battle was one general, twenty-four officers, and 686 men killed, and five generals (Beresford, Leith, Cole, Spry and Cotton), 182 officers, and 4,270 rank and file wounded. The trophies of the victory were eleven guns, two eagles, six standards and 7,000 prisoners. The exact loss of the French is not known, but Wellington, in his letter to Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for War, places it at between "17,000 and 20,000 men in all." He adds, "they all agree that if we had had one hour more daylight, the whole army would have been in our hands." Salamanca was the greatest and most

* Napier says:—"Had the Castle of Alba been held, the French could not have carried off a third of their army, nor would they have been in much better plight if d'Espana, who soon discovered his error in withdrawing the garrison, had informed Wellington of the fact."

decisive victory Wellington had yet achieved, and its effect at this time in Europe, when Napoleon had undertaken his gigantic and ill-omened expedition* to Russia, was far-reaching, and was hailed as the dawn of a new era. The victor himself ever regarded it with satisfaction, and he wrote at this time:—"There was no mistake committed, everything went on as it ought, and there never was an army so beaten in a short time."

Clausel continued his retreat through the night, and only rested ten leagues from the battle-field. The British cavalry pursued and overtook the enemy at La Serra. The French infantry formed square, but Anson's light cavalry and Bock's heavy German dragoons charged three squares in succession, and completely broke them, making prisoners of the battalions.

During the retreat Clausel was joined by Caffarelli's cavalry and artillery, about 19,000 men, and continued his retrograde movement across the Douro, until he reached Burgos. Wellington† entered Valladolid on the 31st July, and leaving Clinton's division with Anson's cavalry on the Douro, resumed his march on the 6th August. Passing through Segovia on the 12th, he entered Madrid, where he was received with acclamations by the populace.

Among the results of Wellington's great victory was the raising of the protracted investment of Cadiz by Soult, who hastened to Valencia to take counsel with Joseph. Wellington now gave orders to General Hill, who had been watching Soult and Drouet from the old position at Albuera, to proceed to Almaraz with his corps, and after assigning two divisions for the defence of the capital, his lordship quitted Madrid, in order to strike a blow against Clausel, who, gathering together his scattered forces, had entered Valladolid on the 18th August, driving the British force there before him across the Douro, and sent Foy with a strong division towards Galicia.

Concentrating 21,000 men at Arevalo, Wellington crossed the Douro on the 7th September, and speedily retook Valladolid, which Clausel evacuated on his approach. On the 17th Wellington was joined by Castanos with a Spanish division of 11,000 men, though they resembled

* On the 24th June, the Emperor crossed the Niemen with an army of 423,000 men, of whom 300,000 were infantry, 70,000 cavalry, and 30,000 artillery, and 1,000 guns. Such a vast body of armed men had not been assembled since the invasion of Europe by the barbarians, but this was a highly-organized and disciplined military force.

† Wellington received the Garter, and was created a Marquis for his victory at Salamanca, and the Spanish Regency conferred on him the Order of the Golden Fleece, and made him Commander-in-chief of their armies.

rather an armed mob than a disciplined army, and Clausel retired to Briviesca. As he withdrew, he was joined by General Souham, who assumed command of the army, and Caffarelli having arrived from the north, the Castle of Burgos was garrisoned with 1,800 men, under General Dubreton, an officer of courage and skill, and the city—the capital of Old Castille, and the birthplace of Spain's mythical hero the Cid—was evacuated as the allied army approached. The 1st and 6th divisions, under Generals Campbell and Clinton, invested the Castle of Burgos, the rest of the army taking up a position to cover the operations, but the means at Wellington's disposal were most inadequate, and the siege train only consisted of three eighteen pounders, and five twenty-four pounder mortars.

The British general determined therefore to try an assault, but though the 42nd and 79th Highlanders displayed their usual gallantry, and a horn-work was captured, the Portuguese troops were driven back into the ditch, and the partial success was achieved with the loss of seventy-one killed and 340 wounded or missing. A second assault, on the 22nd September, was even less successful, and the 79th again suffered severely, Major Laurie, who led the assault, being among the killed. The attack by escalade having failed, operations by means of breaching batteries were tried, and an attempt was made to storm the castle. Twice a lodgment was effected, but little progress was made, and a successful sortie was made on the 8th, when the Honourable Colonel Cocks, an officer of great promise, and 200 men, were slain, and the siege works were damaged and entrenching tools carried off.

A practicable breach being made on the 18th, three columns again attempted to storm the works, but though the Guards escaladed the second *enceinte*, and other lodgments were made, Wellington, influenced by letters from Hill, from Madrid, and by an offensive movement made by Souham, abandoned the siege, which had lasted thirty-eight days. General Dubreton* and his brave garrison displayed no ordinary military virtues, in this brilliant defence, which had cost the besiegers twenty-four officers and 485 men killed, and sixty-eight officers and 1,487 rank and file wounded, while the garrison, who had made five successful sorties, only admitted to a loss of 193 killed and 443 wounded.

Much dissatisfaction was caused in England at this failure, and blame was unjustly laid on Colonel Burgoyne, the chief engineer, who had only three trained engineer officers to assist him, while the men employed were volunteers from the infantry regiments, and there were no proper mining tools.

* In after years this gallant officer received from Wellington himself congratulations on this able defence.

King Joseph, meeting the corps of Soult and d'Erlon, advanced in two columns against Madrid, from which Hill withdrew on the 31st October, and, on the 3rd November, crossed the Guadarama, when the foreign King again entered his capital. But leaving it on the 4th November, he proceeded to Arevalo, where he effected a junction with Souham, and now found himself at the head of 90,000 men, of whom 12,000 were cavalry, with from 120 to 150 guns.

There was some fighting about Burgos, on the 20th October, between Maucune and Paget, and two days later, the city was evacuated by Wellington, who succeeded in carrying off his entire baggage and field equipage. Souham was close behind, and some fighting took place with Cotton and Anson's cavalry. The usual concomitants of a retreating Peninsular army, drunkenness and insubordination, again broke out, and it is said that 12,000 men were in a state of inebriety at Torquemada, the wine vaults of which were found to be well stored.

Wellington halted on the 24th November, at the confluence of the Carrion and Pisuerga, where he was joined by a reinforcement of Guards from Corunna. He now offered Souham battle, and a partial action took place at Villa Muriel, where Foy had preceded him and destroyed the bridge. General Oswald, with the 5th division, drove Maucune out of Villa Muriel, but the Spanish supporting columns were driven back in confusion, and General Alava was wounded. Foy had already engaged the British left, and the enemy throwing a corps across the Pisuerga, threatened their right. But this critical condition of affairs only gave scope for the exercise of Wellington's skill, and by a fine stroke of generalship, he withdrew all his troops before daybreak on the 26th, and making a march of sixteen miles, crossed the Pisuerga and secured the bridge. Destroying his siege guns, he crossed the Douro three days later, and taking post between Rueda and Tordesillas, offered the enemy battle, to allow Hill time to come up. Meantime Sir Roland Hill had not been pressed in his retreat by Soult, and reached Arevalo, where he received instructions from Wellington, who, again falling back on the 6th November, on the 8th reached San Christoval. Hill crossed the Tormes at Alba on the 4th, and holding the Castle of Alba, a junction was effected near the old battle ground of Salamanca, the united armies, which covered a position of five leagues, numbering 64,000 men, British, Portuguese, and Spaniards, with guns. Meanwhile Joseph effected a junction with Souham, at Arevalo, and was now at the head of 95,000 men, including 12,000 cavalry, with 120 guns, and on the 4th, the three united armies were assembled before the Arapiles, Soult with the army of Andalusia, on the left, Joseph and Jourdain in the centre, and the army of Portugal, as Souham's corps was still called, on the right.

Acting under Soult's advice, Joseph tried to turn the allied right, and

an attempt was made to force the position at Alba, but Hamilton's division of Portuguese drove the enemy back. Soult, however, decided on a flank march, and crossed the Tormes by means of trestle-bridges and fords, eight miles above Alba, when Wellington took post at the Arapiles with his whole army; but finding the French position too strong for attack, on the 15th, he crossed the Zurguen in three columns, and encamped the same night on the Valmuza, thus completely passing the enemy's left almost within cannon-shot range, a bold and hazardous movement, rendered only possible by the heavy rain and thick mist.

The British army continued its retreat, followed by the French, whose cavalry, on the 17th, made a successful dash on the baggage, capturing Sir Edward Paget. Soult also surprised the Light division on the line of march, but these veteran troops, supported by the 7th division under Lord Dalhousie, who had newly arrived from England, received the attack with perfect order, and Wellington, then coming up, the troops were all crossed over the Huebra, under the fire of thirty guns, with the loss of only 300 men. Soult here ceased all further pursuit, and Wellington crossed the Agueda on the 18th November, and cantoned his whole army between that river and the Coa, establishing his own headquarters at Ciudad Rodrigo. During the retreat now concluded, much insubordination had prevailed, and even some of the general officers had led their divisions by other roads than those directed, with the result that they got into difficulties, and had to retrace their steps, Wellington himself bringing them back. To restore discipline and prevent looting, the Commander-in-chief had recourse to the severe measure of hanging two delinquents, and he issued a very severe "order of the day," censuring the troops for their misconduct during the retreat.*

King Joseph returned to Madrid, and the French army, which was

* His lordship congratulated himself on having escaped so cheaply from a position almost as trying as Moore's, and wrote to Lord Bathurst:—"I assure you that, considering the number of the enemy, the state of the Spanish troops, the great proportion of foreign troops in the divisions which I have with me, and their general weakness, and the weakness of our cavalry, I think I have escaped from the worst military situation I was ever in." The English press expressed great dissatisfaction at the results of the campaign of 1812, but, as Lord Wellington wrote:—"It is, in fact, the most successful in all its circumstances, and has produced, for the common cause, more important results than any in which the British army has been engaged for the last century. We have taken Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca, and the Retiro has surrendered. In the ten months elapsed since January, this army has sent to England little short of 20,000 prisoners, and they have taken and destroyed, or retained for their own use, the enemy's arsenals in the above places, and Valladolid, Madrid, Astorga, Seville, and the lines before Cadiz, &c. Upon the whole we have taken or destroyed, or we now possess, little short of 3,000 pieces of cannon. The siege of Cadiz has been raised, and all the country south of the Tagus has been cleared of the enemy."

wholly destitute of provisions and magazines, was cantoned near the mouth of the Tagus, Soult, who had permanently abandoned Andalusia, having his headquarters in Toledo, and d'Erlon at Valladolid.

During the campaign of 1812, in which Wellington captured by storm two important fortresses and gained a brilliant victory, an Anglo-Sicilian force of 16,000 men, under the orders of Lord W. Bentinck, was landed at Alicante on the 7th August, but it was able to render little service beyond preventing Suchet from joining his forces to those of the other French marshals. The force, which was commanded successively by Generals Maitland, Donkin, Mackenzie, Clinton and Campbell, and finally, by Sir John Murray, included two British divisions, numbering 8,000 men, with about 1,500 cavalry, the remaining half being composed of Germans, Maltese and Italians.

With this heterogeneous and unpromising material, General Murray took the field on the 6th March at Alicante, whence he marched to Castalla, being joined during the advance by a Spanish force, under General Elio. Marshal Suchet now assumed the offensive, and on the 11th April, General Harispe surprised the Spanish division at Yecla, capturing 1,500 prisoners, and on the following day, routed Elio's column. At Biar, Suchet encountered Murray's advanced guard, which fell back upon Castalla, where the British forces had taken up a strong position. An action now ensued, in which Adam's English division, posted on a spur, sustained the brunt of the fighting, especially the 27th (Inniskillings), which charged the enemy and drove them down in confusion. Suchet, after vainly trying to retrieve the day with his reserve, retreated, but General Mackenzie, who was about to attack his rearguard, was unaccountably prevented by Sir John Murray, and the French retired during the night without molestation, and regained their fortified camp at Xucar.

The disastrous result of his invasion of Russia induced Napoleon to recall Marshal Soult from Spain, with some 20,000 veteran troops, to fill up the gaps in his armies in Germany. Joseph, accompanied by Marshal Jourdain, quitted Madrid, and established his government at Valladolid on the 23rd March, while General Reille retired from Salamanca to Burgos, and the army of Andalusia, now under General Gazan, abandoning the valley of the Tagus, took post on the Tormes. Laval's division alone remained in Madrid, Suchet still retained his hold of the east coast, and Arragon and Biscay were occupied by independent divisions, under Generals Clausel and Foy.

Such was the military situation in Spain in the spring of 1813, when Wellington took the field in that victorious campaign which only ended with the expulsion of the alien king, whom Napoleon had forced on an unwilling people. The Spaniards—whatever their faults during the prolonged struggle, soon to be brought to a victorious termination, and,

indeed, it was their rulers and the leaders of their armies who were to blame for their short-comings—had shown a noble resolution in opposing to the utmost the efforts of the French armies to subdue them, and in this patriotic obstinacy they offered an example to other nations of Europe who had patiently submitted to the will of the French despot.

Lord Wellington made his dispositions with the object of turning the right of the French armies by an army of 40,000 men, under General Sir Thomas Graham, while he threatened the position of the Tormes with 30,000 troops under his own command. On the 11th May, 1813, accordingly, Graham started on his march, on the 15th he crossed the Douro on a pontoon bridge, and a week later, he reached Braganza. On hearing that this part of his plan of operations had been successfully accomplished, Sir Roland Hill, commanding the right, was despatched by the Bejar pass on Alba de Tormes, while Wellington, accompanied by Beresford, with the centre, moved direct on Salamanca, and on the 26th, these two columns simultaneously reached the Tormes. General Villatte retired before the British cavalry and artillery in good order, though not without the loss of seven guns.

Leaving the command of the troops with Hill, Lord Wellington crossed the Tormes and joined Graham, who had encountered great difficulties in his march of 250 miles through Traz-os-Montes. By this double operation Graham had turned the flank of the Douro, and Hill that of the Esla. On the 31st the latter river was crossed by a pontoon bridge, and on the 1st June, the advanced guard entered Zamora, the French falling back on Toro. Graham now effected a junction with the Commander-in-chief, who rested his combined army on the 3rd, when Castanos joined with the Galician corps, raising the total strength of the allied forces to 90,000 infantry, 12,000 cavalry, and 100 guns.

Joseph, assisted by Marshal Jourdain, concentrated at Valladolid about 52,000 men, with 100 guns, and fell back on Vittoria. On the 6th, the French army reached Palencia, but Wellington's strategy of pushing forward his flank compelled them to abandon the line of the Carrion. By the same strategy Wellington compelled the enemy to abandon a position near Torquemada, and they retreated to Burgos, the castle of which they blew up on the 13th. Continuing the retrograde movement, Joseph fell back to Miranda, and was joined between the 15th and 16th by the forces of Clausel, Foy, and Reille.

Wellington made a masterly flank movement to the left, and on the 15th, crossed the Ebro, and moved down on Frias, thus cutting off the French communications with the coast, and opening a new base for himself at Santander. To prevent the allied army from threatening the road to France, Joseph despatched Reille to Orduna and Bilbao.

On arriving at Osma, on the 18th, that general found himself in the presence of the 1st, 3rd, and 5th divisions, under Sir Thomas Graham, which were debouching from the mountain passes, and had possession of the road to Orduna. Reille, undoubtedly one of the ablest of the French generals, made a spirited resistance with an inferior force, and fell back, abandoning his baggage to the victors. In order to keep clear the road to France, for the despatch of the vast convoy of plunder from the cities of the Peninsula, including pictures of the old Masters, Joseph sent Foy to Tolosa, and on the 21st, Maucune marched on the same duty of protecting the endless line of carriages and waggons laden with spoil.

Battle of Vittoria.—21st June, 1813.

Joseph now took up a new line of battle, some six miles in front of Vittoria. Reille's force, reinforced by a Franco-Spanish division of infantry, and by Digeon's division of dragoons from the army of the South, formed the extreme right, with the duty of defending the passage of the Zadorra, by the bridge of Gamara Major and Ariayo; while the centre, six or eight miles from Gamara, following the course of the Zadorra, was astride the royal road in front of the village of Arinez, and his left occupied the roots of the Puebla mountain, facing the defile of that name, with a brigade on the mountain itself. D'Erlon's corps was in the second line, and the greater portion of the cavalry with many guns, and the King's Guards, formed a reserve behind the centre, and fifty guns were massed in the front.

Excluding the 6th division, 6,500 strong, under General Pakenham, which was left at Medina de Pomar, Wellington brought into the field, 60,000 Anglo-Portuguese, with 90 guns, and there were 20,000 Spanish auxiliaries. Joseph approximately numbered, for the muster-rolls were lost in the battle, 70,000 men, including Sarrut's division, but exclusive of the two brigades sent to France in charge of the convoys. Wellington formed his army into three separate attacks, Graham on the left, moving from Murgaia, by the Bilbao road, was to fall on Reille, and force the passage at Gamara Major, thus turning the French position, and shutting up a greater portion of their forces between the Puebla mountain and the Zadorra. To effect this, Graham was entrusted with the 1st and 5th Anglo-Portuguese divisions, Bradford's and Pack's Portugese brigades, Longa's Spanish division, and Anson's and Brock's cavalry, in all 20,000 men with 18 guns, and Giron's Galicians, recalled from Orduna, came up by a forced march in support. Sir Roland Hill

commanded on the right with 20,000 men, consisting of the 2nd division, with some cavalry and guns, and Morillo's Spaniards and Sylveira's Portuguese. He was directed to force the passage of the Zadorra at the village of Puebla, to assail the French on the heights beyond, to thread the defile of Puebla, and enter the basin of Vittoria, thus turning the French left, and securing the passage of the river at one of the seven bridges crossing it. The centre attack, directed by Wellington in person, consisted of the 3rd, 4th, 7th, and Light divisions, the greater portion of the artillery, the heavy cavalry, and d'Urban's Portuguese horsemen, in all nearly 30,000 men.*

The 21st June broke in rainy weather, with a thick vapour, as the British troops moved from their camp on the Bayas. The centre passed the ridge in front, and entering the basin of Vittoria, slowly approached the Zadorra, while the left column pointed to Mendoza, and the right skirted the ridge of the Morillas, on the other side of which Hill was marching; and that general, seizing the village of Puebla, commenced the passage of the river. Morillo, with two Spanish brigades, moved up the mountain, and came into conflict with the French general, Maransin, who was reinforced with a fresh regiment, upon which Hill sent to his assistance the 71st and a battalion of light infantry, under Colonel Cadogan. The fighting was obstinate, Morillo was wounded, and Cadogan, a promising officer, was killed. Gazan despatched Villatte's division to the succour of his hardly-beset countrymen, who more than held their ground. Hill reinforced his side, and passing the Zadorra with the remainder of his corps, pushed through the defile of Puebla, and on to a village in front of Gazan's line, thus connecting his right with the troops on the mountain.

Meanwhile Wellington had brought the 4th and Light divisions with his cavalry, to the Zadorra, his skirmishers exchanged a hot fire with the enemy until the 3rd and 7th divisions, passing over rougher ground, had reached their point of attack. While thus waiting, a Portuguese peasant informed his lordship that the bridge of Tres Puentes, on the left of the Light division, was unguarded; and under his guidance, Kempt's brigade, concealed by some rocks, passed the narrow bridge at a running pace, and halted behind the French advanced post, and within a few hundred yards of the line of battle. Some hostile cavalry approached, and a couple of cannon-shots were fired, by one of which the patriotic peasant was killed, but no attack was made, and Kempt brought over the 15th Hussars.

It was ten o'clock, and Hill's assault was developed, while the sound of distant guns showed that Graham's attack had also commenced. Joseph, finding both his flanks in danger, ordered his reserves to file

* *See* Napier's "History of the War in the Peninsula."

off towards Vittoria, and directed Gazan to retire. At this time the 3rd and 7th divisions rapidly approached the bridge of Mendoza, and drew the enemy's fire, to which our guns replied. Assisted by the riflemen of the Light division, both these divisions passed the river, and the French fell back, while Hill pressed the enemy harder, and the 4th division, under General Cole, passed the bridge of Nanclares, the banks of the Zadorra thus presenting a continuous line of fire. Lord Wellington, seeing the hill in front of Arinez nearly denuded of troops, by the withdrawal of Vallette's division, brought the 3rd division, under Picton, with Kempt's light brigade and the hussars in support, in close columns of regiments at the double across the front of both armies towards that central point. At the same time the 4th division also passed the river, and the heavy cavalry took up a position in the interval between Cole's right and Hill's left. The artillery of both sides now entered upon a duel, under cover of which the French retired to the second range of heights, in which the reserve was posted, but they clung tenaciously to the village of Arinez, on the main road, for the possession of which a fierce fight ensued, ending in the expulsion of the enemy by Picton's and Kempt's men.

Episodes worthy of mention were the charge of the 52nd regiment, under Colonel Gibbs, on the French guns in the village of Margarita, which were captured, and the gunners driven off; and the capture of Hermandad by the 87th, led by the gallant Gough. Then the whole line advanced fighting, and the French fell back in a disordered mass towards Vittoria. Many guns were taken, and at six o'clock, the enemy reached the last defensible height, about a mile in front of that city. The French artillery, massed together, and their infantry, drawn up for a final effort, poured a heavy fire on the advancing allied army. But the 4th division suddenly carried the hill on the French left, and forthwith the heights were abandoned, and the enemy retreated in a confused mass, leaving Vittoria on the left. The British followed closely, and the road up to and beyond the city was covered with a dense and motley array of carriages and panic-stricken people, while the army, abandoning its guns, and covered by the cavalry, retreated towards Salvatierra.

Meanwhile, Reille had stubbornly maintained his post on the upper Zadorra, but the result of the last attack had placed him in great danger. His advanced troops, under Sarrut, had been driven from the heights covering the bridges of Ariaga and Gamara Major, by General Oswald, who commanded the head of Sir Thomas Graham's corps, consisting of the 5th division, Longa's Spaniards, and Pack's Portuguese. Other positions were seized, and Sarrut recrossed the river in good order, and Reille made new dispositions. Oswald attacked the village and bridge of Gamara, with Robinson's brigade of

the 5th division, in three columns, which were at first driven back by the heavy fire, but, encouraged by the example of General Robinson, they renewed the charge, broke through the village, and even crossed the bridge. But Reille suddenly brought twelve guns to bear upon the village, and La Martiniere, rallying his men, retook the bridge. A fresh British brigade, with the Royals leading, once more carried the bridge, only, however, to be again dispossessed. Halkett's brigade of Graham's corps, meanwhile, carried the village of Abechuco, which covered the bridge of Ariaga, defended by Sarrut's division, but here, as at Gamara, the French maintained the bridge under a reciprocal fire of artillery and small arms.*

But by this time Wellington's cavalry, issuing out of Vittoria, appeared upon Sarrut's rear, and that gallant officer being killed at the bridge of Ariaga, General Meune, who assumed the command, drew off his infantry under protection of Digeon's dragoons, and fell back on a reserve of infantry, formed by Reille at Betonia, under General Firion. Closely pursued by the victorious allied forces, Reille, who saved the French army from destruction, resolutely fought his way to Metauco, on the Salvatierra road, until night put an end to the pursuit.

The victory was complete, and no sophistry, such as Napoleon and his marshals so often employed to disguise a defeat, could lessen the weight of the catastrophe that had fallen on the French cause in Spain. All their treasure,† stores and equipage, Jourdain's marshal's baton, captured by the 87th regiment, and 143 guns, of which 100 had been employed in the battle, and a French eagle, fell into the hands of the victors, while their loss in men was about 6,000, exclusive of some hundreds of prisoners. The allies had 4,914 killed and wounded, and 266 missing, of whom 1,049 were Portuguese and 553 Spaniards.

In acknowledgment of his great victory the Spanish Cortes created Lord Wellington, Duke of Vittoria, and the Prince Regent wrote to his lordship a letter of thanks, in which he said:—"You have sent me, among the trophies of your unrivalled fame, the staff of a French marshal, and I send you, in return, that of England."

The influence this victory, achieved close to the scene of Edward the Black Prince's great defeat of the French army, under du Guesclin, had on the course of political events, was far-reaching, and Napoleon, when he received the news at Dresden, on the 15th July, on his return from his Russian expedition, wrote indignantly of his brother's incapa-

* Napier's "History of the War in the Peninsula." Colonel Fane, commanding the 59th regiment, was slain at Abechuco.

† The treasure lost by Joseph is estimated at five and a half millions of dollars which were mostly looted by the camp followers and peasants.

city, that "he (Napoleon) had long compromised his affairs for imbeciles," and despatched Marshal Soult—the best of all his generals, according to Wellington's judgment, and no one had better opportunities of forming an opinion—to assume the supreme command on the Spanish frontier, as his lieutenant. This great event also infused new spirit into the Austrian Court, then engaged in negotiations at Prague, and impressed on Napoleon the fact that the tables were turned, and he must prepare for an invasion of France from the Pyrenees by the despised "sepoy general," who had foiled in succession his bravest and best marshals.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE PENINSULAR WAR—(*continued*).

1813.

Retirement of the French Army across the Bidassoa into France—Failure at Tarragona—First Siege of San Sebastian—Sanguinary Repulse of the British—Battles of the Pyrenees between the 25th July and the 2nd August—Second Siege and Capture of San Sebastian—The Actions of San Marcial and Vera—The British cross the Bidassoa—Battle of the Nivelle—Battles of the Nive.

THE allied army continued the pursuit of Joseph's broken legions on the 22nd June, towards Pampeluna, and General Pakenham came up from Medina Pomar. Reille, still keeping his two divisions in hand, halted at Salvatierra until the French army had passed, and then continued his retreat to Huerta, whence, under instructions from Joseph, he proceeded rapidly by St. Estevan to the Bidassoa with the army of Portugal, while Gazan's and D'Erlon's corps arrived before Pampeluna, which the fugitives reached on the 24th, and after increasing the garrison to 3,000 men, marched towards France, leaving a rear-guard at a strong pass.

Wellington, meanwhile, having detached Graham's corps to Guipuscoa, and left the 5th division at Salvatierra, pushed on after the king, and on the 24th, the Light division and Alten's cavalry drove the enemy from the pass and dismounted one of the only two guns carried off from Vittoria. Joseph continued his retreat up the valley of Roncesvalles, followed by the Light division and the Spanish irregular troops.

Meanwhile Foy and Maucune, in charge of the convoys, had abandoned the forts, which commanded the passes leading into Guipuscoa, into which Longa and Giron penetrated, and uniting their troops, on the 22nd June, gave battle to the Spaniards, outnumbering them as three to one, at Montdragon, where they lost 250 men and six guns, and fell back to Bergara. Thence Foy marched to Villa Real, and on the 24th, Graham, crossing the Mutiol by the pass of Adrian, drove Maucune's and an Italian division from Villa Franca, and compelled Foy to retire upon Tolosa. Here a spirited action was fought on the 25th June, but Graham turned Foy's left with Longa's division and his

right with Mendizabel's, and the French general was compelled to evacuate Tolosa. During the actions fought on these two successive days, the French lost 400 killed and wounded, as did likewise the Anglo-Portuguese, and General Graham was among the latter. The Spanish loss was not known.

Foy succeeded in withdrawing his convoys into France, and having reinforced his corps, by the arrival of the smaller garrisons, to 16,000 infantry, 400 cavalry and ten guns, on the 28th June, threw a garrison of 2,600 men into San Sebastian, and on the 1st July, passed the Bidassoa, his rear-guard engaging with Giron's Galicians. Graham immediately invested San Sebastian, and the French army of Portugal, increased by Reille's troops to 25,000 men, occupied a defensive line from Vera to the bridge of Behobia.

Clausel, at the head of 14,000 men, had arrived at Logrono, and closely pursued by Wellington, from Pampeluna, with four divisions, and two other divisions from Salvatierra, reached Tudela on the 27th by a forced march of sixty miles in forty hours. But here he learned that Wellington was in possession of Tagalla, by which he would have made for France, and thereupon he re-crossed the Ebro, and arrived at Saragossa on the 1st July. Wellington now left Minas to pursue Clausel, who retired to Jacca.

Joseph, not being pressed, had sent Gazan to occupy the fertile valley of Bastan, upon which Hill, who had been left to invest Pampeluna, moved two British and two Portuguese brigades into the valley, and between the 4th and 7th July, drove Gazan from all his positions. Thus the whole line of the Spanish frontier from Roncesvalles to San Sebastian was occupied by the allied army, and Pampeluna and San Sebastian were invested.

In this campaign of six weeks, says the military historian of the Peninsular War, Wellington, at the head of 100,000 men, had marched 600 miles, gained a decisive victory, invested two fortresses and driven 120,000 veteran troops from Spain. Had Joseph followed his great brother's instructions, Wellington could not have turned the line of the Douro, and the King and his military advisers displayed great lack of strategical ability in the subsequent movements, while their English antagonist, on the other hand, showed his possession of this cardinal attribute of a great commander by the success with which he turned the line of the Ebro. Finally, at Vittoria, the operations of the French generals, with the exception of Reille's defence of Gamara and Ariega, were defective and spiritless, and the victory was decided when Kempt's brigade of the Light division was suffered to remain unmolested on their side of the bridge of Tres Puentes.

As a part of his plan of operations, and in order to prevent Suchet affording assistance to the armies in his front, Wellington, after the

battle of Castalla, had directed Sir John Murray to invest Tarragona with the Anglo-Sicilian contingent. Proceeding from Alicante, 14,000 troops were landed at Tarragona on the 3rd June, and the siege was commenced, but hearing that Suchet was marching to its relief with 10,000 men, Murray, after much hesitancy, abandoned the siege. Suchet fell back and Murray again landed his army, but was superseded by Lord William Bentinck. By Wellington's orders he was brought to a court-martial, which convicted him of having unnecessarily abandoned a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, and sentenced him to be cashiered. Suchet, Duke of Albufera, continued to maintain himself in Catalonia, but abandoned Valencia, which Lord William Bentinck occupied on the 5th July.

Wellington now undertook the siege of San Sebastian, the reduction of which was not less costly than the capture of Badajoz. This famous fortress, situated only about four or five miles from the French frontier, is built on a low, sandy isthmus, where the river Urumea falls into the sea, at the foot of Mount Orgullo, an isolated mass, 400 feet high, crowned with an old castle; and at the entrance of a small bay on the west, or opposite side, is the small island of Santa Clara, which commands it. General Rey arrived on the 22nd June at San Sebastian, having under his command a garrison increased to 3,000 effectives. On the 9th July, Sir Thomas Graham invested the town, the defences of which were reconnoitred by Lord Wellington, with whom was Major Charles Smith, R.E., in the absence of Sir Richard Fletcher, chief engineer. It was resolved that the first attack should be made on the fortified convent of San Bartolomeo, and batteries opened fire on the night of the 13th. An assault was made on the 15th, with the Portuguese troops of the 5th division, but they were repulsed with loss.

Again, two days later, columns under Generals Hay and Bradford, of combined British and Portuguese troops, assailed San Bartolomeo, and Colonel Cameron, with the 9th Foot, established himself within fifty yards of the convent, as well as in the suburb of San Martino. But the success was not achieved without heavy loss, the 9th losing seven officers and sixty men. The fire from the batteries was vigorously continued, and soon a breach was effected. But the garrison refused to surrender, and responded to the efforts of the besiegers by the construction of mines on suitable points to meet an assault, and by erecting fresh batteries. On the 24th, Graham ordered an assault, which was headed by Lieutenant Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde), accompanied by Lieutenant Machet, of the Engineers, the 1st Royals and 38th being in support. Then ensued a terrific struggle, and though the British soldiers mounted to the top of the breach, they were unable to descend, while flanking batteries and musketry from adjacent houses and walls opened a deadly fire, under which nothing

could live. Major Frazer, commanding the Royals, and Lieutenant Machet were killed, Sir Richard Fletcher, chief Engineer, Major Harry Jones, and two other Engineer officers, were wounded, together with forty-four officers of the line and 500 men placed *hors de combat.* Colin Campbell escaped death as by a miracle, but Providence reserved him to render invaluable services to his country. The troops were so hemmed in and decimated that, in order to prevent the remnant from being surrounded by the advancing tide, they surrendered to the enemy. Lord Wellington, on hearing of this sanguinary repulse, repaired to San Sebastian on the 26th, and raised the siege, converting it into a blockade.

This course was rendered imperative by the threatened irruption of considerable French forces, under Marshal Soult, who arrived at Bayonne on the 13th July. According to the Imperial muster rolls, the "army of Spain," under his command, including the garrisons, numbered 114,000 men, exclusive of the armies of Catalonia and Arragon, under Suchet, above 66,000. But the Duke of Dalmatia could only muster for field operations 77,500 troops, including 7,000 cavalry, with 86 guns. With characteristic activity, Soult prepared his plans for offensive operations, his troops being divided into three corps, with a reserve, Clausel commanding the left wing, Drouet, Count d'Erlon, the centre, and Reille the right, while the reserve, under Villatte, guarded the Bidassoa, and the cavalry took post on the banks of the Nive and Adour. Including the forces investing San Sebastian, Wellington at this time disposed of above 100,000 men, of whom the Anglo-Portuguese portion consisted of 50,000 infantry, and 7,000 cavalry, and the Spanish of 25,000 troops, so that the allied army in the field mustered 82,000 to the French total of 78,500.

Battles of the Pyrenees.—25th—30th July, 1813.

On the 25th July, Soult moved with 60,000 men and sixty-six guns to force the passes of Roncesvalles and Maya, which, four centuries before, had echoed to the joyous shouts of the English army, led by the glorious Black Prince. Wellington repaired in person to his right wing, consisting of Byng's advanced corps, Cole's 4th division, and other troops. Clausel, with three divisions, commenced the action by threatening the passes, where, early in the day, he only encountered the 57th regiment, and Morillo's Spaniards. Reille, outflanking Morillo, forced him back to Ibaneta, and though the 20th regiment drove the French 6th infantry back at the bayonet's point, Sir

Lowry Cole, who had assumed the command here, seeing Byng hard pressed, ordered the division to fall back to the valley of Zubiri. Meantime, d'Erlon attacked with three divisions the Maya pass, where the brunt of the fighting was borne by Pringle's and Cameron's brigades of Sir William Stuart's division. The 34th and 50th regiments charged with the bayonet, and drove back their assailants; but the conflict was unequal, notwithstanding the assistance afforded by the 92nd Highlanders, which suffered severely, and Stuart retired slowly, and was on the point of entirely abandoning the mountain, when he was reinforced by Barnes's brigade of the 7th division. The French were driven back to the Maya ridge, and Stuart, who was wounded, remained master of the commanding works of Atchiola. In this hardly-contested fight of Maya the French lost 1,500 men, and the British 1,400. Stuart was surprised, and hence in a great measure the loss incurred, which principally fell on the 92nd, then principally composed of Irishmen, who fought with heroic valour. The fighting continued till nine in the evening, and Sir Roland Hill, who defended the valley of Bastan with the 2nd division and Hamilton's Portuguese, abandoned the pass of Maya to the enemy, and took post on the heights in rear of Irueta, fifteen miles from the scene of conflict. Thus, on the same day—the 25th July—the French forces had achieved three distinct successes—the repulse at San Sebastian, the abandonment of the pass of Roncesvalles, and the defeat at Maya.

Wellington, on arriving at Irueta, and seeing the reduced state of Stuart's division, indicated the valley of Lanz as the line of retreat, and then, riding at speed,* joined Picton, who, with his own and Cole's divisions, was returning to a position in front of Huerta, thus screening Pampeluna. There was some fighting on the 27th, but the French were repulsed in every attempt, and the following day, the fourth anniversary of the battle of Talavera, was signalized by a determined effort on the part of Soult to dislodge the British army, reinforced that morning by the 6th division.

The ridge between the valley of the Lanz and the Guy was occupied by Cole's 4th division and Campbell's Portuguese, while Byng's brigade was on a second ridge in reserve. Soult hoped, by a determined assault

* It is related that as the British Commander-in-chief, galloping in advance of his staff, rode alone up the mountain side, he was received with shouts of welcome by the Portuguese and British troops. A spy, who was present, pointed out to him Marshal Soult, who was directing the movements of Clausel's corps in pursuit, and Wellington was heard to say, as though in soliloquy:—"Yonder is a great commander, but he is cautious, and will delay his attack to ascertain the cause of these cheers; that will give time for the six divisions to arrive, and I shall beat him." This intuitive perception of the great soldier was justified, as Soult made no serious attack that day.

of Clausel's division, 16,000 strong, to dislodge Cole's column of only 5,000 men, while Reille, with two divisions, operated against a hill occupied by the 40th regiment, and supported the main attack, the divisions beyond the Guy keeping Picton in check.

Clausel turned Cole's left, and was proceeding to wheel up in his rear, when a Portuguese brigade, suddenly appearing from a rise, drove the enemy back, and almost at the same time, the 6th division, emerging from behind the same ridge, formed across the front, and these troops, seconded by two brigades of Cole's division, completed the enemy's discomfiture. Clausel's 2nd division attacked a chapel-crowned height on Cole's left, and drove back the 7th Cacadores, but the Portuguese infantry rallied on Ross's brigade, and the French in turn were sent down the hill. Again they ascended, only to be hurled back with great loss. But the other columns of attack came to their aid, and it was only when Lord Wellington brought Byng's brigade at a running pace, and sent against them the 27th and 48th regiments of Anson's brigade from the higher ground in the centre, which made three separate charges on the heavy masses, that the enemy were finally driven down the mountain side, those gallant regiments losing more than half their number in the conflict. Not more fortunate were Reille's brigades in their assault of the hill held by the 40th Foot, "that invincible regiment," as Napier well calls it. Four times the Frenchmen charged the 40th, the flank of which was covered by a Portuguese battalion, only to be repulsed on each occasion with dreadful slaughter, and at length this "bludgeon work," as Wellington calls it, was brought to an end by the exhaustion of the French soldiers. Out of 25,000 men engaged they lost two generals and 1,800 men, according to their own official reports, the loss of the allies, who only numbered 12,000 actual combatants, being 2,600.

Both armies remained inactive on the 29th July, but as Lord Wellington was reinforced to a strength of 30,000 men, Soult resigned all hope of penetrating his adversary's line at this point for the relief of Pampeluna, but decided on the hazardous plan of prolonging his right and placing himself between the allies and the Bastan valley, thus hoping to relieve San Sebastian. He commenced this movement on the evening of the 29th, but Wellington resolved to fall upon him on the march. Accordingly, Lord Dalhousie, with the 7th division, directed his march over the hills beyond the Lanz river, on the French right, and Picton turned their left by gaining the valley of the Zubiri, while Cole attacked Foy at Zabaldeca. Meanwhile the 6th division, now commanded by Pakenham, in place of Pack, wounded on the 28th, with Byng's brigade, was directed to assault the village of Sanroren, whence Soult had directed his attack in the last action. These movements were rewarded by complete success. Sanroren

was carried by Byng, who made 1,400 prisoners, and Foy retired into the Alduides by the pass of Urtiaga. Inglis, with 500 men of the 7th division, broke at one shock two regiments of Clausel's right, and the latter, now joined by La Martinière's division, was driven by Wellington up the valley of the Lanz as far as Olague, and the English Commander-in-chief halted near Oztiz.

In the fighting on this day the allies lost 1,900 men, killed, wounded and captured, of whom 1,200 were Portuguese, who bore the brunt of the action; and the enemy had 2,000 casualties, and 3,000 prisoners were taken. This blow reduced Soult's effective strength to 35,000, of which the 15,000 under Clausel and Reille were greatly dispirited by defeat. On the 31st July, General Hill overtook Soult's vanguard between Lizasso and the Puerto, and Stewart led the second division, now, for the third time, engaged with D'Erlon's troops, but was wounded, and his first brigade repulsed. General Pringle, who succeeded to the command, however, broke the enemy with the second brigade, the 34th regiment leading, and the seventh division did the same on the right. In this action the allies lost 400 men.

The seventh division remained on the mountain, but General Hill fell back over rugged paths, and joined Lord Wellington in the Bastan Valley. His lordship occupied the hills through which the road leads from Elizondo to San Estevan, and made his dispositions for surprising Soult, who had taken post in a deep, narrow valley; but three marauding English soldiers, who entered the valley and fell into the hands of the French, marred his well-laid plans, and Soult hastily moved away from San Estevan. As Napier remarks :—"Thus the disobedience of three plundering knaves, unworthy the name of soldiers, deprived our consummate commander of the most splendid success, and saved another from the most terrible disasters." But though d'Erlon's divisions escaped, and only Clausel's, forming the rear-guard, suffered somewhat heavily near Sumbrilla, Reille was not equally fortunate.

The Light division, making a forced march of nineteen consecutive hours, over forty miles of mountain roads, in which many men who had braved the dangers and fatigues of the war, died of exhaustion or fell out, arrived first at the pass near the bridge of Yanzi, over the Bidassoa. Numbers of the French were killed by the British fire or forced to surrender, the baggage was cut off, but the great body of the enemy escaped by the road to Echallar, where Soult rallied his broken divisions on the morning of the 2nd August. But Wellington was dissatisfied at the results of his combinations, which, had they been properly carried out, would have resulted in the complete destruction of the French army. On the same day, he again pressed Soult fiercely, and Barnes's brigade of the seventh division, handled by that intrepid officer, drove from their strong position in the mountains, Clausel's division, four times their

strength, but dispirited by the defeats of the 28th and 30th July, and of the previous day at Sumbrilla.

Clausel fell back to a strong ridge beyond the pass of Echallar, on the Ivantelly Mountain, from which he was driven by a portion of the Light division, advancing from the Santa Barbara heights. This day's fighting cost the British 400 men, and Lord Wellington narrowly escaped capture, and indeed only got away by the activity of Sergeant Blood, of his escort of half a company of the 43rd regiment, who ran down the precipitous rocks to give him notice of the approach of the enemy, thus enabling him to escape by the fleetness of his horse.

Soult now occupied the position from which he had made his unsuccessful irruption, and the two armies rested after nine days' continuous fighting, during which they had fought ten actions. The allies had lost about 7,300 killed, wounded or taken, and Wellington placed Soult's losses at 15,000, and a French authority sets them down at 13,000, the chief sufferers being the division of Maucune, reduced to 1,000 out of 5,000, and those of Conroux and La Martinière.

Lord Wellington now renewed the siege of San Sebastian, which, owing to the inefficient blockade maintained by the British navy, had been kept well supplied with provisions and reinforcements. On the 26th August, sixty-three breaching guns and mortars opened on the devoted place, and on the 30th, an assault was delivered under the direction of Sir Thomas Graham.

Lord Wellington thought the fifth division had been discouraged, and demanded fifty volunteers from each of the fifteen regiments composing the first, fourth and Light divisions, "men who could show other troops how to mount a breach." These troops were to form a lodgment in the long extended breach, and the fifth division, under Sir James Leith, was ordered to attack from the side of the isthmus. But Leith would not suffer the 750 volunteers to lead the assault, which was confided to General Robinson's brigade, formed in two columns, one to assault the old breach between the towers, the second to attack the bastion of St. John and the end of the high curtain. The small breach on the extreme right was left for Bradford's Portuguese.

Between 8 and 11, a heavy fire was kept up on the enemy's works, and at that time Robinson's brigade, passing through the openings in the sea-wall, advanced to the assault. A party of twelve men, under a sergeant, attempted to cut the *saucisson* of the enemy's mine, which was exploded prematurely, but were killed, together with forty men upon whom the high sea-wall fell, and the "forlorn hope," under Lieutenant Macguire, of the 4th regiment, who had passed the mine, were slain in mounting the great breach. The stormers pushed on, and a second mine was exploded with deadly effect at a re-entering angle of the bastion with the hornwork. Thus decimated, the head of the first

column gained the top of the great breach, but the French fire was so deadly from the loopholed walls and the guns of Monte Orgullo, that for them progress was impossible. The scene at the attack on the half-bastion of St. John was equally terrible, and an attempt to make a lodgment by some sappers and a working party, failed for lack of materials, the men being nearly all killed.

The reserve brigade of the fifth division was pushed on to feed the attack until the left wing of the 9th regiment only remained in the trenches, and at length the 750 volunteers, who had been asking why they were brought there if not to lead the assault, were let loose, and, swarming up the face of the ruins, met with the same fate as their predecessors.

Sir Thomas Graham, viewing the scene of carnage and bootless self-sacrifice, turned the fire of his guns on the hornwork, and at the end of half an hour, the 13th Portuguese, led by Major Snodgrass, and the 24th Foot, under Colonel Macbean, entered the river, which was waist high, and landing on the bank under a heavy fire, rushed on the third breach. Macbean's men now got to the great breach, but it was only to add fresh victims. At this crisis an unexpected accident occurred. A number of powder barrels and live shells caught fire behind the traverses, hundreds of French soldiers were killed, the rest were thrown into confusion, in the midst of which the British stormers broke in at the first traverse. The gallant defenders rallied, and a fierce struggle took place along the summit of the high curtain. But the assailants were reinforced, the enemy were compelled to abandon the loopholed wall behind the great breach and the hornwork, and the Light division, who had established themselves on the ruins on the French left, penetrated to the streets, and the Portuguese burst in at the small breach. Thus was concluded the sanguinary struggle which had lasted for five hours, and in which it is difficult to admire most, the devotion of the assailants, or the stubborn valour of the defenders.

The disgraceful scenes that prevailed at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz were re-enacted at San Sebastian, and to lust, rapine and drunkenness, were added murder and most revolting cruelty. The bonds of discipline were loosed, and British officers were even fired upon by their own men. In the assault, Sir Richard Fletcher, Chief Engineer of the army and constructor of the lines of Torres Vedras, was slain, and his second in command, Colonel Burgoyne, and Generals Leith, Oswald and Robinson were wounded. The loss sustained this day was 2,573 killed and wounded. The gallant Rey had withdrawn with 1,300 men, the remnant of his garrison, to the castle on Monte Orgullo and the fortified convent of Santa Teresa, and Lord Wellington, who arrived on the following day, directed batteries to be formed on the captured works of the town. A heavy fire was main-

tained from fifty-nine battering guns, which silenced the enemy's fire, and at length, on the 9th September, the gallant General Rey marched out with the honours of war, his garrison reduced to one-third their original number, and leaving 500 wounded behind him. Thus was concluded this memorable and sanguinary siege, after sixty-three days of open trenches.

Soult had made an effort to raise the siege of San Sebastian, by attacking the left of the allies by the mountain road of Irun, on the very day the fortress fell. The Upper Bidassoa, flowing from Vera, separated the hostile armies, and against this front, nine miles in extent, he directed his attack. His object was to gain Oyarzun, about eight miles beyond the Bidassoa, whence he could march on Passagas and the Urumea. Wellington had been reinforced by the Foot Guards from Oporto, and a fresh brigade from England, under Lord Aylmer, and made his dispositions to meet two strong columns of attack, one, under Clausel, of 20,000 men, with twenty guns, and the second, under Reille, of 18,000 men, including Villatte's reserve. About 18,000 troops, exclusive of the fourth division near at hand, were opposed to this army, including 6,000 Spaniards, under Freyre, who were established on the crest of San Marcial, which must of necessity be won before the enemy could use the great road.

Reille, fording the river, directed the attack of this position with three divisions, but was driven down the mountain side. Villatte's reserve now advanced to his assistance, and the left of the Spanish line was shaken, when the 85th regiment, of Aylmer's brigade, advanced in support, and Lord Wellington, appearing on the scene, was greeted with wild shouts by the Spanish soldiers, who renewed the conflict and drove the enemy into the river.

Meanwhile General Clausel had made an attack from the side of Vera, but was met by Inglis's brigade, and a Portuguese brigade from the heights of Santa Barbara. The former lost twenty-two officers and 270 men, but was reinforced by Kempt's brigade of the Light division, and Lord Dalhousie was directed to bring his division to the aid of that gallant officer. Clausel now recrossed the Bidassoa, and Soult withdrew the division of Reille, having lost in these actions, the last he fought on Spanish soil, 3,600 men, and one general killed and four wounded, including La Martinière, mortally. The allies lost 1,000 Anglo-Portuguese, and 1,600 Spaniards. Soult now determined to stand on the defensive, for the Emperor gave him to understand that he could send no assistance, and Suchet refused to do so.

The Duke of Albufera had evacuated Tarragona, and managed to surprise Lord William Bentinck's outposts at Ordal, where the Spanish troops were worsted after maintaining a good fight, in which they were assisted by a British brigade under Adams, who was

wounded. Bentinck now resigned the command to Sir William Clinton and returned to Sicily, and Suchet continued to maintain himself in Catalonia.

Wellington now resolved to cross the Bidassoa, into French territory, and on the 7th September, Sir Thomas Graham forded the river below the bridge of Irun, with the 1st and 5th divisions and Wilson's Portuguese, while the Spaniards crossed under Freyre. The French were completely surprised, and their redoubts were captured in succession, the 9th regiment, under Colonel Cameron, being specially conspicuous, and suffered in proportion. The Guards and Germans above the bridge were also equally successful against Reille, who retreated before them, until Soult brought up Villatte's reserve, and restored order. At the same time, the Light division, under Baron Charles Alten, with Longa's Spaniards, crossed the frontier line on the right, and attacked the entrenchments and works on the Rhune mountain. The 43rd and 17th Portuguese, under Kempt, moved on the right of Vera, Colborne with Skerrett's brigade moved on the left of the town, while Giron's Spaniards descended from Ivantelly, and Cole's division remained in reserve on the heights of Santa Barbara. The enemy's works were captured, and Giron's Spaniards, supported by part of the 7th division, assailed and carried the posts in the Rhune mountain. But they were beaten back in an attempt to storm the Hermitage, notwithstanding the example and efforts of William Havelock,* a dashing cavalry officer on Alten's staff, who, spurring his horse over the abatis, led them forward in person.

On the following morning, Wellington, having reconnoitred the mountain from the side of Sarre, ordered the Spaniards and the 7th division to attack the enemy in that direction. This was successfully carried out, the Spaniards displaying great dash, and Clausel, alarmed for his rear, abandoned the mountain during the night. This passage of the Bidassoa† has always been regarded as one of the most skilful and boldest of Wellington's operations, as the river, the sands of which were half a mile broad at the mouth, could only be forded at low water. Soult was completely surprised and out-generalled. His loss during the three days' fighting was 1,400, and that of the allies 1,600. Sir Thomas Graham‡ was now recalled to take command of an inde-

* This officer was brother of the famous Sir Henry Havelock, and was known to the Spaniards as *el chico blanco* (the fair boy). Colonel Havelock fell at the cavalry action at Ramnuggur, in the Punjaub campaign of 1849.

† The first officer to cross the Bidassoa and plant his foot on French soil, was Captain Henry Willshire, commanding the Light Companies of the Seventh Division. (*See* Memoir of Sir Thomas Willshire, Bart., G.C.B., in "Soldiers of the Victorian Age," by C. R. Low. Two vols. Chapman and Hall.)

‡ Sir Thomas Graham landed in Holland in January, 1814, with 8,000 men, to co-operate with a Prussian division under Bulow, and undertook the siege of Antwerp,

pendent expedition to the Scheldt, and Sir John Hope, whom Wellington described as "the ablest officer in the army," became second in command. Soult now formed a chain of entrenchments between the sea and the bridge of Cambo, on the Nive, with his headquarters at St. Jean de Luz, and an entrenched camp at Serres, on the right bank of the Nivelle, with a strong chain of works on the opposite bank of that river. His whole force was computed to muster 79,000 men, of which the garrisons absorbed 13,000, while Wellington had under his orders over 100,000, of whom 73,000 were British and Portuguese.

Lord Wellington established his headquarters at Vera, and continued the investment of Pampeluna, held by Maucune for a period of four months, with desperate tenacity. At length famine had done its work, and on the 31st October, the place was surrendered to Espina, commanding the blockading force, together with its garrison of 3,000 men, and Wellington gained without bloodshed one of the strongest fortresses in the Peninsula.

The allied army was organized into three grand divisions—the right, with Mina's and Morilla's divisions, numbering 26,000 men and nine guns, under Hill, was collected in Bastan to attack d'Erlon; the centre, numbering 36,000 men and twenty-four guns, assembled in the Echellar

of which the famous Carnot was appointed Governor by Napoleon. The allies bombarded the city between the 3rd and 5th February, but then Bulow was called away to assist in the operations against Napoleon, and Graham, unable to carry on the siege unaided, retired to his former cantonments. Graham now undertook the hazardous task of carrying by assault the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, the principal bulwark of Holland, which had been regarded as impregnable. At 10.30 on the night of the 8th March, four columns, 3,300 strong, advanced to the attack, but the garrison, some 2,700 men, recovering from their surprise, made a most determined resistance. General Skerrett, commanding the right attack, seized the water-gate, but he was wounded, and Brigadier Gore and Colonel Carlton were killed, and the column fell back in disorder. The left attack, under General Cooke, escaladed the Orange bastion, and maintained their footing throughout the night, but Colonel Morrice, commanding one column, and Colonel Elphinstone, of the 33rd regiment, were both killed, and the troops had to retreat. In this disastrous affair, the British loss was 800 killed, and 1,800 prisoners. After this failure General Graham undertook no further operations in the field. Sir Thomas Graham was one of the three Corps Commanders throughout the Peninsular War, Beresford and Hill being the others, and was one of the bravest and most trusted generals of Wellington's army. He commanded at Barrosa, and San Sebastian, and at Vittoria led the wing which encountered the most stubborn resistance. A romantic incident in early life was the means of causing him to embrace the military profession. When quite a young man he lost his wife, to whom he was passionately attached. This preyed so deeply on his mind that, to divert his thoughts, he sought "the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth," and his calm stoical courage was the theme of general comment. Thus what was his loss was his country's gain. His successor, Sir John Hope, was not less conspicuous for valour, and, like Marshal Beresford, was remarkable for his gigantic stature and personal strength.

and Rhune mountains, was commanded by Beresford ; and the left, under Hope, composed of 19,000 combatants, with fifty-four guns, was opposed to Soult's right wing, and extended its sphere of action to the sea.

Battle of the Nivelle.—10th November, 1813.

Urged by the British Government, in order to assist the allied operations in Germany, Lord Wellington, on the 10th November, marched to attack the redoubts in front of the Sarre, the salient points of the French position between Rhune and the Nivelle. The action was commenced by the Light division advancing against the Rhune mountain, which was easily cleared of the enemy by the 43rd and 52nd regiments. In this affair General Kempt was severely wounded, but refused to quit the field, and Alten awaited, in his conquered position, the progress of the enemy on his right. At the same time, the 4th and 7th divisions advanced, in the teeth of the fire of eighteen guns, against the redoubt of San Barbe and Granada, and the enemy evacuated the works when these divisions carried the village of Sarre, and advanced to the attack of Clausel's main position. Meanwhile Hope menaced all the French lines in the low ground, and Hill, after a long and difficult march, was in a position to attack at eleven o'clock.

The 2nd division pushed back d'Armagnac's brigade, and the 6th division, under Clinton, on the extreme left, drove d'Erlon from the works covering the bridge and captured the redoubt, the 2nd division and Hamilton's Portuguese capturing other redoubts. The French were thus driven from all their works, and Conroux's division was forced from the village and heights of Sarre by the 4th and 7th divisions, while the 3rd division, on their right, gained the bridge of Amotz, where Conroux fell mortally wounded. D'Erlon abandoned his position, thus severing his connection with Clausel, who stood firm, with Taupin's and Maransin's divisions, but the latter was driven into the ravines behind his position, and the Light division coming up, captured the entrenchments held by Taupin, who had only four regiments unbroken. In this attack Colonel Barnard, a most intrepid officer, fell dangerously wounded. At length Taupin was overwhelmed by the superior force sent against him, and fell back. The rout was now complete, and the French fled to the different bridges over the Nivelle. The signal redoubt was the last carried, but its capture cost the noble 52nd regiment, led by the gallant Colborne, 200 men, as three times they strove to carry the work, which was defended by a ditch thirty feet wide.

Soult now hurried up to the camp at Serres with his reserves to menace the allied left flank, and Wellington, when he was assured of Clinton's progress with the 6th division, crossed the Nivelle with the 3rd and 7th divisions, and drove Maransin from his new position after a severe struggle, in which the 51st and 68th regiments suffered heavily. By the time darkness had come on, three divisions of the British centre were established in the rear of Soult's right wing. The 5th division had carried the camp of Sans Culottes, on the right of Reille's entrenchments, early in the morning, and the second advanced position, called the Bons Secours, was taken by Halkett's Germans and the Guards. The 1st division, on the right, then menaced the camp at Belchena, and, meanwhile, on their right, Freyre's and Longa's Spaniards engaged the enemy, and thus Reille's two divisions, and Villatte's reserves, and the troops in the camp at Serres were prevented from aiding Clausel, who was then overpowered. Reille withdrew into St. Jean de Luz, destroying all the bridges on the lower Nivelle, when Villatte fell back from the camp above Ascain, which the Spaniards had entered, and the whole retired at daybreak towards Bayonne.

On the 11th November, the allied army advanced in order of battle: Hope on the left, fording the river above St. Jean de Luz, took post at Bidart; Beresford in the centre, occupied Arbonne and the hill of San Barbe; and Hill, on the right, made a demonstration against the works at Cambo and Ustaritz, which were successfully held by Foy.

Soult lost at the battle of the Nivelle, one general killed, and 4,265 officers and men, including over 1,200 prisoners, also fifty-one guns and his field magazines. In driving the French from their strong positions the allies had two generals, Kempt and Byng, wounded, and 2,694 officers and men *hors de combat*, including Colonel Lloyd, commanding the 84th regiment, a promising and most gallant soldier.

Very inclement weather now set in, preventing military operations, but General Hill compelled the French commander to evacuate the Cambo passage across the Nive. As Commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, Lord Wellington took strong measures to stop the marauding and plundering excesses of the Spanish troops. He sent back into Spain the divisions of Giron, Freyre, and Longa, retaining only Morillo's, and disarmed Mina's insubordinate battalions. Sir Edward Pakenham, the Adjutant-general, also summarily executed some marauders of the Anglo-Portuguese army. Wellington established his headquarters at St. Jean de Luz, and the troops went into cantonments, but there were frequent skirmishes.

Battles of the Nive.—9th—13th December, 1813.

On the weather improving, Wellington, whose cavalry, numbering 8,000 sabres, and 100 guns, were cramped in the narrow space we occupied, resolved to cross the Nive. On the morning of the 9th December, Beresford, leading the 3rd and 6th divisions, crossed that river at Ustaritz, by a pontoon bridge he had laid down the previous night, and at the same time, Hill, with the 2nd division, Hamilton's Portuguese, and Vivian's and Victor Alten's cavalry, with fourteen guns, forded the river in three columns below Cambo, the French offering but slight resistance, and Morillo also crossed at another point. Hill, leaving a brigade to cover the bridge at Cambo, sent his cavalry to scour the roads, and continued his march to the heights of Lormenthon, where he was joined by the 6th division, the 3rd remaining to protect the bridge of Ustaritz. About one o'clock Soult arrived on the field from Bayonne, situated at the confluence of the Nive and Adour, and offered battle, his line being extended so as to bar the high road. Meanwhile, Sir John Hope and Charles Alten, with the 1st, 5th, and Light divisions, Vandeleur's cavalry, and twelve guns, in all some 24,000 men, were engaged on the left bank of the Nive, against the entrenched camp between that river and the sea, defended by six divisions. Hope, having twelve miles to march before he could reach the French works, moved during the night, about eight o'clock crossed the valley towards Biarritz, and soon after noon, arrived in front of the entrenched camp, his left resting on the Lower Adour, and his right being in communication with Alten, who had a shorter *détour* to make. By this movement Hope kept in check a much superior force, which might otherwise have reinforced d'Erlon. At nightfall the allies fell back towards their original positions, each side having lost about 800 men.

Soult resolved to fall with his whole force on one of the wings of Wellington's army, now divided by the Nive. With this object he crossed d'Erlon's four divisions over the bridge of boats between Bayonne and the entrenched camp, posting them behind Clausel's corps, thus concentrating 60,000 men to assail half that number. Lord Wellington, unsuspicious of this counter-attack, was preparing to assault the heights in Hill's front. Hope's troops, except Campbell's (formerly Wilson's) Portuguese, had retired to their cantonments, the 1st division was at St. Jean de Luz, six miles distant from the outposts, the 5th was between it and Bidart, and the Light division was returning to Arbonne a distance of four miles, and part of the 2nd brigade had already

marched, when, fortunately, General Kempt, somewhat suspicious of the enemy's movements, delayed obedience until he could see what was going on in his front. This delay, as the event proved, saved the position, which Wellington had taken the precaution to order to be entrenched, though little had been done in this line.

Soon after dawn, Clausel's infantry fell upon the pickets of the 43rd regiment, but not before Kempt had placed the reserves of his brigade in the church and mansion-house of Arcangues, and a fierce fight ensued, the veterans of the 43rd and 52nd tenaciously holding their ground until they were reinforced by the rest of the division. At Barrouilhet, Reille advanced about nine o'clock with two divisions, drove back Campbell's Portuguese, and assailed the ridge, but owing to the heavy roads, their march was delayed, and the 1st division, and Lord Aylmer's brigade, with Bradford's Portuguese, were enabled to reach the ground from St. Jean de Luz in time to assist in repelling the enemy, though they were anticipated by Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which bore the brunt of the fighting. That gallant general was, however, dangerously wounded, and his brigade suffered severely, when Greville's brigade of the 5th division, hitherto in reserve, was brought up to relieve it. Reille was repulsed, but Foy still menaced Hope's flank at Barrouilhet, and Soult, about two o'clock, was preparing to renew the battle, when the Guards and Germans began to arrive from St. Jean de Luz, the 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 7th divisions approaching the scene of conflict from the other side of the Nive. These troops were brought over by Lord Wellington, who, on discovering at daybreak that the French had abandoned the heights in Hill's front, repaired thither, first ordering these divisions to cross to the assistance of their hardly-pressed countrymen.

During this day's action, the British and Portuguese lost 1,200 men killed and wounded, and about 300 made prisoners. The French had 2,000 men placed *hors de combat*, and at the close of the action three German regiments deserted to the allies. During the night of the 10th, Reille, Foy, and Villatte withdrew their divisions, uniting with Clausel's left and d'Erlon's reserve, and Soult entrenched his forces, fearing a counter-attack. About ten o'clock, the 9th regiment was rather severely handled, and about two, Darricau's and Boyer's divisions succeeded in penetrating the position about Barrouilhet, and much indiscriminate fighting took place in a coppice, in which Robinson's brigade and the 84th, which lost its colonel, suffered severely. However, the 9th regiment plied Boyer's flank with fire, and the 85th regiment, of Lord Aylmer's brigade, came into action, and the troops, encouraged by their gallant leader, Sir John Hope, "conspicuous for his gigantic stature and heroic courage," drove the enemy back from Barrouilhet. In this day's action, each side lost about 600 men.

among the wounded being Sir John Hope, who received a bullet in the ankle.

The fighting was resumed about ten o'clock on the following day (12th December), but it was of a desultory character, and the great body of the French army remained quietly in their positions. Soult, leaving two divisions and Villatte's reserve in his entrenched camp, marched with the remaining seven divisions over the Nive to Mousseroles, to attack Hill. Wellington, being in need of reinforcements, brought forward across the frontier a division of Galicians and one of Andalusians, the former to support Hope, and the latter to protect the rear of his army from the cavalry of Pierre Soult and the infantry of Paris.

Meanwhile, Hill had taken up a position at St. Pierre, having a front of two miles, the 3rd Buffs occupying a height on the extreme right, and Pringle's brigade, consisting of the 28th, 34th, and 39th regiments, a wooded and broken range on the left. To meet Soult's assault with 35,000 men, Hill had less than 14,000, with fourteen guns, in position, exclusive of Vivian's cavalry and 4,000 Spanish under Morillo at Urcury; and on the morning of the 13th December, the rains of the previous night had carried away the allies' bridge across the Nive. Under cover of a heavy mist, Darricau directed his attack against Pringle, d'Armagnac advanced against the right under Byng, composed of the 3rd, 57th, 31st, and 68th regiments, while Abbé assailed the centre at St. Pierre, where General Stewart commanded. Abbé gained the top of the position, assisted by the fire of all the French guns, concentrated on the centre, and drove back the 71st and 50th regiments and Ashworth's Portuguese; but Barnes brought up the 92nd, which forced the enemy to give ground. Soult, however, sent a second column of attack, and the gallant Highlanders fell back to their old position behind St. Pierre. At this time the situation became serious. The British had given ground on the extreme right, thus enabling d'Armagnac to turn Byng's regiments on that side. Pringle was maintaining an unequal fight against Darricau, and now Foy's and Maransin's divisions were advancing to Abbé's support.

Hill, who had taken post on a mound in the rear, descended, and ordering back to the centre the 71st regiment, which had retreated, led in person one brigade of Le Cor's reserve Portuguese to the same quarter, and sent the second, under Stewart, against d'Armagnac. But the battle seemed hopelessly lost, notwithstanding the gallantry of the Portuguese of Ashworth's brigade, who fell severely wounded, and of the 50th and 92nd regiments, which nobly upheld their hereditary renown. The losses were heavy, and Barnes, who had before been wounded, was shot through the body. By noon, Soult's right wing was repulsed by Pringle, his left was giving way before Buchan's

Portuguese, the Buffs had rallied, and the attack against Byng had failed. At this crisis, the bridge having been restored, the sixth division, which had been marching since daybreak, appeared in the rear of the British centre at St. Pierre, followed by the fourth and third divisions, and two brigades of the seventh were coming up. Lord Wellington arrived with the first of these troops; but the day had been won, and it only remained for him to congratulate his gallant lieutenant. At two o'clock the whole British line advanced, and the French retreated, fighting, towards the Adour.

In this hard-fought action Soult lost 3,000 men, making a total in the five days' fighting of 6,000 casualties, while the British loss was three generals and 1,500 men, the total, including 500 prisoners, being 5,019, of whom five were generals—Hope, Robinson, Barnes, Le Cor, and Ashworth. During the remainder of the year only skirmishing took place between the rival armies, which maintained their respective positions.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE PENINSULAR WAR—(*continued*).

1814.

The War in Catalonia—Passage of the Adour—Battle of Orthes—Actions of Aire, Vic Bigorre, and Tarbes—French Retreat on Toulouse—Movements of the Rival Armies—Battle of Toulouse—Retreat of Soult and Occupation of Toulouse—Sortie at Bayonne—Termination of the Peninsular War.

WHILE Wellington was establishing a footing in the south of France, Napoleon experienced a series of reverses at Leipsic, due to the treachery of the Saxon troops, the Prussians having already deserted his standard, and at Dresden, where Gouvion St. Cyr surrendered, while even his brother-in-law, Murat, joined the Austrians, and two of his most trusted marshals deserted the master who had made them. Finally, a successful insurrection in favour of the Prince of Orange broke out in Holland, where Louis shared the same fate that befell Joseph in Spain. But the great soldier, who had so long held Europe spellbound by his vast combinations and brilliant strategy, remained undaunted amid the difficulties accumulating around him, and never did his unequalled military genius shine forth with greater lustre than at this period, when, with dwindling legions, he hurled back the multitudinous allied armies crossing the Rhine, and taught the ancient foes and false allies leagued against him that, lion-like, he was never so truly great as when he was brought to bay.

Meanwhile, in Catalonia the struggle continued between Suchet and Sir William Clinton, commanding the combined forces of Anglo-Sicilians, Whittingham's and Sarsfield's Spaniards, and two battalions of Roche's division, in all about 19,000 combatants, in addition to the independent corps of Copons and Elio, some 30,000 men. Suchet had under his command 65,000 troops, and inflicted a surprise on the allies at Ordal; but the operations were of a desultory character, Clinton maintaining his position at Tarragona, and the Duke of Albufera, his at Barcelona.

But Napoleon's necessities demanded the recall of 10,000 of Suchet's veterans into France, while his German troops were disbanded as un-

reliable, and the Italians were recalled. In March, 1814, Suchet destroyed or dismantled his fortresses, and concentrated his forces at Figueras, where he was followed by Copons, and the allies maintained the blockade of Barcelona.

On the 12th March, Clinton received orders from Wellington to break up his army, send the foreign troops to Lord William Bentinck in Sicily, and march with the British battalions by Tudela to join him in France. But as Suchet was still in considerable strength, the Anglo-Sicilians remained for the present, and on the 24th March, Ferdinand, for whose restoration Suchet had been intriguing with Copons, passed the Fluvia river in presence of the Catalonian and French armies, and became once more King of Spain. Ferdinand reached Clinton's camp at Barcelona on the 30th, and then proceeded to Saragossa and Valencia. Suchet, to whom the king had promised the restoration of his fortresses, repassed the Pyrenees, leaving 12,000 men in Spain, of which one division was at Figueras, and a garrison held Tortoza. In April a portion of Clinton's troops embarked at Tarragona, and the remainder joined Lord Wellington, and on the 28th May, when all the French garrisons had returned safely to France, General Herbert surrendered Barcelona to the Spanish general, Copons, and marched to his own country. Thus concluded the war in Catalonia, where Clinton had maintained a forward position for eight months against superior numbers, notwithstanding the incapacity and ill-will of his Spanish colleagues. Ferdinand, for whom the Spanish nation had made sacrifices and spilt so much blood, displayed all the ingratitude and imbecility of his race, and no long time elapsed before he restored the Inquisition, abolished the liberty of the press, and entered on the career of a cruel and hateful despot.

In the second week of February, 1814, the weather turned to a hard frost, making the roads practicable, and on the 13th, Wellington had under his orders 100,000 men, with 100 guns. Of these, 30,000 were Spaniards, the remainder being Anglo-Portuguese, of whom 10,000 were cavalry. Soult took the field with 35,000 men, including 3,000 cavalry, with forty guns, but this force was exclusive of his garrisons, his reserves, and the conscripts of the second levy; while the disparity was still more reduced by the deduction of 28,000 allied troops investing Bayonne.

On the 14th February, Hill marched with his corps of 20,000 men and sixteen guns, in two columns, one to drive the French posts beyond the Joyeuse, and the second against Harispe, who was at Hellette, while Morillo moved on the same point with his Spaniards. The line of the Joyeuse was turned, and Harispe, retiring from Hellette with 4,000 men, took up a new position on the Garris mountain, covering the upper line of the Biduze. Wellington, anxious to turn this position

before Soult could strengthen himself there, directed Pringle, with the 28th and 39th regiments, to attack the enemy, observing, "You must take the hill before dark." The troops, the 39th, commanded by O'Callaghan, leading, covered by the thick wood, gained, with small loss, the summit of the mountain, but Pringle and most of the mounted officers were wounded. But the French rallied, and a struggle with the bayonet ensued, until Harispe, seeing Le Cor's Portuguese advancing against the centre, retreated to St. Palais, and broke down the bridges over the Biduze. In this action the allies lost 160 men, and the enemy about 500, including 200 prisoners. Meanwhile, Picton moved on Hill's left, and Beresford approached the Biduze, facing Taupin and Foy, so Soult changed his dispositions, abandoning the line of that river and the Soissons, and taking the line of the Gave d'Oleron and Gave de Mauleon, while d'Erlon passed the Adour.

The British occupied the abandoned positions. Hope, with the assistance of Admiral Penrose, undertook the passage of the Adour. He had two British and two Spanish divisions, besides three brigades of Portuguese infantry, and Vandeleur's cavalry, in all 28,000 men with twenty guns. At daybreak of the 23rd February, Hope commenced the difficult operation, 600 men of the Guards and 62nd regiment, under Colonel Stopford, flanked by the artillery, being the first to cross to the right bank. The flotilla, with the ship's boats, now acted in co-operation, and the whole of the 1st division, with Bradford's Portuguese, in all 8,000 men, were brought over without opposition, Thouvenot's force being only adequate to protect his entrenched camps on the other side of the Adour. By the 26th, a bridge of 26 *chasse-marées*, moored head and stern at a distance of forty feet, with a protecting boom, was constructed under Colonel Sturgeon and Major Todd, about three miles below Bayonne, where the river was contracted to 800 feet.

This undertaking, so quietly and admirably executed by the combined efforts of the British soldiers and sailors, has been justly regarded as one of the most stupendous and successful undertakings recorded in military history, and redounded not less to the credit of Wellington and the Engineer officers named. Sir John Hope now advanced against the French position outside Bayonne, the flanks of which were protected by ravines, with the ridge of St. Etienne in the centre, where a severe action was fought. The Germans and a brigade of Guards attacked the position with spirit, and drove the enemy from it with loss. In this action the allies had 500 killed and wounded, of whom 400 were Germans, as the brunt of the fighting fell on these gallant soldiers, who complained, with justice it would seem, that Sir John Hope omitted to notice their conduct in his despatch.

The siege of the citadel was now undertaken under the direction of the German colonel, Hartmann.

While these events were progressing before Bayonne, Wellington, on the 24th February, crossed the Gave d'Oleron at the fords of Montfort and Villeneuve, which Soult failed to defend, and the French divisions, under Clausel, d'Erlon, Foy, and Taupin, retired upon Orthes, in front of which the 2nd, 6th, and Light divisions, Hamilton's Portuguese, five regiments of cavalry, and three batteries were now massed. On the 26th, Beresford passed the Gave, and thus, after a circuitous march of more than fifty miles with his right wing, Wellington again united it with his centre, and secured a direct communication with Hope at Bayonne. On the 25th and 26th, he carefully reconnoitred Soult's position, and called up Freyre's Spaniards to strengthen him in the event of Suchet sending his colleague the reinforcements for which he was always, but in vain, asking.

Soult, at the last moment, made a new disposition of his forces. Reille, with Taupin's, Roguet's and Paris's divisions, commanded on the right, and occupied all the ground from the village of St. Boes to the centre, an open rounded hill. Count d'Erlon, with Foy's and d'Armagnac's divisions, was on Reille's left, Villatte's division furnished a reserve to both d'Erlon and Reille, while Harispe, whose division and Villatte's were under Clausel, occupied Orthes and the bridge. Thus the French army extended from St. Boes to Orthes. Soult placed twelve guns with Harispe, twelve upon the round hill in the centre, and sixteen in reserve on the Dax road. On the British side, Beresford, with the 4th and 7th divisions and Vivian's cavalry, approached the Dax road beyond the ridge of St. Boes. Hill remained with the 2nd division and Le Cor's Portuguese, menacing the bridge of Orthes, and Wellington formed a central reserve, consisting of the 3rd and 6th divisions, under Picton, and placed the 8th division behind a Roman camp crowning an isolated hill, in front of the French centre. Wellington's plan of battle was to assail the French flanks along the ridges overlapping their right beyond, and seize the road of St. Sever, while Hill passed the Gave at Souars, and cut off the road to Pau, thus enclosing the beaten army in Orthes.*

* Sir William Fraser, in his reminiscences of Wellington, published the following incident, proving how absolutely his French enemies relied on his honour :—"Before the battle of Orthes, the bridge over the Gave de Pau had been passed by the French army. The Duke sent a note to Marshal Soult, saying :—'That a battle would, of course, take place on the following day, but that as it was desirable in the interests of the inhabitants of Orthes not to destroy the bridge, he promised that, if Marshal Soult would abstain from blowing it up, no soldiers of the British army should cross it.' Soult trusted him and the bridge is to this day intact."

Battle of Orthes.—27th February, 1814.

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 27th February, Lord Wellington commenced the real attack on the enemy's positions, which had been preluded by some skirmishing by the 3rd division on the right, and the 3rd and 6th divisions won, without difficulty, the lower part of the ridges in front of them. Still little progress was made, and a detachment of Picton's, extended to his left, was driven back in confusion. But the main battle was fought on the other side, where Sir Lowry Cole assailed St. Boes with a British brigade under Ross, and a Portuguese brigade. The resistance was obstinate in the extreme, but five times Ross penetrated to the open ground beyond the village, only to be driven back by the French artillery. Ross was dangerously wounded, and Taupin's division triumphed. After three hours' desperate fighting, the Portuguese brigade gave way in confusion, and the British troops were forced to retreat through St. Boes.

Soult now put his reserves in motion to complete his success, with the exclamation, "At last I have him!" But he had counted without reckoning on the inexhaustible fertility of resource of his ever-victorious antagonist. Suddenly changing his plan of battle, Wellington, supporting Ross with Anson's brigade, backed both with the 7th division and Vivian's cavalry, and ordered the 3rd and 6th divisions to be thrown in mass upon Foy's left flank, and despatched the 52nd regiment, from the Roman camp, to assail the flank and rear of the enemy, engaged with the 4th division at St. Boes. Colonel Colborne (afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Seaton), led his gallant regiment over low, marshy ground, in which they sank at every step almost to the knees, and ascending the heights beyond, dashed beyond Foy and Taupin, opened the defile of St. Boes, and threw the enemy into confusion by the suddenness of his attack. General Bechaud, of Taupin's division, was killed, Foy was dangerously wounded, and the disorder spreading to Reille's wing, he also was forced back and compelled to take a new position. Wellington seized the critical moment, and pushed the 4th and 7th divisions, and Vivian's cavalry, with two batteries of artillery, through the narrow pass behind St. Boes, and spread a front beyond.

Meantime the 3rd and 6th divisions had won d'Armagnac's position, and continuing the advance, the wings of the army were united. Soult, who thus found all his anticipations of victory reversed, rallied all his forces on the open hills beyond the Dax road, and strove to reform Foy's disordered division. Hill, who had remained with 12,000 men before the bridge of Orthes, forded the river above the bridge at Souars,

and secured the heights above, thus cutting off the enemy from the road to Pau and Orthes. Harispe now abandoned the town, and Soult, finding his whole position untenable, and his line of retreat on the road to St. Sever menaced, gave orders for a general retreat. Paris and d'Armagnac's divisions, which had given time to Foy and Taupin to rally, retired without confusion, covered in turn by Villatte; but as the danger of being cut off by Hill became greater, the movement in retreat became more hurried and confused. The British cavalry, under Sir Stapleton Cotton, sabred the enemy in their flight, and Lord Edward Somerset's hussars effected the capture of some prisoners. Soult, having managed to pass the Luy de Bearn, destroyed the wooden bridge, his loss in the battle being 4,000 men and six guns. The allies had 2,300 killed and wounded, among the latter being Generals Walker and Ross and Lord March, afterwards Duke of Richmond, and Lord Wellington, who was struck by a musket-ball just above the thigh, though it did not prevent him continuing the pursuit in person.

Soult retreated in the night to St. Sever, breaking down all the bridges in his rear, and at daylight, Wellington pursued in three columns, but was too late. The French marshal moved with the main body to Barcelona, higher up the Adour, d'Erlon with two divisions being on the right bank, and Clausel occupied Aire, on the other side of the river.

D'Erlon fell back to Barcelona, thus opening the road to Bordeaux, and the bulk of the British army halted on the right bank of the Adour until the bridges could be repaired, but Hill, on the left bank, on the 2nd March, marched to seize the magazines at Aire. There he found himself opposed by Clausel, who occupied a steep ridge covering the town, with Villatte's and Harispe's divisions. The British general attacked about two o'clock, and while Stewart fell on the French right with two brigades, a Portuguese brigade assailed their centre, the remainder of his troops following in the rear. The Portuguese were, however, driven back, when Stewart, who was opposed to Villatte, having won the heights, detached Barnes with the 50th and 92nd to their aid. Those distinguished regiments broke the French in turn, but they rallied and fought obstinately until the British were reinforced by Byng's brigade, when Harispe was driven over the river Lees, and Villatte through the town of Aire. Reille now brought up Roguet's division to Villatte's assistance, and the fight was continued till nightfall.

In this affair the British loss was 150, including General Barnes, wounded, and Colonel Hood killed, and the Portuguese lost about the same number. Soult took up a position covering Tarbes, and Beresford marched towards Bordeaux, which he entered on the 12th March, and was received by the Duke d'Angoulême and other adherents of Louis XVIII., who was formally proclaimed king. Beresford left Lord Dalhousie with the 7th division, to hold the city against the French troops

on the Garonne, and rejoined Wellington with the 4th division and Vivian's cavalry. Lord Dalhousie crossed the Garonne above the city, and intercepted the communications between General Decaen, appointed by Napoleon to command the army of the Garonne, and General l'Huillier, left in command by Soult, and on the 4th April, Dalhousie defeated the latter officer at Etauliers; fortunately 6,000 veteran troops, detached by Suchet, were delayed on the road until the 10th, or the result might have been disastrous for the English general.

Meanwhile, Wellington and Soult remained during March in observation of each other, their numbers being about equal. Soult could put into line 28,000 men, with 38 guns, and the allied force numbered 27,000 of all arms, including detachments at Pau and Roquefort, with 42 pieces of artillery. On the 13th March, Freyre, joined with 8,000 Spanish infantry and Ponsonby's heavy cavalry, arrived. Wellington, whose main body was concentrated round Aire on both banks of the Adour, directed Giron's and del Parque's Spanish divisions to enter France from Bastan, as he feared the reinforcement of Soult by Suchet's troops.

Soult took the initiative on the 13th and 14th March, but seeing the strength of his antagonist's position, on the 16th commenced to retreat on Toulouse, closely followed by Lord Wellington. At Vic Bigorre a division of d'Erlon's command, under Paris, came into collision with Sir Henry Picton, who had with him the German cavalry. Paris was soon driven back by the British infantry, but d'Armagnac's division coming up, the fight was renewed. Thereupon, d'Erlon, finding his right turned beyond the Adour by the Light division and the hussars, fell back beyond Vic Bigorre. In this action the Anglo-Portuguese loss was 250, including the gallant and accomplished Colonel Henry Sturgeon, of the Engineers, who was killed.

Again, on the 20th, Soult turned at bay on some heights, two or three miles behind Tarbes, which he still held with Clausel's corps. At daybreak the allied army moved on the enemy, the right, under Hill, along the high road, the left, under the Commander-in-chief, on the other side of the Adour by the road from Rabastens, while Sir Lowry Cole followed with the 4th division and Vivian's cavalry, sending detachments to watch Pierre Soult, who had been despatched by his brother, the marshal, with five regiments of cavalry, along the Trie road, with orders to cover the right flank.

On approaching Tarbes Wellington sent the Light division and the hussars to attack the centre of Harispe's division, while General Clinton made a flank movement against Harispe's right, and penetrated between him and the French main position. Meanwhile, on the opposite bank, Hill assailed the town and bridge of Tarbes, which was defended by Villatte. The fiercest episode of the fighting was

between the three rifle battalions of Alten's Light division and Harispe's left brigade, posted on a hill, and it was not without a determined effort to maintain this position, that the French at length gave way, and Harispe retired precipitately. Hill also forced the passage of the Adour at Tarbes, and Villatte retreated towards Tournay. It was the difficult nature of the country, intersected with deep ditches and enclosures, that prevented the British cavalry from attacking with effect during the retreat, which was checked on Clausel arriving at the main position, where four fresh divisions were drawn up. In this affair at Tarbes the allies lost only 120 killed and wounded, of whom twelve officers and eighty men belonged to the Rifle battalions.

Soult continued his retreat during the night on Toulouse, followed by the allied army in three columns, commanded by Lord Wellington, and Generals Beresford and Hill. By the 26th, the allies approached Toulouse, doing in seven days the distance of ninety miles, which Soult had covered in four. Hill crossed over to the right bank of the Garonne with his corps, forming the right wing of the army, but the wretched condition of the country rendered impracticable the passage of artillery, and he recrossed again to the left bank. This, however, caused a delay of some days, and owing to the swollen state of the Garonne, it was the 3rd April before Wellington was enabled to bridge the river at Grenade, 15 miles below Toulouse, when the 3rd, 4th, and 6th divisions, with Freyre's Spaniards, and three brigades of cavalry, under Beresford, crossed the river. On the 8th Wellington, taking the command in person, advanced to the heights of Fenouilhiet, five miles from the city. During the march the French and British cavalry came into collision, and the 18th Hussars greatly distinguished themselves by breaking the hostile squadrons, and capturing 100 prisoners. The British Light division crossed the river on the 9th April, and the Commander-in-chief resolved to attack on the following day, by which time Soult had greatly strengthened the defence of the city and suburbs, and fortified all the bridges over the canal at Languedoc. His position covered three sides of Toulouse, while his reserve manned the ramparts of the city. Hill, who was opposed to his left at St. Cyprien, could only communicate with the main body, under Lord Wellington, by a circuitous route of nearly twelve miles over a pontoon bridge, while Soult's left wing had short and direct communication with the centre by the great bridge of Toulouse.

By his able dispositions, Soult had compelled his adversary to make a flank march under fire, between the Ers river and Mount Rave on the eastern front, a range of fortified heights about two miles in extent, and then to carry the latter with a view of crossing the canal and establishing his army on the south side of Toulouse, where only the city could be assailed with any prospect of success. Reille defended

the suburb of St. Cyprien with Taupin's and Moransin's divisions. Darricau held the canal on the north, Harispe the works on the Mount Rave, with a brigade from Villatte's division, holding the hill of Pugade, and the two remaining divisions of infantry were formed in columns at points behind Mount Rave. Wellington's plan of attack was to menace St. Cyprien with Hill's corps, while the 3rd and Light divisions, with Freyre's Spaniards, being already on the left bank of the Ers, were to advance against the northern face of the city. The Spaniards, reinforced by the Portuguese artillery, were to carry the hill of Pugade. Beresford, with the 4th and 6th divisions, after passing the bridge of Croix d'Orade, was to move round the left of the hill and attack the platform of St. Sypiere. Freyre was then to assail the platform of Calvinet, when his left would be connected with Beresford's column by Ponsonby's dragoons.

Battle of Toulouse.—10th April, 1814.

The battle of Toulouse was begun at 2 A.M. on the 10th April, by the Light division passing the Garonne, and four hours later the whole army was in motion. On the right, Picton, at the head of the 3rd division, and Alten, with the Light division, drove the French advanced posts behind the works at the bridge, near the canal of Languedoc, and soon Freyre's Spanish division, 9,000 strong, were established on the Pugade, whence the Portuguese artillery opened a heavy fire on Calvinet, to a hornwork in which the French had retired. Meanwhile, Beresford, passing behind the Pugade, entered the marshy ground between the Ers and Mount Rave, and the French cavalry fell back behind the bridges, closely followed by the British and German horsemen. Freyre, while Beresford was still on the march, advanced in two lines, with a reserve, against the hornwork on Calvinet, but the fire they encountered was so close and deadly that the left wing and second line fell back in disorder, while the right wing, which had taken shelter in a hollow road, in parts twenty-five feet deep, was assailed by the French, who advanced from their works with exulting cries, and a fearful carnage ensued. The fugitive wing and reserve were brought up once more to the rescue of their comrades, but again they were repulsed, and finally fled in headlong flight until they found shelter behind Ponsonby's cavalry and the reserve artillery which Wellington brought up.

Meantime Picton met with a similar repulse. Contrary to orders, he had converted his false attack into a real one against the bridge of

Jumeaux, protected by works too high to be carried without ladders. In attempting this impossible task, the third division lost 400 men, Colonel Forbes of the 44th being killed, and General Brisbane, commanding the brigade, wounded. So far, therefore, the battle had gone against the assailants, who had been driven back with carnage from the hill of Pugade to the Garonne, and beyond that river, General Hill, though he had forced the first line of entrenchments covering St. Cyprien, could do no more than menace the second line, which was more contracted and strongly fortified.

Everything now depended upon Beresford's column, which, without artillery, owing to the nature of the ground, was making its slow and difficult way over a marshy country, broken with water-courses, under the fire of the enemy's artillery from Mount Rave. The task before this gallant column of less than 13,000 men was, indeed, one which only British soldiers could have been brought to carry out, for on leaving the flat, rising ground, there was posted in front, Berton's cavalry division, an impassable river on the left, and three divisions of infantry, in all some 15,000 combatants, with artillery, on the right flank. But Soult committed a tactical mistake which influenced the fortunes of the day. He ordered Taupin, whose division he had brought to reinforce his line at Mount Rave on the repulse of Picton and Freyre, to attack Beresford's advance, at the same time directing a regiment of Vial's cavalry to intercept the line of retreat, while Berton's horsemen assailed the other flank. Instead of attacking at once, Taupin took ground to his right, waiting until Beresford, having completed his flank march, had wheeled into line at the foot of the heights.

When the French infantry at length poured down the hill, they were arrested by the discharge of some rockets, which they had never seen before, when Lambert's brigade of the sixth division, aided by Anson's brigade, and some battalions of the fourth division, taking advantage of the confusion, rushed on them with shouts, and the French turning, fled back to the higher ground closely pursued by Lambert. Taupin was killed, a general of brigade wounded, and without a check the "astonishing" British infantry won the summit of the platform, the skirmishers even descending to the reverse slope in pursuit. At the same time the second and third lines of the sixth division being thrown in squares, repulsed Vial's cavalry, and on the other flank, Sir Lowry Cole had been so rapid in his advance up the heights that Berton's cavalry had no opportunity to charge. So the two redoubts were abandoned, and the French, in disorder, sought shelter in the works of Sacarin and Cambon.

Soult, on seeing all his well-laid plans thus demolished, and fearful lest Beresford should seize the bridge of the Demoiselles on the canal,

sent a part of Travot's reserve to defend the bridge, and led d'Armagnac's reserve brigade to Sacarin and rallied the fugitives. Lambert, from St. Cyprien, now menaced the enemy's flank on the Calvinet platform, while Pack's Scotch brigade and Douglas's Portuguese, composing the second and third lines of the sixth division, menaced the Colombette and Calvinet redoubts, and the 18th Hussars and German cavalry coming round the south end of Mount Rave, threatened the bridge of Demoiselles, from whence, and the works on Cambon and Sacarin, the enemy's artillery kept up a heavy fire. The French position was very strong, being formed of three sides of a square, each side about 1,000 yards in extent, the angles defended by formidable works.

About 2.30 P.M., Pack's and Douglas's brigades ascended the heights by the slope facing the Ers, and under a heavy fire, in the most dashing manner, carried all the French breastworks, and the Colombette and Calvinet redoubts. But the enemy returned to the attack, and being reinforced by the reserve, under the inspiring leadership of General Harispe, they retook the Colombette, killing or wounding four-fifths of the 42nd Highlanders. But the 91st came to the support of their comrades, and a fearful struggle ensued on the brow of the hill. At last, says the military historian, when the whole of the sixth division had rallied and again assailed them flank and front, and when their generals, Harispe and Baurot, had fallen dangerously wounded, the redoubt was retaken by the 79th Highlanders, and the enemy finally abandoned the Colombette. During the struggle, both the brigadiers, Pack and Douglas, were wounded, the latter losing a leg; and Colonel Coghlan of the 61st was killed.

About five o'clock, Soult withdrew his whole army behind the canal, only holding the advanced works of Sacarin and Cambon, and Lord Wellington placed the Spaniards in the abandoned works at Calvinet, and thus held the whole of Mount Rave.* In this hardly-contested victory† of Toulouse the French had five generals and about 3,000

* *See* Napier's "History of the War in the Peninsula."

† Some French writers claimed the honours of the day, but Soult, writing to Suchet, on the evening of the battle, says:—"The enemy have succeeded in establishing himself upon a position which I occupied to the right of Toulouse. I am prepared to recommence to-morrow, but I do not believe I can stay in Toulouse. It might even happen that I shall be forced to open a passage to get out." Here is no claim to victory. The French gained a decided advantage over Picton's division, repulsing one brigade with heavy loss, and the Spaniards they routed with slaughter. The Light division only made a demonstration against the convent of Minimes, and lost during the day only fifty-six men. Everywhere else the enemy were beaten. General Hill occupied the exterior entrenchments of St. Cyprien, while Beresford drove the French from their positions, and even placed the defeated Spaniards in possession of the heights they had sought in vain to win. Napier, allowing for deductions, places the fighting strength of Soult's army at 38,000, with fifty-six field-pieces, while

men killed and wounded, and the allies lost four generals, and 4,659 officers and men, of whom 2,000 were Spaniards. Nevertheless, Soult, undismayed, made preparations for renewing the battle behind the canal, and still held an almost impregnable position on the northern and eastern fronts; but when Wellington sent the British light cavalry to cut his communications with Suchet and menace his retreat, the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia, fearing lest he should be shut up in the city, left 1,600 of his wounded, including General Harispe, who had lost his foot by a cannon-ball, to the mercy of the conqueror, and quitted Toulouse. Making a forced march of twenty-two miles, he cu the bridges over the canal and the Upper Ers, and on the 12th April, established his army at Villefranche.

Though defeated, Soult had shown himself the possessor of some of the highest qualities of a general. Throughout the campaign of nine months, his energy and resource were boundless. He had fought twenty-four actions, and though beaten in all, displayed indomitable resolution, and was ready to continue the struggle against the victorious general, who, in six years, had foiled Marshals Ney, Junot, Marmont, Massena, Victor and Jourdain, who had never known defeat, and whose army only entered into action with the assurance of victory. To have achieved this with inferior numbers will ever remain the most signal testimony to the genius and constancy of the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia.

Lord Wellington now entered Toulouse in triumph, and the white flag of the Bourbons was hoisted on the walls. The same day he received intelligence that the allies had entered Paris on the 7th April, and Napoleon had abdicated the throne. Never, throughout his marvellous career, had the Emperor better displayed his unrivalled military genius than in the Campaign of 1814, in France, when battling against enormous odds, with the end scarcely doubtful, since he lost his choicest troops amid the snows of Russia in the ill-fated Campaign of 1812. On the 17th, Soult, who had received official intimation of the event from his master, gave in his adhesion to the new form of government. But the blood of some 8,000 brave men, who fell after peace was proclaimed at the capital, was not the only

Wellington's force numbered 31,000 British and Portuguese infantry, 7,000 cavalry, and sixty-four guns, besides 12,000 Spaniards under Morillo and Freyre. Of these, 13,000 men were under General Hill, and the Light division was scarcely engaged. Wellington always regarded Soult as his most formidable adversary, and a time came when they exchanged recollections of these stirring events. To Soult is attributed the saying, that it was fortunate there were so few of the British infantry, and his experience of them was unequalled.

sad consequence of an accidental delay of the messengers on the road. The French garrison at Bayonne, which Sir John Hope had invested, made a sortie at three o'clock on the morning of the 14th April. Some 3,000 men poured out, and surprising the pickets, carried with a rush the church and village of St. Etienne, held by a brigade of the 5th division and the Guards, with the exception of a fortified house, defended by Captain Forster with a company of the 38th regiment. General Hay, in command here, was killed; Colonel Townsend, of the Guards, was taken prisoner, and the enemy, dividing the wings of the investing army, passed in rear of the right, and threw the whole line in confusion. General Hinuber, having his German brigade well in hand, moved up on the side of St. Etienne, rallied some of the 5th division, and being joined by a regiment of Bradford's Portuguese, charged the enemy and reoccupied the church.

The fighting on the right was at first even more disastrous than in the centre, and, to complete the confusion, the guns of the citadel fired shot and shell upon the contending masses. Sir John Hope brought up the reserves on the right, but when advancing on St. Etienne by a hollow road, the French, who had lined both banks, opened a heavy fire, and the general's horse was shot under him, and he received a wound and was taken prisoner.* By daylight the Germans were in possession of the village, and the reserve brigade of the Guards under General Howard, who now assumed the command, drove back the French into their works with slaughter. In this deplorable affair the French lost 900 men, according to their own admission, and the British loss was 830, including General Stopford wounded, and 200 taken prisoners, and it was generally admitted that but for Forster's gallant defence and the steadiness of the Germans, under General Hinuber, the allies would have suffered a great disaster.

On the termination of hostilities† the Portuguese troops returned to their own country, the British cavalry, marching through France, took ship at Boulogne, and the infantry embarked at Bordeaux, some for England, and the 4th, 21st, 44th, and 85th regiments for America, where they achieved a victory at Bladensburg, and were

* Sir John Hope had served in the Peninsula under Sir John Moore, and succeeded to the command on the death of that officer at Corunna, after Sir David Baird was wounded. He was senior in rank to Wellington, until his lordship was made a Field-Marshal after Vittoria, when he joined him as his second-in-command.

† At the peace of 1814, peerages were conferred on some of the most prominent of Wellington's generals. Sir Thomas Graham was created Lord Lynedoch, Sir John Hope, Baron Niddry, and later, he succeeded to the Earldom of Hopetoun. General Beresford was made Baron Beresford of Albuera, Sir Roland Hill was created a Viscount, Sir Stapleton Cotton, Baron Combermere, and Lord Paget, who commanded the cavalry under Moore and Wellington, succeeded to the Earldom of Uxbridge in 1812.

decimated at New Orleans. Thus ended the long struggle of six years, maintained by the British army, assisted by the Spanish people with unsurpassed devotion, and illuminated with deeds of heroism that will live in history. During this struggle our troops fought nineteen pitched battles, besides innumerable minor actions, and had been engaged in or sustained ten sieges. They had driven the enemy out of Portugal and Spain, and planted the banners of England in France. They had inflicted on the enemy a loss of 200,000 killed, wounded or captured, and left 40,000 of their own number dead on the field. That success had rewarded their exertions was due equally to the indomitable valour of the British army, and the genius of their commander. It only remained for the Duke of Wellington—which historic title was conferred on him by the Prince Regent, amid the congratulations of a grateful nation—to measure swords with the greatest soldier of the age to place him on the pinnacle of fame—that prize which, as Ferdinand says in "Love's Labour's Lost,"—

> "Shall bate Time's scythe's keen edge,
> And make us heirs of all eternity."

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN.

1815.

Flight of Napoleon from Elba and Landing in France—His Preparations for the Struggle—Rapid Advance of Napoleon across the Sambre—Wellington at Brussels—Battle of Quatre Bras—Cavalry Action at Genappe—The Eve of Waterloo—Strength and Dispositions of the Rival Armies—Battle of Waterloo—The Defence of Hougoumont—Repulse of d'Erlon's Attack—Death of Sir Thomas Picton—Charge of the "Union" and Household Brigades—Repulse of the French Cavalry by the British Squares—Defeat of the Imperial Guard—Flight of Napoleon—Advance of the Allied Army into France—Capitulation of Paris and End of the War.

All Europe was electrified by the intelligence that Napoleon, who had been exiled to the island of Elba, where, in company with his sister, the beautiful and talented Pauline Borghese, he maintained his imperial dignity, had fled from Elba on the night of the 26th February, 1815, accompanied by 400 of his "Old Guard," who formed part of his state. Neither England nor France had taken precautions adequately to guard the neighbouring seas with their cruisers, and the Emperor landed near Cannes on the 1st March. Pushing on with a handful of men to Grenoble, he was welcomed there with acclamation, and incorporating all the troops, who had pronounced in his favour, with his army, he marched on Lyons, which he entered in triumph on the 10th March, as Marshal Macdonald quitted it. Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, now minister of war to King Louis XVIII., was appointed to the command of the royal troops. Marshal Ney, Prince of Moskowa, promised to bring his old master in chains to Paris, but joined him at Auxerre, and after Waterloo, suffered for his treachery with his life. On the 20th March, Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, and the king fled to Lille, where Drouet, Count d'Erlon, had declared against him, and crossing the frontier, took up his residence at Ghent, until the end of "The Hundred Days."

The Duke of Wellington was at this time attending the congress at Vienna, but was recalled to take the command of the British army

in the field, and on the 10th April, the King of the Netherlands appointed him Commander-in-chief of the Belgian army. Parliament a few days before had voted liberal supplies for the prosecution of the war—eighteen millions for the navy, and twenty-eight for the army, besides eleven millions for foreign subsidies.

Napoleon at first tried to negotiate with the allied sovereigns, but none would listen to him, and he forthwith bent all his prodigious ability and energies to prepare for the storm. He devoted sixteen hours a day to his imperial duties, and to the task of reorganizing his troops, and supplying them with stores and military equipment.

The Imperial Guard was re-established, and the fortresses placed in a condition of defence; his generals raised corps throughout the country, and in less than two months, he had assembled an army of 217,000 men, besides depôts numbering 146,000, and an army of reserve, 196,000 strong, consisting of the National Guard and veterans. The brief war that ensued was begun by Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of the Emperor and King of Naples, the "hero of the snow-white plume," who defeated the Austrians at Tolentino on the 3rd April, but was forced to fly from his capital and proceed to France,* when Ferdinand was restored to the throne. On the arrival of Clausel from Paris, Bordeaux decided for the Emperor, and the Duke d'Angoulême, who had gone to Toulon and Marseilles, was made prisoner and sent to Spain, and Marshal Massena raised the tricolor at both these towns.

All France rallied to the new government, except La Vendée, in which a rebellion broke out, but was speedily quelled, among the slain being Larochejaquelin, who, like many members of his gallant line, sealed with his blood his attachment to the Bourbon cause.

Wellington arrived on the 5th April at Brussels, where he found Lord Hill in council with the Prince of Orange, and having assumed the command, withdrew his troops towards Brussels, and opened communications with the Prussian army on the Rhine. By the middle of June the allied army assembled in Belgium amounted to 106,000 men, of which 35,726 were British, with 196 guns. The right was commanded by Lord Hill, and the left by the Prince of Orange, afterwards King of the Netherlands, who had served on Wellington's staff in the Peninsula. The Dutch-Belgian levies were raw troops, not to be depended on, as the result showed, and though several of his best Peninsular regiments were in America, the Duke had a sufficient seasoning of veterans, and among his generals were such trusted soldiers as Picton,

* After Waterloo Murat raised the tricolor in Corsica, and thence proceeded to the coast of Calabria, in order to restore his kingdom. But he was captured, tried by court-martial, and "within one half-hour," as Ferdinand's order directed, was shot within the Castle of Pizzo.

Cole, Clinton, Kempt, Pack, Charles Alten, Colville, Ponsonby and Lord Uxbridge, who commanded the whole of the cavalry.

Blucher, whose headquarters were at Namur, had under his command 117,000 Prussians, with 312 guns, while the Austrian hosts, under Prince Schwartzenberg, numbering no less than 254,000 men, with sixty-five batteries of artillery, came marching on the Rhine, and the Russians, 167,000 strong, under Barclay de Tolly, were advancing through Germany. Meanwhile Napoleon had collected under his own command, on the northern frontier of France, between Mauberge and Phillipeville, 120,000 men, divided into five army corps, under d'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard and Lobau, exclusive of Grouchy's corps of reserve cavalry, and the Imperial Guard. Soult, his second-in-command, counselled delay, but Napoleon determined to take the offensive and fight and beat the allied armies in detail. He says, in the "Mémoires de Napoleon," "the plan of anticipating the several armies and dealing with them singly, was alone in conformity with the genius of the nation, and with the spirit and principles of the war in which he was engaged."

Napoleon quitted Paris early on the morning of the 12th June, saying, "I go to measure myself with this Wellington," and arrived on the following day at Avesnes, where he was received with enthusiasm by his Guard. On the 14th June, the Emperor was at Beaumont, and early next morning all the French corps were in motion, preceded by detachments of light cavalry, who, the same day, attacked and overthrew the outposts of Ziethen's Prussian corps at Thuin, and General Pajol entered Charleroi, where Napoleon established his headquarters.* The same day Gerard and Reille came into contact with the enemy, and captured some hundreds of prisoners, and the bridges across the Sambre were secured at several points by the rapidity of the advance. D'Erlon also crossed the river, Marshal Grouchy reached Gilly with the 5th corps, and Marshal Ney, who joined Reille's 2nd corps at Gosselies, was placed by Napoleon, in command of the entire left wing. Prince Blucher retired everywhere before the enemy, and concentrated his army about Fleurus.

It was 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the same day that Wellington received notice at Brussels of the passage of the Sambre† by the entire

* Nothing could exceed the precision and accuracy with which his combinations had been carried out. "Nine corps of infantry and cavalry stationed between Lisle and Metz were so admirably handled, and their marches so justly calculated, that all had arrived simultaneously before Charleroi with the Guard, whose starting point was Paris."

† It has been frequently asserted by French and other writers that the Duke of Wellington was not only out-generalled and out-manœuvred, but was taken by surprise by his great rival; that he was in complete ignorance of the whereabouts of Napoleon. But this was not the case, and he says in a memorandum that "he had

French army, and immediately sent orders "for the assembly of his whole army to its left," directing the troops to be in readiness to march at a moment's notice, while he waited to see whether the next move of Napoleon would be on Mons or Fleurus, since it was as yet uncertain which of the two allied armies the Emperor intended to attack first. Such was the equanimity of the great Duke at this tremendous crisis of the fate of Europe—not to mention his own reputation, of which, however, he thought little where the claims of duty were concerned—that the same night he attended the famous ball given by the Duchess of Richmond, which has been immortalized by the genius of Byron.

A second courier reached Brussels at seven the same evening, bringing information from Blucher, which satisfied the Duke as to the direction of Napoleon's march, and before he went to the ball, he gave orders that the cavalry and all the infantry remaining in the city, were to march at four on the following morning, by the road leading to Nivelles, with the view of concentrating at Quatre Bras, on which point converge the highways leading to Namur and Brussels.

The British Commander-in-chief arrived at Quatre Bras between 11 and 12 o'clock on the morning of the 16th June, and having reconnoitred the enemy's position, rode off to hold a conference with Blucher, whom he found at the windmill of Bussy, between Ligny and Bry. Having arranged to assist Blucher, whom it was evident Napoleon intended to attack, Wellington rejoined his own troops at Quatre Bras, which was reached at 4 P.M.,* some time after his troops had been engaged with the enemy.

By the forenoon of this day, Blucher had collected the whole of his army, with the exception of Bulow's corps, which was still near Liege, across the highway leading from Namur through Fleurus, about St. Armand and Bry, and occupied Ligny and its enclosures. His army numbered 84,000 men, including 12,000 cavalry and nearly 200 guns. Napoleon marched to attack the Prussian commander in person, while Ney, with Reille's and d'Erlon's corps, and Kellermann's cavalry, was to fall upon Wellington at Quatre Bras.

been fully informed of the augmentation of the enemy's force on the frontier, and of the arrival of Buonaparte at the army."

* A characteristic anecdote is related of the Duke at this time. After leaving Blucher he met General Gneisenau, his Chief of the Staff, and ventured to point out that the force collected at the extreme right of the Prussian position, appeared scarcely sufficient for its defence. The suggestion was not adopted, and Wellington, turning to Colonel Hardinge, British Commissioner with Blucher, said, "I fear your fellows will get well thrashed when the French advance," a prediction verified by the event.

Battle of Quatre Bras.—16th June, 1815.

It was about two o'clock when Ney, calculating that d'Erlon could not be far in the rear, began the attack with the three divisions of Reille's corps, 15,750 infantry, Piré's light cavalry, 1,865 men, and thirty-eight guns. His attack was directed on Perponcher's division of the Prince of Orange's force, 6,832 infantry and sixteen guns.* The Belgians were driven back into the wood of Boissu, but Sir Thomas Picton arrived on the ground with the fifth division, consisting of Sir James Kempt's and Sir Denis Pack's English brigades, and Colonel Best's Hanoverian brigade, and the 95th regiment (now the Rifle Brigade) was the first British regiment to be engaged with the enemy. Soon after, the Duke of Brunswick's corps came up, when Wellington had under his orders 18,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, including, however, 8,000 Dutch-Belgians, with twenty-eight guns. Ney, on seeing the strength of the force opposed to him, changed his plan of taking the offensive, and sent urgent orders to Count d'Erlon to hurry up with his corps.

It was now about four o'clock, and the Duke arrived on the ground, and assumed the direction of affairs. He was in time to witness the defeat of the Belgian cavalry, which the Prince of Orange could not induce to face the enemy, and his Grace and staff were borne away by the rush to the rear of Quatre Bras. Meantime the fifth division was suffering severely from the fire of the French artillery on the heights, and at this critical moment, when the rapid approach of the enemy in the wood of Boissu, and their advance against the allied left wing, threatened the position, Wellington resolved to adopt the offensive, and ordered the British brigades, except the 92nd Highlanders, to attack the enemy. Kempt's brigade was the first to come into action with the French infantry, whom they overthrew, the 79th Highlanders particularly distinguishing itself. Meantime, the Brunswick troops, raw young soldiers, suffered greatly from the fire of the enemy's artillery, and were withdrawn on the advance of the French infantry, as were also the Dutch-Belgians. The Duke of Brunswick charged the advancing infantry with his lancers, but was obliged to fall back behind Quatre Bras, and soon the Belgian foot fled in disorder. While attempting to rally his soldiers, the gallant Prince received a

* In the preparation of this chapter we are chiefly indebted to the admirable and exhaustive "History of the War in France and Belgium in 1815" (two vols.), by Captain W. Siborne, the constructor of the famous Waterloo model now in the Royal United Service Institution.

musket-ball through his body and died in his forty-fourth year. The Brunswick hussars were ordered to cover the retreat of the infantry, but instead of doing so, sought safety in flight. But the French cavalry had sterner foes to deal with in the British regiments they now assailed. So sudden was the attack of the lancers of Piré's cavalry that they succeeded in penetrating the square formed by the 42nd Highlanders, into which two companies were running in, and some confusion ensued. But they suffered for their temerity, and every man was quickly bayoneted or taken prisoner, and the face of the square was speedily restored. On this occasion the Colonel of the 42nd, Sir Robert Macara, was killed by a lance thrust. Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards General Sir) Robert Dick was severely, and Major Davidson mortally, wounded. Equally effective was the resistance offered by the 44th Foot, under Colonel Hamerton, which, not having time to receive the attack of the lancers in square, faced about, and poured in so deadly a volley that they drew off, and when passing the left flank, and again the proper front, their ranks were further decimated by the fire of this noble regiment. Never were the discipline and valour of British soldiers put to a more severe test, but, as at Alexandria in the case of the 28th regiment, the ordeal was triumphantly met. In the meantime, the remainder of Piré's light cavalry, pursuing the Brunswick hussars, encountered the 92nd Highlanders, who poured upon them a most destructive volley, when they retired in good order, though the front of the column, which dashed into the hussars at Quatre Bras beyond, were killed to a man, an officer being shot close to the Duke of Wellington, who was stationed in the rear of the Highlanders.

About this time Ney was reinforced by Kellermann with L'Heritier's division of cuirassiers, 1,900 strong, and immediately made an attack with two regiments of these admirable horsemen, and Piré's light cavalry division, supported by his greatly superior artillery force. Warned by a rushing sound through the corn, the 42nd and 44th regiments had scarcely time to form their squares, before the cuirassiers were upon them, but every determined attack was repulsed with a steadiness beyond praise. Picton, convinced of the hopelessness of obtaining assistance from the Brunswick or Belgian horse, brought up the 1st Royals and 28th Foot, and the united column, led on by the general and the brigadier, Kempt, boldly advanced against the heavy masses of cavalry, and forming into square at the last moment, these fine regiments repulsed every effort of the cuirassiers and lancers to penetrate their ranks. Picton, standing in the centre of the square, conjured the 28th Foot to "Remember Egypt," an appeal to stirring memories, responded to by the soldiers with ringing cheers. The 2 also formed in square, in support of these regiments, and

The Forty-Second Highlanders at Quatre Bras. p. 338

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Highlanders constituted a connecting link with the 95th, on the extreme left, and all alike repelled the hostile cavalry, which careered around them, and received the fire of the batteries on the heights.

The allied cavalry could render no aid, the Hanoverian infantry were thrown into disorder, the Dutch-Belgian troops were hastily retiring under the advance of the French infantry towards the Namur road, and the British squares had almost expended all their ammunition, when, at the crisis of the battle, Sir Colin Halkett's British brigade, and Count Kielmansegge's Hanoverian brigade, with two batteries of artillery, belonging to the third division, under Count Alten, opportunely arrived on the field by the Nivelle road.

About the same time, Ney was reinforced by the remaining division of Kellermann's corps of heavy cavalry, 1,400 strong, and a battery of artillery, his strength in those arms being raised to 5,165 sabres and fifty guns, against 2,000 unreliable Brunswick and Belgian cavalry and forty guns. The decimated 42nd and 44th regiments being formed into square, by General Pack, were strengthened by the 69th Foot, from Halkett's brigade, under Colonel Morice, who fell at Waterloo. Ney now made a general attack, reinforcing his infantry in the wood of Boissu, and strengthening his right, while he launched his cavalry against the 69th and 30th regiments. The former was surprised in line, owing to an unfortunate order given by the Prince of Orange, and lost one of the colours, the regiment being "completely rolled up," but the 30th, under Colonel Hamilton, had time to form square and drove off Piré's lancers. Passing the 73rd and 33rd regiments, which were ready to receive them, the cavalry continued its career along the high road towards Quatre Bras, until the horse artillery guns of the King's German Legion threw the cuirassiers into confusion by a rapid and well-directed fire, Kellermann himself being dismounted.

At this moment Ney learned that Count d'Erlon, upon whose aid he had been reckoning, had been directed by the Emperor to assist in the attack on the Prussians at Ligny. Notwithstanding, the Marshal continued to act on the offensive, and drove two Brunswick battalions and the 33rd regiment into the wood, but the 92nd, headed by Colonel Cameron and the Adjutant-General, Sir Edward Barnes, charged down a slope and drove back two columns of French infantry, pursuing them into the wood. In this gallant charge Colonel Cameron was killed. On the extreme left the French were repulsed by Kielmansegge's brigade and the 95th regiment, and soon after six o'clock, Wellington received a welcome reinforcement in some Brunswick infantry and artillery, and still more, by the arrival, by the Nivelles road, on the extreme right, where the position was weakened by the retirement of the Dutch-Belgian regiments—of General Cooke's division, consisting of two brigades of Guards, under Generals Maitland and Sir John Byng

(afterwards Lord Strafford), some 4,000 bayonets. Headed by Lord Saltoun, the Guards, who encountered on the road the panic-stricken Belgians, a spectacle that only served to nerve them, soon made their presence felt, and drove the French out of the wood, but on emerging in the open ground, they were repulsed by the enemy's reserves, and suffered heavily from the fire of their artillery.

The French cavalry now charged the Guards, and the latter, not having time to form square, retired to a ditch bounding the wood, and drove them back by a volley. Darkness was setting in as Wellington ordered a general advance upon the French position, and Ney reluctantly retired to the heights of Frasne, having vindicated his character for tenacity and able generalship. About nine o'clock, d'Erlon joined the marshal with the greater portion of his corps, but too late to affect the result of the battle, which would have been far different had Napoleon, who possessed a reserve in the Imperial Guard and 6th Corps, permitted his proceeding to the aid of Ney.

The allied loss at Quatre Bras was about 4,463, including 1,000 in the Dutch-Belgian brigade; of the total number, the British had twenty-seven officers and 289 men killed, and 142 officers and 2,014 rank and file wounded. The Hanoverians lost 369 *hors de combat*, and the Brunswickers, 819, including their Prince, "Brunswick's fated chieftain," who fell at the head of his troops like his father.

In regarding the great merit of the stand made by Wellington on the 16th June, it should be remembered that he had no cavalry able to withstand the magnificent horsemen of Kellermann and Piré; that his artillery was inferior in strength, and that he was abandoned by the Dutch-Belgian division, numbering 7,500 men.*

Meantime matters had gone hard with Blucher, and the sun was descending on this pleasant summer evening when Napoleon ordered General Friant to lead the Imperial Guard to the rear of the enemy's position at Ligny. The attempt was completely successful, and the two divisions defending the village were driven out. Blucher, whose horse was killed under him in a charge of the enemy's cavalry, now retreated upon Wavre by Tilly, and left the enemy masters of the field. The Prussian loss was 11,700 men and twenty-one guns. Among the

* Marshal Soult, in a despatch to Marshal Davoust, Minister at War, did not scruple to announce that the Emperor had succeeded in separating the British and Prussian armies, and that Wellington and Blucher had saved themselves with difficulty. "The effect was electrical; in an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions." In a despatch, published in the *Moniteur*, he said:—"The noble lord must have been confounded! Prisoners are taken by bands; they do not know what has become of their commanders; the rout is complete on this side, and we hope to hear no more of the Prussians for some time, even if they should be able to rally. As for the English, we shall now see what will become of them! The Emperor is there!"

wounded was Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge, British Commissioner, whose right hand was amputated. The Duke of Wellington passed the night of the 16th June at Quatre Bras, and the Emperor at St. Armand, near Ligny, and Blucher at Mellerg, the mill at Bry being held by Thielmann till midnight, when he marched to Gembloux. About two o'clock on the afternoon of the 17th, Napoleon, after visiting the battle-field of Ligny, rode off to join Ney at Frasne, and directed Grouchy to follow the Prussians.* That marshal, on learning later in the day that Blucher was retiring on Wavre, bivouacked for the night near Gembloux.

The Duke of Wellington, who was largely reinforced during the night of the 16th June, did not learn till 7 A.M. on the following morning that the Prussian line of retreat was on Wavre, and at noon he fell back to Waterloo, as agreed upon in the plan of campaign. About the same time, Napoleon wrote to Ney that he should immediately attack and drive the English from the ground at Quatre Bras. Soon after the Emperor joined the marshal, and the whole French army, with the exception of Grouchy's corps, was united. The 6th corps, which arrived about three o'clock at Quatre Bras, exchanged cannon-shots with the British artillery moving off the ground.

The rain came down in torrents, making the roads very heavy for artillery, but Napoleon sent d'Erlon, and also the 2nd and 6th corps, with two brigades of cavalry, to follow up the retreating British columns, with which they came up near Genappe. Lord Uxbridge,† second-in-command of the British army, having posted a battery of ten guns on some high ground on the farther side of the Dyle, here crossed by a bridge, which opened fire on the French cavalry. Subervie's lancers, protected by the fire of four batteries, advanced to dislodge the 7th Hussars still posted in Genappe, and the hussars were driven out of the narrow streets of the village, both Major Hodge, command-

* Napoleon's instructions to Grouchy were simple and concise:—"Pursue the Prussians, complete their defeat by attacking them as soon as you come up with them, and never let them out of your sight. I am going to unite the remainder of this portion of the army with Marshal Ney's corps, to march against the English, and to fight them if they should hold their ground between this and the forest of Soignies. You will communicate with me by the paved road which leads to Quatre Bras."

† An anecdote is told of the Duke at this time. The Earl of Uxbridge commanded the whole of his cavalry, and had the Duke fallen, by virtue of seniority, would have succeeded to the command. Being naturally anxious as to the plan he might have to carry out, he obtained an interview, approached the subject with delicacy, and learned —nothing. The Duke asked, "Who would attack, I or Buonaparte?" "Buonaparte," was the answer. "Well," said the Duke, "Buonaparte has not given me any idea of his projects, and as my plans will depend upon his, how can you expect me to tell you what mine are?"

ing, and the French cavalry leader being killed. Lord Uxbridge immediately brought forward the household cavalry, which in turn drove Milhaud's cuirassiers well through the town. A cannonade continued on both sides till dark, when the French army bivouacked opposite Mont St. Jean, Napoleon's centre being at the farmhouse of La Belle Alliance, at the point of intersection with the high road from Charleroi to Brussels, while the Duke placed his headquarters in the village of Waterloo, some distance in rear of the British position.

The field of Waterloo is intersected by two high roads, the eastern leading from Charleroi and Genappe, and the western, from Nivelles, which form a junction at the village of Mont St. Jean, whence they continue to Brussels. In front of this junction is a gently elevated ridge of ground, intersected by the Charleroi road, where Wellington drew up his first line, the second line and reserves, with the cavalry, being placed on the reverse slope. The right of the main position is bounded by a valley, where is a ravine, intersected by the Nivelles road, between which and Merbe-braine rises a plateau, where was posted a portion of Lord Hill's corps, to act as a reserve, or as circumstances might require.

Wellington had closely examined the proposed field of battle, and, by a strange coincidence, England's other great commander, the Duke of Marlborough, had selected the same position with a like object, but his intention was frustrated by the obstinacy of the Dutch Commissioners.

The allied army, commanded by the Duke of Wellington, was divided into two corps, the first, or left wing, under the Prince of Orange, and the 2nd corps, on the right, commanded by Lord Hill. Upon the extreme left of the first, or main line, was stationed Vivian's light cavalry brigade, consisting of the 10th and 18th Hussars, and a hussar regiment of the King's German Legion. The village of Smohain, as also the farms of Ter la Haye and Papelotte, was occupied by a brigade of Perponcher's Dutch-Nassau division. On the right of Vivian stood Vandeleur's brigade of light cavalry, consisting of the 11th, 12th and 16th Dragoons. The extreme left of the infantry of the main line was held by Vincke's Hanoverian brigade, forming part of Picton's division. On its right was Best's Hanoverian brigade. Upon the extreme slope of the ridge, near the Genappe high road, lay Bylandt's brigade of Perponcher's division, and on the interior slope, about 200 yards from the Wavre road, were posted the two British brigades of Sir Thomas Picton's (the 5th) division—Sir Denis Pack's, consisting of 1st Royals, 42nd and 92nd Highlanders, and 44th Foot, and Sir James Kempt's, comprising the 28th, 32nd, 79th and 95th regiments.

Along the continuation of the ridge, on the right of the great Charleroi road, was posted Count Alten's (the 3rd) division, in the

following order: Ompteda's brigade (the 2nd) of the King's German Legion, on the left of the division, of which Major Baring's battalion occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte, the buildings of which, forming three sides of a square, were loop-holed and barricaded. On the right stood Count Kielmansegge's Hanoverian brigade, and on his right, holding a more advanced position than the other portion of Alten's division, was posted Sir Colin Halkett's 5th British brigade, comprising the 30th, 33rd, 68th and 73rd regiments. In rear of the division was posted, in second line, a battalion of Von Kruse's Nassau brigade, with the two other battalions in a third line as a reserve.

On the right of Halkett's brigade stood General Cooke's 1st British division, consisting of two brigades of Guards, General Peregrine Maitland's brigade, comprising two battalions of the Grenadiers, on the left, and Sir John Byng's brigade, consisting of a battalion of the Coldstreams and one of the 3rd Guards, now known as the "Scots Guards."

The buildings of Hougoumont were loop-holed and barricaded, and were overlooked from the ground on the crest of the ridge occupied by the second brigade, which formed the reserve of the troops posted in the buildings, consisting of the four light companies of the division, a battalion of Nassau troops, and two companies of Hanoverians. The buildings comprised a substantial brick building of square form, a farmhouse and chapel; also, on the north side, a spacious farm yard, with stabling and sheds, and on the south side, enclosing the chateau, a courtyard, with barns and offices. On the east side was a large garden enclosed on two sides by a high wall, and on the north side, facing the British line, by a hedge. Adjoining the east side was a large orchard enclosed with hedges, and on the north side, a smaller orchard, and there were enclosures, fenced with hedges and lined by a ditch. Hougoumont was the principal post on the right of the British line, and its stubborn defence by the Guards has rendered its name historic. Before the day closed, 8,000 men lay dead or wounded around its blood-stained walls and enclosures.

Along the Nivelles road in the rear of Hougoumont, on the extreme right of the British position, and attached to the 2nd corps, under Lord Hill, was posted Michell's brigade of Sir Charles Colville's (the 4th) division, consisting of the 14th, 23rd (whose Colonel, Sir Henry Ellis, was killed in the battle) and 51st regiments. Lord Hill also had under his orders at this point, either to act as a reserve, or defend the right flank, Sir Henry Clinton's (the 2nd) division, composed of Sir Frederick Adam's brigade, consisting of the 52nd (under Sir John Colborne, afterwards Lord Seaton), 71st Highlanders, and a battalion of the 95th regiment. The other brigades of the division were the King's German Legion, under Colonel Du Plat (who

was mortally wounded in the battle), and Colonel Halkett's Hanoverian brigade. The second line of the allied army consisted entirely of cavalry,* British and German, posted partly on the reverse slope of the main ridge, and partly in the hollows in the rear. The reserves were composed of Baron Collaert's Dutch-Belgian cavalry division, the Brunswick division of infantry and cavalry, under Olfermann (since the Duke of Brunswick's death at Quatre Bras), and the 10th British brigade, under Sir John Lambert, forming part of Sir Lowry Cole's (the 6th) division, which had made forced marches from Ghent, arriving in time to participate in the battle. It was posted near the farm of Mont St. Jean, and consisted of the 4th, 27th and 40th regiments, whose commanding officer, Major Heyland, was killed in the action. In order to secure the right flank, and to keep open the communication with the detached troops near Halle—consisting of the corps of Prince Frederick of Orange, and the sixth British brigade, under General Johnstone, and Sir James Lyon's Hanoverian brigade, forming a portion of Sir Charles Colville's division—Baron Chassé's Netherlands division was placed under Lord Hill's orders. The artillery of Wellington's army, commanded by Sir George Wood, 156 guns, was distributed more or less in the front line throughout the battle, and was within cannon-shot range of the opposite heights occupied by the enemy.

The occupation of the important positions of Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte gave advantage to the allied army, whose right flank was secured by Clinton's division, and by the occupation of the town of Braine-la-leud by Chassé's Belgians. The left of the main line rested on an elevated plateau, but was strengthened by the occupation of the village of Smohain, and the farms of La Haye and Papelotte, in the abrupt slope into the valley in front, while the position afforded ample security for a retreat by the two broad roads uniting in rear of the centre, and the forest of Soignies itself was passable for all arms, being intersected by roads.

* Commencing from the right, near the Nivelles road, stood Sir Colquhoun Grant's brigade, consisting of the 7th and 15th Hussars, and 13th Light Dragoons. To its left was posted Sir William Dornberg's brigade, comprising the 23rd Light Dragoons, two dragoon regiments of the King's German Legion, and the Cumberland Hanoverian Hussars. Two other German regiments of hussars were detached with the force at Halle, guarding the road leading from Mons and Tournay to Brussels. Next to Dornberg's brigade was posted a regiment of hussars of the King's German Legion, and on the right of the Charleroi road, and in rear of Alten's division, was drawn up the Household brigade, under Lord Edward Somerset, consisting of the 1st and 2nd Life Guards, the Blues, and the 1st Dragoon Guards. On the left of the road, and in rear of Picton's division, stood Sir William Ponsonby's heavy brigade, consisting of the 1st Royal Dragoons, 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), and 6th Dragoons (Inniskillings). Sir John Vandeleur's and Sir Hussey Vivian's brigades of light cavalry were posted on the extreme left of the main line, as mentioned above.

Napoleon's line was nearly parallel with that of the allies. The right wing, under Count d'Erlon, comprised four divisions of infantry, each consisting of two brigades of four battalions, and one division of light cavalry. Of these, Donzelot's rested its left on the farm-house of La Belle Alliance. On its right stood the division of Alix, prolonged by that of Marcognet. Opposite the farms of Papelotte and La Haye was posted Durutte's division. Jacquinot's cavalry, comprising two brigades, each of two reg ments, attached to d'Erlon's corps, was deployed in three lines, and posted on the right of the infantry and in rear of the village of Smohain. In front of the infantry were posted forty guns, and a battery of horse artillery on the right of the cavalry. The left wing of the first line, commanded by Count Reille, comprised three divisions of infantry and one of light cavalry. Bachelu's division rested its right on La Belle Alliance, and on its left, facing Hougoumont, stood Foy's division, with Prince Jerome's division on its left, opposite the western boundary of Hougoumont. In prolongation of the line, across the Nivelles road, was posted Piré's light cavalry, on the reverse slope of the ridge.

Napoleon's second line was formed, in the centre, of Count Lobau's corps, consisting of two divisions, the third being with Grouchy, with thirty-two guns attached. On the right were posted the light cavalry divisions of Daumont and Subervie, six regiments, with twelve horse artillery guns. The right wing was composed of Count Milhaud's heavy cavalry corps, comprising two divisions, divided into four brigades; the left wing consisted of Kellermann's* corps of heavy cavalry, comprising L'Heritier's and Roussel's divisions of the same strength as Milhaud's corps. Each of these consisted of eight regiments of cuirassiers, the choicest cavalry of France, and had two batteries of horse artillery attached.

The third line, forming the reserve, comprised the Imperial Guard, cavalry and infantry, under the command of General Drouet, in the absence, from sickness, of Marshal Mortier, Duke of Treviso. It consisted of twelve regiments, each of two battalions—four regiments of the Old Guard, under Count Friant, four of the Middle Guard, commanded by Count Morand, and four, called the Young Guard, under Duhesme. To each of the three divisions were attached sixteen guns, with a reserve of twenty-four guns, posted in rear of the whole. The light cavalry division of the Imperial Guard, with twelve guns, commanded by Lefebvre-Desnouettes, was posted in rear of Milhaud's cuirassiers, and the left wing of the third line, or reserve, consisted of the heavy cavalry of the Imperial Guard, commanded by General Guyot, with two batteries attached. Napoleon's dispositions were grand and ably conceived for the offensive, which was his *métier* on the

* Kellermann acquired his title of Count Valmy for his victory over the European Coalition in 1792, the first gained by the Republicans after the Revolution.

18th June. His columns of attack were massive, and, supported by his powerful artillery and numerous cavalry, would have driven off the field any other troops but British.

The allied army* on the 18th June numbered 67,655 men, with 156 guns, of whom 23,991 were British troops, with seventy-eight guns; and that of Napoleon, 71,947 men and 246 guns. But the latter had a superiority of 3,000 cavalry and ninety guns. Moreover, his force was homogeneous, while that opposed to him was composed of several nationalities, including no less than 16,500 Dutch-Belgian troops, who had proved themselves unreliable at Quatre Bras. These forces were exclusive of Grouchy's separate command beyond the Dyle, consisting of the divisions of Gerard and Vandamme and the cavalry of Excelmans, some 32,000 men with ninety-six guns. The Emperor sent pressing orders to Grouchy, that while keeping close watch upon the Prussian army at Wavre, he was to have in readiness 7,000 men to march to his aid. The marshal, who probably thought with his master that Wellington would not fight with the forest of Soignies in his rear, failed to send troops to hold the defile of St. Lambert, by which the valley of the Lasne as far as Planchenoit was threatened, though Gerard requested permission to occupy this important position.

Blucher's main army was posted at Wavre, across the high road leading from Namur to Brussels, but its right wing, under Zeithen, was already encamped about Ohain. On the morning of the 18th, Bulow, while marching from Gembloux to Wavre, received orders to incline to his left and occupy the defile and chapel of St. Lambert, already referred to, by which Wellington's left flank was amply secured, though to the end of the action the Duke was solicitous for the safety of his right flank, and cavalry patrols were sent throughout the day along the Nivelles road.

* The detailed strength of the allied army was as follows :—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Guns.
British	15,181	5,843	2,967	78
King's German Legion	3,301	1,991	526	18
Hanoverians	10,258	497	465	12
Brunswickers	4,586	866	510	16
Nassauers	2,880	—	—	—
Dutch-Belgians	13,402	3,205	1,177	32
Total	49,608	12,402	5,645	156

Total, 67,655 men and 156 guns. The French army consisted of :—Infantry, 48,950; cavalry, 15,765; artillery, 7,232 = 71,947 men and 246 guns.

Napoleon, notwithstanding his habitual calm, was restless on the night preceding the day on which was to be decided the fate of France and his dynasty. Accompanied by General Bertrand, who was his companion at Elba, he walked out between one and two in the morning, and on finding that Wellington had not retreated, but had elected to fight, with the forest of Soignies in his rear, he is said to have exclaimed, in the words employed by Soult at Orthez, and with as little justice, "Ah! I have them now, these English;" adding, "We have ninety chances out of a hundred in our favour." Soult and Foy, who had served against Wellington in the Peninsula, warned him that "the English infantry are the very devil to fight," and the advice was even tendered to him, that he should seek to vanquish them by skilful manœuvring rather than by a direct attack. This he expressed his intention of doing, but he scouted the idea that because his lieutenants had failed to overcome Wellington, there was any cause for doubt as to the result of the impending conflict. Nevertheless the battle of Waterloo was one of hard fighting, and there was no manœuvring throughout the day.

When daylight broke, Napoleon could discern that though no part of the British position was remarkable for natural strength, it was well-chosen, and its gentle elevation was favourable for the employment of artillery, while artificial defences had been brought into use, where practicable. A quick hedge on the ridge afforded a sort of rampart to the troops behind it, and an abatis had been placed near La Haye Sainte, where the road meets the hill, and the farm-houses of Hougoumont, La Haye and Papelotte, which lay at the bottom of the slope, were also fortified.

It was a cheerless bivouac on the eve of the great battle which was to decide the fate of nations. The most renowned commanders of the age, if not of all time, were about to be pitted against each other, after having defeated in succession all the generals they had encountered in numberless European battle-fields. The soldiers of the greatest and most warlike nations of the Continent were the pawns with which these mighty players of the dread game of war sought to checkmate each other. It was a great stake, and no man, not even the most careless and light-hearted, but must have felt serious as he anticipated the result of the battle of giants which now only a few hours would decide. As the rain descended in torrents, and the thunder rolled, and the wind raved round the cheerless bivouacs, many were the brave hearts that were saddened by thoughts of the home they were not destined to revisit. A large proportion of the British army was composed of recruits, and these, doubtless, looked forward with an eager apprehension to the conflict with the Imperial soldier, whose name was a word of terror alike in crowded cities and in remote

English hamlets. The veterans of the army, who had fought throughout the Peninsular war, though they placed unhesitating reliance in the commander who never led them but to victory, yet felt that the ordeal before the conqueror of Napoleon's most trusted marshals was one incomparably greater than any through which he had hitherto emerged triumphant, while the call about to be made on their discipline and valour would be the most exacting that human endurance could be taxed with. Amid such anticipations, and with such rest as could be snatched in the miserable surroundings, both officers and men seriously, but hopefully, looked forward to the result of the battle impending on the morrow.

Battle of Waterloo.—18th June, 1815.

The ever-memorable 18th June, 1815, was a Sunday, and as the British regiments mustered under the inspiring strains of martial music, many must have pictured the scene enacted broadcast throughout rural England, as their kith and kin trooped to church or chapel while the bells chimed their peaceful call to prayer. The rain, which had fallen heavily since noon on the previous day, ceased before daybreak, and the storm gave place about eight o'clock to genial sunshine. The spirits of the men, who had passed the night sleeping comfortlessly on the sodden earth, or the beaten-down corn, rose under the cheering influence of the sun, and the sombre feelings begot of darkness and suspense were succeeded by the elation which brave men experience when the hour for action has struck. From the British position could be heard the enthusiastic acclamations with which Napoleon was received by his soldiers, as, accompanied by Soult and a brilliant staff, he rode through the long lines of his devoted troops. This completed, he took up his station on the heights in the rear of La Belle Alliance, which commanded a general view of the field of battle, and sent an order to Reille to begin the battle, by an attack upon Hougoumont, which the Duke of Wellington had shortly before quitted, after making his final dispositions for its defence.

It was about 11.30 that Jerome Buonaparte's division, covered by heavy artillery fire, and preceded by a fringe of sharpshooters, quickly reached the orchard boundary of Hougoumont, and drove the Nassau and Hanoverian infantry to the wood in rear of the château. The light companies of Sir John Byng's brigade of Guards, under Colonel Macdonell, occupying the buildings, now advanced rapidly, and succeeded by their fire in clearing the wood of the

French skirmishers; but Jerome reinforced his men, and Foy's division arrived in support on their right, and the Guards were compelled to fall back. The enemy now rapidly advanced to the buildings and garden, but were met by so deadly a fire from the loop-holes and platforms along the garden wall, that they were forced to take shelter behind the hedge and trees of the orchard. But the French infantry, by dint of numbers, succeeded in forcing the gate of the great courtyard, when a desperate hand-to-hand struggle ensued, and they were driven out. Meanwhile Foy's division continued to chase the Nassau troops through the wood and orchard until Wellington ordered Major Bull's howitzer battery to shell the groves. The French continued to hold possession of the hedge of the orchard, upon which Byng detached four companies of the Coldstreams, under Colonel Woodford, who opened fire upon them from the top of the garden wall, and compelled them to seek shelter in the ditch. The French infantry in the wood now advanced against the garden, when Colonel Lord Saltoun, who commanded the light companies of the 1st brigade of Guards stationed in the orchard, charged them with great gallantry, and succeeded in driving them back. A second body of the enemy, however, advanced along the eastern hedge of the enclosure, and made a direct front attack upon the orchard, when Lord Saltoun was compelled to withdraw, but being reinforced, he cleared the orchard and re-occupied the hedge. At length General Reille gave orders to his divisions to desist from the attack, in which General Badouin had fallen, and Foy and Prince Jerome had been wounded.

Meantime Ney conducted the attack on the centre and left of the British line, his troops being excited to a pitch of enthusiasm by the presence of Napoleon, who rode along their ranks, and stimulated them by his terse and fervid eloquence. Dismounting to witness the effect of his appeal, he espied evidence of the advance of troops on St. Lambert, and sending orderlies to find out the nationality, ordered Daumont's and Subervie's light cavalry divisions in that direction. About one o'clock he learned that they were Bulow's Prussians, upon which a staff-officer was despatched to Grouchy, whose co-operation he momentarily expected, to crush the Prussian general, and later in the day, Count Lobau was instructed to oppose his march with two divisions of his corps. In consequence of these alarms, the Emperor had delayed Ney's attack, and it was nearly two o'clock before d'Erlon advanced with his corps and Roussel's cavalry division, under the protecting fire of seventy-four guns. As Donzelot's division, on the left, approached La Haye Sainte, one of the brigades, led by Ney in person, moved to attack that farm, and the second brigade continued its advance along the right of the Charleroi road. Shortly afterwards the

right brigade of Durutte's division attacked the Nassau battalions, under Prince Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, defending the hedges and enclosures of Papelotte, La Haye, and Smohain, while the left brigade advanced across the valley, so as to support Marcognet's division on its left in the attack on the main front of the allied right wing.

With the skirmishers on either flank, the three central columns of d'Erlon's corps, supported by the concentrated fire of seventy-four guns, advanced against La Haye Sainte, held by Bylandt's brigade of the Dutch-Belgians. But these troops, as at Quatre Bras, gave way when the French skirmishers neared them, and fell back in disorder behind Picton's division, which was with difficulty prevented from firing on the fugitives. Here they remained throughout the day, and took no further part in the action. With the depleted remnants of Kempt's and Pack's brigades, numbering less than 3,000 men, the gallant leader of the old "fighting" division of the Peninsula prepared to meet the assault of 13,000 troops, who were encouraged by the presence of Ney, the bravest of the French marshals. The 28th, 32nd, and 79th regiments were deployed into line, with three companies of the 95th on the right front, and Pack's brigade was in the left rear of Kempt's.

The 95th and light companies of the other regiments fell back as the heavy columns advanced, and when they approached the crest of the ridge, the French batteries suspended their fire. Picton moved forward Kempt's brigade close to the hedge lining the Wavre road. At the moment the columns of attack commenced to deploy, the rear battalions moving out to disengage their front, Picton ordered the brigade to fire a volley, and scarcely had the report died away than he ordered the charge. It was executed with spirit, but in clearing the hedges, the 79th regiment specially suffered heavily, and got into some disorder. But it was only momentary, and levelling their bayonets, these grand representatives of the inimitable British infantry advanced at the charge, and the French column, struck with panic, fell into confusion and fled with precipitation. It was at this glorious moment, with the shouts of victory ringing in his ears, that Sir Thomas Picton received a musket-ball in his right temple and died instantly.* The brigade, having accomplished its task, was recalled from further pursuit, and reformed by General Kempt.

* The French map of the theatre of war, which Picton had in his pocket at the time he was shot, stained with his blood, may be seen in the Waterloo room of the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution. It is said that Napoleon, at the commencement of the battle, eagerly asked, "Where is Picton's division?" Picton was a stern disciplinarian. In the Peninsula he had occasion to reprimand an army contractor for the quality of the food supplied to his division, and threatened to hang him. The contractor complained to the Duke, who, however, advised him to conform to Picton's requirements, "for," he added, "you may depend upon it General Picton will surely carry out his threat."

Meantime, Donzelot's light brigade advanced against La Haye Sainte, and the detachments of the King's German Legion and Hanoverians defending the position, under command of Major Baring, were compelled to evacuate the buildings and orchard. The Duke despatched a Hanoverian battalion from Kielmansegge's brigade to his assistance, but the appearance of some French cuirassiers caused a panic, and the whole of the troops fled in confusion towards the main position, and being overtaken by the cavalry, were cut up and dispersed, only a portion, under three young British officers, retaining possession of the farm buildings.

While Kempt's brigade was charging down the slope on the right, the heads of the leading brigades of Alix's and Marcognet's divisions crowned the crest of the ridge on the left, crossing the Wavre road and hedge. To meet the latter column, the 1st Royals, and 42nd and 92nd Highlanders, of Pack's brigade, moved to receive them with bagpipes playing, while the 44th regiment, forming the left of the brigade, having its front covered by Best's Hanoverians, remained in support on the knoll above. When arrived within 30 yards, the two Highland regiments fired a staggering volley, and were about to charge when an unexpected intervention took place.

The Duke of Wellington, who had taken post beside a solitary tree, whence he had a commanding view of the field, ordered a charge of the heavy cavalry and household brigades that is not the least memorable of the many episodes of this great battle. Seeing that d'Erlon's attack was in advance of the column directed against La Haye Sainte, and that its formation was, as Brialmont says, "too deep for attack and too close for deploying," the Duke ordered Sir William Ponsonby to lead his heavy cavalry, known as the "Union" brigade, consisting of the 1st Royal Dragoons, the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), and the 6th (Inniskillings) Dragoons, against the head of the column.

These splendid regiments, which had suffered heavily from the enemy's artillery fire, though the horses were fresh, passed through the intervals of the Highland regiments, and, amid cries of "Scotland for ever!" raised by the 42nd and 92nd, dashed with terrific impetus into the mass of infantry. Bearing down by sheer weight and momentum the head of the column, they swept through the broken ranks, sabring the bewildered veterans; and Ewart, a sergeant of the Greys, captured, after a hand-to-hand conflict, the eagle of the 45th regiment, which, by its gallantry at Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, had acquired the title of "Invincibles." Without stop or hindrance, the Greys dashed on the supporting column of Marcognet's right brigade, and scattered, killed, or captured the entire body.

On the right the Royal Dragoons made an equally brilliant and

effective charge on the leading column of Alix's division, which, having crossed the hedge lining the Wavre road, was advancing, with cries of triumph, across the crest of the ridge. The front ranks faced about and fled, throwing the rear into confusion, and the Royal Dragoons dealt fearful havoc in the broken mass, also capturing many prisoners. During the struggle Captain Clarke-Kennedy engaged and ran his sword through the officer bearing the standard of the 105th regiment, which had been presented to the corps by the Empress Marie Louise, and seized the trophy. The Inniskillings, in the centre of the "Union" brigade, with a loud hurrah, bore down at the charge upon the four battalions of the 54th and 55th regiments of Alix's division, and scattered them by the suddenness and rapidity of their advance.

While Ponsonby's brigade was thus carrying terror and destruction into the enemy's ranks, Lord Edward Somerset's brigade, consisting of the three Household regiments, and the 1st (or King's) Dragoon Guards, led by Lord Uxbridge in person, charged down the slope on both sides of La Haye Sainte, and encountered Kellermann's cuirassier brigades, which, after dispersing the Dutch-Belgians and Hanoverians, came into contact with the English squares, and now found foemen worthy their steel. The shock of battle between the opposing hosts, the picked chivalry of both nations, was terrific, and, notwithstanding that the warriors of France had the advantage of armour, not possessed by the Household cavalry, the result was not long doubtful. The cuirassiers were driven off the ridge on both flanks of La Haye Sainte, after a desperate hand-to-hand encounter. Among the heroes who here distinguished themselves was the renowned Corporal Shaw, a noted pugilist, of the 2nd Life Guards, a man of prodigious strength, who is said to have slain nine men with his own hand before he succumbed to a carbine.

The British cavalry had accomplished their task, but, filled with the ardour of battle, dashed up the slope on the enemy's main position. In vain the bugles sounded the recall; in vain Lord Uxbridge exhorted them to halt. The fierce troopers made for the guns which had been dealing slaughter unchecked into the British ranks on the ridge. Soon they were amid the batteries, sabring the artillerymen and stabbing the horses, thus disabling some thirty or forty guns. But these daring horsemen were too exacting in their claims on the Goddess of Victory. The assailants in turn became the assailed. Vandeleur's light cavalry brigade, owing to the nature of the ground, was late in coming to their support, and before they had time to reform their broken ranks, the exhausted troopers were charged by Jacquinot's light cavalry brigade, and suffered heavily, especially the Greys, as they retreated to the main position. At length Vandeleur arrived on the scene with his brigade,

consisting of the 11th, 12th, and 16th Light Dragoons, and charged the rearmost supporting column of Marcognet's division, intervening between him and the hardly pressed "Union" brigade. The leading regiment, the 12th Dragoons, headed by Colonel Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, forced their way through the columns, and dashed on the flank of the French lancers; and the 16th, led by Vandeleur in person, charged in front and drove the horsemen to the foot of the valley.

In this desperate conflict General Hon. Sir William Ponsonby, one of Wellington's most trusted cavalry brigadiers in the Peninsula, was pierced to the heart by a lance, and his brother, the equally gallant Colonel Hon. Frederick Ponsonby, was dangerously wounded, and left on the field for dead. Colonel Muter, commanding the Inniskillings, and Colonel Hay, commanding the 16th Dragoons, were also desperately wounded. Among the slain were three commanding officers—Colonel Hamilton of the Greys, Colonel Ferrier of the 1st Life Guards, and Colonel Fuller of the King's Dragoon Guards. There were also killed Colonel Fitzgerald of the 2nd Life Guards, and Majors Packe of the Blues, Graham and Brughurst of the King's Dragoon Guards, and Reignolds of the Greys. A large number of officers of junior rank were killed, and but few engaged in that wild charge escaped without wounds. Of that gallant array which had charged in all the pride of youth and strength and disciplined valour, only a few broken squadrons returned to receive the plaudits of their countrymen, and the heavy cavalry division, as an effective unit in Wellington's line of battle, ceased to exist.

The thinned ranks of the three cavalry brigades took post near the farm of Mont St. Jean, and Sir John Lambert's infantry brigade, in reserve near Mont St. Jean, took up a position in support of the 5th division, now that the cavalry were *hors de combat*. Nevertheless, great results had been obtained by the repulse of the French attack on the centre and left wing, for some 3,000 prisoners were taken, two eagles captured, and over thirty guns disabled.

About this time, 2.30 P.M., Foy's and Prince Jerome's divisions made a determined attack upon the buildings and enclosures of Hougoumont, but were repulsed by the 3rd Guards, under Colonel Hepburn, who had relieved Lord Saltoun's diminished force, and the Coldstreams under Colonel (afterwards Field-Marshal Sir) Alexander Woodford. But every effort to capture the position failed. Napoleon now ordered a howitzer battery to turn its fire on the buildings to burn the garrison out. The shells soon took effect, and the buildings were in flames. The roofs fell in, and many of the wounded perished, but the undaunted garrison held their ground with true British tenacity, and repulsed every attack until the close of the day. The Emperor ordered Donzelot's division to attempt anew the capture of La Haye Sainte.

The men of the King's German Legion, under Major Baring, defended the post, buildings and garden, with great determination, but were compelled to abandon the orchard. The artillery of both armies engaged in a furious duel, but that of the French was more effective and heavy, owing to its overwhelming superiority. The oldest soldiers had never witnessed such a tremendous cannonade, from the effects of which the allied infantry, posted in column along the interior slope of the ridge, sheltered themselves as far as possible by lying down.

At this period of the battle, the whole of the 1st and 2nd French army corps had been engaged, and suffered heavily, and the greater portion of the 6th corps, under Count Lobau, was facing Bulow. Wellington, therefore, ordered Baron Chassé to proceed from the extreme right with his Dutch-Belgian division to the assistance of his hardly pressed left, and directed Lord Hill to hold Michell's brigade of Clinton's division in readiness to follow. The Emperor, on his side, finding Bulow's advance was becoming menacing, sent Count Lobau some reinforcements, and directed Ney to make a cavalry attack on the allied right wing.

With that object the Marshal collected twenty-one squadrons of Milhaud's cuirassiers, seven squadrons of lancers, and twelve squadrons of Chasseurs of Lefebvre-Desnouette's light cavalry division of the Guard, in all 5,400 sabres. Led by the Marshal Prince of Moskowa, the whole array, presenting a gorgeous mass of gold, gay colours, and burnished steel, advanced against the attenuated but dauntless infantry squares drawn up to receive the onset of the choicest chivalry of France. Wellington watched the exciting scene with the immobility which was one of his most remarkable characteristics; but this calmness was also due to the knowledge that he could trust that matchless infantry to repel the shock of the most daring horsemen in Europe, as the iron-bound coast of their native land—

> "ribbed and paled in
> With rocks unscaleable and roaring waters—"

withstands the angry surge that ceaselessly beats against its shores.

Those solid squares, edged round with glittering steel, and formed in "oblongs in exchequer"* over the field of battle, flanked each other. d death awaited those alike who sought to dash into them or hesi- ated before them. Not a square was broken, and the foiled horsemen at length drew off and descended the slope of the hill they had mounted with such *élan*, followed by heavy discharges of grape and cannister from the re-occupied guns. Furious at their repulse, the French cavalry again strove to break the British squares, but with no better success.

* This formation was adopted at the suggestion of an officer of the 43rd Light Infantry, then serving on the Staff, afterwards known as Sir F. Shaw Kennedy, K.C.B.

Finally, they made a third and more desperate attempt, reinforced by Kellermann's two divisions of heavy cavalry, and Guyot's heavy cavalry division of the Guard, thirty-seven squadrons in all. The whole space between La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont appeared one moving glittering mass, and the scenes of devoted bravery on both sides were re-enacted, but the result was always identical. The British squares repelled every endeavour of the horsemen, maddened by failure; and when they returned, the allied cavalry, including the 13th Dragoons and 15th Hussars of Grant's brigade, followed up the routed columns. Never in his brilliant career did Ney* exhibit in a more striking manner his claim to the sobriquet of "bravest of the brave" than in this terrible and protracted conflict. He had four horses shot under him. L'Heritier and Detort were wounded, Guyot was unhorsed and trampled under foot, and Milhaud and Roussel also lost their chargers.

Meantime the attack upon La Haye Sainte had been renewed with fury by Donzelot's division, and the buildings were set on fire; but the garrison of Germans, under Major Baring, gallantly held their ground, and the Prince of Orange sent two battalions of Ompteda's brigade of the King's German Legion to their support. But a body of cuirassiers charged down upon the right flank of one of the battalions before the men had time to form square, and almost annihilated it. Eventually, about six o'clock, the ammunition being exhausted, Major Baring was compelled to yield the post of La Haye Sainte to the overwhelming odds arrayed against him; but nothing more gallant occurred in the battle than the protracted defence of this position. In contrast to this devotion, Tripp's Dutch-Belgian cavalry brigade displayed great cowardice, and refused to charge the enemy, though led in person by Lord Uxbridge, as did also a regiment of Hanoverian hussars, but the cavalry of the King's German Legion did good service throughout the day. While this was progressing, Lord Hill, acting under Wellington's instructions, had brought Adam's light infantry brigade, consisting of the 52nd, 71st, and 95th regiments, from the plateau on the right, to a position between the Hougoumont enclosures and the right front of Maitland's Guards, and here they were charged by, but repulsed, the French cavalry of the Guard, but suffered severely from the enemy's artillery.

Since half-past four cannon-shot had been exchanged between a portion of Lobau's corps and Bulow's advance; but about six o'clock, Blucher crossed the brook Lasne at the defile of St. Lambert with five brigades, and Ziethen's corps from Ohain approached the left of the British position. Napoleon detached the remainder of Lobau's corps,

* Napoleon is said to have afterwards declared that "Ney behaved like a fool and sacrified all his cavalry." Ney, like his master, was playing a desperate game, one for life and the other for empire. Ney was shot on the fall of Paris, and his execution was a blot on the otherwise generous proceedings of the allied powers.

and Duhesme, with the "Young Guard" and twenty-four guns, towards Planchenoit, and temporarily checked Blucher's advance* on his right flank. But his position had become critical, and it was essential that the allies should be beaten before the arrival of the Prussians, or all would be lost. Encouraged by the capture of La Haye Sainte, he determined to follow it up by a vigorous attack upon the allied centre. D'Erlon's and Reille's corps had suffered immense losses, the former by the unsuccessful attack on the allied left wing and centre, and the latter by its unavailing efforts to get possession of Hougoumont.

Accordingly Donzelot's division of d'Erlon's corps, supported by a part of Alix's division, and a body of cuirassiers now advanced from La Haye Sainte against Alten's left, when Ompteda, under peremptory orders from the Prince of Orange, deployed a battalion of his brigade, and opened fire on the skirmishers. But the cuirassiers charged and "fairly rolled up" the battalion, which was annihilated, only thirty men escaping, among the killed being the gallant Ompteda. The commander of the 3rd division, Baron Charles Alten, who led the Light division in the Peninsula, was wounded about this time, and surrendered the command to Count Kielmansegge, and the British and German brigades had become greatly thinned by the repeated heavy attacks of the enemy. Pushing on, the French infantry attacked a battalion of the Grenadier Guards, which, deploying into line, under instructions from the Duke, who rode up to the spot, drove the enemy down the slope, and at the same time, Adam's brigade repulsed their cavalry.

Meantime Reille's corps strove to repeat at Hougoumont the feat achieved at La Haye Sainte, but the Coldstreams, lining the hedge, withstood the furious onslaught, and the Scots Guards, in the orchard, held their ground after repeatedly being driven back by superior numbers.

It was now seven o'clock; the long summer's day began to wane, and Napoleon resolved to throw his Imperial Guard, which still remained intact, not having yet fired a shot, against the allied right, while a combined attack, in support, was made on their centre. By the arrival of Zeithen on his extreme left, Wellington was enabled to make dispositions to meet the coming storm. He removed Vivian's and Vandeleur's light cavalry brigades from his extreme left to his centre, in front of his shattered heavy cavalry, and strengthened this part of his line, weakened by the loss of La Haye Sainte, by bringing forward the five Brunswick battalions from the rear of Maitland's and

* At 4.30 two brigades of infantry and one of cavalry were engaged with the French. At 6 o'clock the two remaining brigades of the fourth corps arrived, and an hour later, when Napoleon began his final attack, there were engaged 41,203 Prussian infantry, 8,858 cavalry, and 104 guns.

Adam's brigades. Suddenly the enemy about La Haye Sainte advanced, under heavy artillery fire, against the British centre, and the Prince of Orange, who led the Nassau troops in person, was wounded, when they fell back. The Brunswickers also retired, upon which Wellington hastened to the spot, and by his presence and voice restored the broken columns, which checked the enemy's advance. Vivian's cavalry arrived at this juncture and instilled fresh confidence into the remains of the decimated 3rd and 5th divisions, which had lost their superior officers, the Prince of Orange, Picton, Alten, and Sir Colin Halkett, while of the 2,000 horsemen composing the "Union" and Household brigades, drawn up at this point, scarce a squadron remained effective.

The situation in the British centre for a brief space had been, indeed, very critical, for Kielmansegge's Hanoverian brigade was almost destroyed, Kruse's Nassau battalions fell back, the five battalions of Brunswickers* also gave ground, and the allied artillery at this moment was completely disabled. But the Duke's personal intervention had rallied the Brunswickers, and the German Legion and Hanoverians, led by Kielmansegge, advanced at the double from the left, and Lambert's brigade of Cole's division, consisting of the 4th, 27th, and 40th† regiments, which was posted along the Wavre road, in line with Kempt's brigade, materially assisted, by its fire, in driving back d'Erlon's columns. They suffered severely, especially the 27th (Inniskillings), which was posted in square, in the angle formed by the junction of the Wavre and Charleroi roads, to protect the high road and support Ompteda's and Kielmansegge's brigades. But these attacks of the enemy were only subsidiary to the greater efforts elsewhere, and the Duke rode off to

* Colonel Hon. Sir Alexander Gordon, of the 3rd Guards, one of the Duke's Aides-de-Camp, received a mortal wound while rallying one of these battalions. The Duke wrote of him to his brother, the Earl of Aberdeen, afterwards Prime Minister:—"He received the wound, which occasioned his death, while rallying one of the Brunswick battalions which was shaking a little, and he lived long enough to be informed by myself of the glorious result of our action, to which he had so much contributed by his active and zealous assistance. I cannot express to you the regret and sorrow with which I look around me, and contemplate the loss which I have sustained, particularly in your brother. The glory resulting from such actions, so dearly bought, is no consolation to me, and I cannot suggest it as any to you and his friends; but I hope it may be expected that this last one has been so decisive, as that no doubt remains that our exertions and our individual losses will be rewarded by the early attainment of our just object. It is then that the glory of the actions in which our friends and relatives have fallen, will be some consolation for their loss."

† In an interesting book relating his military experiences, a Sergeant Williams, of the 40th regiment, gives a graphic account of the part taken by his regiment in the battle. For hours the 40th and other corps of Lambert's brigade stood their ground, their ranks ploughed by shot and shell from the French batteries, and when they moved at the close of the action, the ground was covered with the dead and wounded. As in all the regiments engaged, the majority of the officers were placed *hors de combat*, and among the slain was Major Heyland, the commanding officer of the 40th.

the threatened point to meet the still more formidable onslaught with the Imperial Guard, which his great rival was about to make.

Napoleon ordered Ney to bring up ten battalions of these choice troops, which had never yet failed him, while Reille was directed to make a renewed attack on Hougoumont in support of the movement. As the Imperial Guard, formed in two separate columns of attack, swept proudly past the Emperor, confident in their powers to carry all before them, they waved their bearskin caps, and, brandishing their arms, rent the air with enthusiastic cries of "Vive l'Empereur." It was a modern French rendering of the old Roman salutation of the gladiators to the Emperor, mentioned by Suetonius: "*Ave Cæsar, Imperator, morituri, te salutant.*" Napoleon should have advanced with his Guard and perished with it, then would his name have gone down in history as the grandest figure in modern times. But in this supreme moment of his fate, he displayed none of the disregard for his personal safety that distinguished him in his Italian campaign, and in the preceding year, on French soil, but was content to prolong the life which, six years later, was cut short by slow disease on the rock of St. Helena.

On the other side, the British commander, who took his stand beside Maitland's brigade of Guards, watched the movement with impassive composure, only exclaiming to his staff:—"Hard pounding this, gentlemen; but we will pound the longest." In order to shelter the Guards from the tremendous cannonade which heralded the attack, the Duke ordered them to lie down on the crest they occupied, adding the injunction, "Be cool, my boys." Now the first column of the Imperial Guard, consisting of four* battalions, led by General Friant, preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, passed the line of fire of the batteries directed on them, only Napier's guns saluting them with rounds of grape and case as they mounted the eminence, but without checking the advance of the serried columns. Maitland's brigade of Guards occupied the summit of this position, flanked on either side by Adam's brigade of Colville's division, and the 33rd and 69th regiments of Halkett's brigade of the 3rd division, the whole being formed four deep.

It was a quarter past seven o'clock as the Imperial Guard topped the ridge of Mont St. Jean, and at the word of command, "Up, Guards—make ready," given by the Duke, the brigade rose to their feet and poured in a close and well-directed volley. The veterans of Austerlitz and Friedland were taken aback, and staggered in their formation. Encouraged by their officers, they strove to deploy, but

* So says Siborne, but General Hon. Sir Edward Cust, in his "Annals of the Wars," places the strength of this column at ten battalions, which was that of the entire force engaged in both attacks.

How changed from the conqueror who witnessed at Austerlitz the flight of the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia; who at Eylau and Friedland humbled the two mightiest monarchies of the Continent; the invincible soldier, who three short years before led into Russia the most numerous and formidable host recorded in historic times; the arbiter of nations, who, at Dresden, kept kings and sovereign princes awaiting his will in his ante-chamber! "*Quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore.*"

At midnight Napoleon reached Quatre Bras, whence, despatching orders to Grouchy to retire upon Namur, he proceeded to Charleroi, whither the 6th corps and the remnant of the Imperial Guard and cavalry retreated. Before midnight 150 guns and 6,000 men were captured, and the country was strewed with arms and warlike equipments, Napoleon's carriage being among the *spolia opima*. Blucher,—"old Marshal Forwards," as his men called him,—took up the pursuit of the routed army, with his fresher battalions and squadrons, and at ten o'clock that night, he met Wellington at Genappe,* and the commanders arranged for future operations. The Duke then rode back by moonlight to the village of Waterloo,† where he wrote his characteristically modest despatch of a battle which was gained equally by

* It has been asserted by Siborne and most writers, and the scene has been illustrated in paintings, that Wellington and Blucher met on the field of battle at the farm of La Belle Alliance; but the Duke's evidence on this point is conclusive. In a letter dated 6th June, 1816, and published in vol. x. of the Supplementary Despatches, he says:—"A remarkable instance of the falsehoods circulated through the medium of unofficial despatches, is to be found in the report of a meeting between Marshal Blucher and me at La Belle Alliance, and some have gone so far as to have seen the chair in which I sat down in the farm-house. It happens that the meeting took place after ten at night at the village of Genappe, and anybody who attempts to describe with truth the operations of the different armies, will see that it could not be otherwise." Almost every member of the Duke's staff was killed or wounded, and at one time he employed the services of a young Piedmontese nobleman, of the name of De Salis. "Were you," asked the Duke, "ever in a battle before?" "No, my Lord," he replied. "Then," said Wellington, "you are a lucky man. You will never see such another."

† Major Sherer says, in his "Military Memoirs":—"On the night of the memorable battle, the words and emotions of the conqueror will long be remembered by those who sat with him at supper, after the anxious and awful day had closed. The fountain of a great heart lies deep, and the self-government of a calm mind permits no tears. But this night Wellington repeatedly leaned back in his chair, and rubbing his hands convulsively, exclaimed aloud, 'Thank God, I have met him! Thank God, I have met him!' And even as he spoke the smile that lighted up his eye was immediately dimmed by those few and big tears that gush warm from a grateful heart." Many years afterwards, when Soult, Napoleon's Chief of the Staff on this great day, was French Ambassador at St. James', he attended the annual Waterloo dinner at Apsley House as Wellington's guest, and they compared notes of this and the many other occasions they had met as enemies.

the patience and skill of the commander, and the indomitable valour of his army.

Whether we regard the stubbornness of the conflict, the perennial interest excited in its details, the great losses incurred on either side, amounting to one-fourth the combatants, the military genius of the rival commanders, who met for the first and only time in their unparalleled careers of glory, the picturesque incidents of the "heady fight," or the surpassing gravity of the issues at stake—when we consider all these elements that go to constitute a great battle, Waterloo will be handed down to history as one of the greatest and most decisive recorded in history.*

Blucher continued his pursuit of the broken French army, and on the 21st, passed the frontier of France. Thielmann—who, with 16,000

* Siborne places the effective strength of the Anglo-allied army, including the Dutch-Belgian contingent, at 67,655, and their total losses at 14,724. Exclusive of the latter troops, whose casualties were about 4,000, the allied loss was 2,481 of all ranks killed, 7,875 wounded, and 1,072 missing. The British army numbered 23,991 combatants, and as they were the chief contributors to the success achieved, so they were the greatest sufferers. Their losses amounted to 83 officers and 1,334 men killed; 363 officers and 4,560 rank and file wounded, and 10 officers and 582 men missing; total loss, 6,932, being little less than 30 per cent. of the combatants. Among officers slain, besides those mentioned in the above narrative, were the following:—Sir Henry Ellis, Sir F. D'Oyly, Sir William Delancey, Quartermaster-General; Colonels Curric and Hon. W. Curzon, of the Adjutant-General's Department; Stables and Thomas of the Grenadier Guards; Abercromby of the Coldstream Guards; Canning of the 3rd Guards; Morice, commanding the 69th, and Cameron, commanding the 92nd. Majors Griffiths, 15th Hussars; Hawtyn and Jolliffe, 23rd; Holmes, 27th; Meacham, 28th; Chambers, 30th; Whitley, 32nd; Crofton, 54th; Eeles, 95th; Cairnes, Bolton, and Lloyd, Royal Artillery. Also Lord Hay and Lord James Hay of the Grenadier Guards, and a numerous list of officers below field rank. The wounded included the Prince of Orange, Lord Uxbridge, who lost a leg at the close of the action as he was about to accompany Vivian's cavalry in the final charge, Baron Alten, and Generals Cooke, Sir James Kempt, Sir Dennis Pack, Sir C. Grant, Sir F. Adam, Sir Edward Barnes (Adjutant-General), and Sir Colin Halkett. Also Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the Duke's military secretary, so well-known as Lord Raglan, who lost an arm, Sir John Elles, Sir R. Hill, Sir George Berkeley, Sir Henry Bradford, Sir A. Barnard, the gallant commander of the 95th in the Peninsula, which regiment, now known as the Rifle Brigade, had two battalions and three companies engaged at Waterloo. The British army alone had 1,319 horses killed, and 1,417 wounded and missing. Of the allied force no less than 13,402 infantry, 3,205 cavalry, and 1,177 artillerymen, with 32 guns, belonged to the Dutch-Belgian contingent, of which five battalions retreated when Napoleon made his first grand attack on the allied centre and left wing, and five, consisting of Nassau troops, behaved well. Of the twelve battalions of Chassé's division, which were brought into action about six o'clock, one-half abandoned the field on first being brought into contact with the enemy. The twenty-eight squadrons and sixteen guns in the service of the King of the Netherlands were equally unreliable. Among the French generals captured were Lobau, Duhesme, and Cam-

men, had kept Grouchy at bay at Wavre for several hours during the 18th June, thus giving Blucher the opportunity of throwing himself, with Bulow's and Ziethen's corps, between the marshal and Napoleon —pursued Grouchy through Gembloux, and his troops stormed Namur, held by Teste's division, while Grouchy was threading the defile of the Meuse, leading to Dinant, with the loss of 1,500 men.

The Duke of Wellington issued a proclamation to his troops, reminding them "that France ought to be treated as a friendly country." On the 21st he crossed the French frontier and established his headquarters at Malplaquet, the scene of Marlborough's victory over Marshals Villars and Boufflers on the 11th September, 1709. On the following day, the Duke issued a proclamation to the French people, promising them good treatment if they abstained from opposition, and payment for all requisitions, and on the 23rd June, he had a conference at Chatillon with Blucher, who was inspired with far different feelings towards the vanquished, and arranged for ulterior operations and the advance on Paris. On the evening of the 25th, General Colville's division escaladed the town of Cambray without loss, and on the following day, Lord Saltoun, at the head of the light companies of Maitland's brigade of Guards, captured the outworks of Peronne by assault, when this maiden fortress capitulated. Meanwhile Napoleon abdicated in favour of his son, the King of Rome, and on the 25th, withdrew from the capital to his country palace at Malmaison. The allied armies continued to advance upon Paris, the French troops, under d'Erlon and Reille, falling back, closely pressed by Bulow and Ziethen, who took up a position in front of the city on the 29th. Marshal Davoust, Prince of Echmuhl, was now in command of the French troops concentrated in Paris, some 80,000 or 90,000 men. On the same day Commissioners* appointed by the French Provisional Government waited upon the Duke of Wellington, who refused to treat with emissaries of Napoleon or his family, and the Duke took up a position at St. Denis, the Prussians moving to the south side of Paris. There was some

bronne, to whom is attributed the apocryphal saying that the "Guard dies, but does not surrender." The losses of Bulow's and Ziethin's corps were 22 officers and 1,203 men killed, 162 officers and 4,125 men wounded, and 39 officers and 1,354 men missing, total 6,905. At the battle fought at Wavre on the same day between Grouchy and Thielmann, when the latter, being greatly outnumbered, gave way, the Prussian loss was 2,476. The entire loss, therefore, of the allied forces on the 18th June was 24,105, and it is certain that the casualties of the French armies were not less, but they were never accurately known.

* By a strange freak of fortune, among the Commissioners interceding for their country with the Duke of Wellington was one who in long bygone times had done England much injury. The Marquis Lafayette was the same officer who had assisted our revolted colonies in America, in 1777-81, and was present at the battles of Brandywine and Monmouth, and the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. He survived till 1834.

slight skirmishing between the enemy and Colville's division, at Aubervilliers, but all obstacles to a suspension of hostilities were removed by the departure of Napoleon* from Paris. On the 3rd July a military convention was concluded at St. Cloud, Blucher's headquarters, by which the army, under Davoust, evacuated Paris on the following day for the Loire.

On the 7th July, the allied armies entered the capital, the British troops marching through the Champs Elysées and the Boulevards, where they had not set foot for four centuries, since the Whitsuntide of 1421, when Henry V. and his Queen, Catherine of France, after Agincourt, kept high festival in the palace of the Louvre. Under the protection of foreign bayonets, Louis XVIII. re-entered his capital on the 18th July, only to misgovern his unwilling subjects; and restitution was made to the kingdoms of Europe, England alone requiring none, of the pictures, statues and books of which they had been robbed by the conquering armies of France. Wellington, to his honour be it said, exerted himself to prevent Blucher and others from exacting from a defeated and depressed people, the hard measure they had meted out in their day of triumph. The Congress of Vienna reassembled at Paris, and by its decision France was condemned to cede all her conquests in Belgium, the Upper Rhine and elsewhere, the frontier being restored to its limits in 1790, also to pay twenty-eight millions sterling to the allies for the expenses of the war, besides a further sum of thirty-three millions to reimburse them for the spoliation committed by the French armies, and to maintain for five years (later reduced to three) an army of 150,000 men. This army of occupation—consisting of 25,000 from each of the four great powers, together with contingents of 10,000 men each from Denmark, Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemburg—was placed under the supreme command of the Duke of Wellington, who was created Field-marshal in the armies of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, a rank he already held in those of the Netherlands, Hanover, Spain and Portugal, an unprecedented honour, which redounded alike to the glory of the British army and its great commander, who at the age of forty-seven, finally sheathed his sword.

The controversy has been interminable as to the generalship of the rival commanders at the battle of Waterloo; but indeed there was no manœuvring on either side, and the efforts of one commander were

* Napoleon fled from Paris, accompanied by the faithful Bertrand and others, and arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd July, when, finding that the vigilance of the British cruisers prevented all chance of his escaping to America, he surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*, 74. He was first taken to Torbay, and thence, without landing, transferred in the *Northumberland*, 74, to St. Helena, where he died of cancer in the stomach on the 5th May, 1821.

directed to win the position, which the other strenuously held. Had Grouchy come up on the afternoon of the 18th June, the battle would have been indecisive, and Wellington might have retired at night, only to renew the struggle on being joined by Blucher on the following day. Napoleon and the French nation generally blamed Grouchy for their defeat, but he only conformed to the written instructions of his master. As regards numerical strength, the rival armies were well matched on the 18th June, but Napoleon was superior in cavalry, and had no less than ninety more guns. Again, while, on the one hand, the Emperor was compelled, at a critical time, to detach a whole corps, with eight battalions of his Imperial Guard, to check the Prussian advance on his right flank, Wellington was seriously crippled by the unreliability of the Dutch-Belgian contingent, consisting of nearly 18,000 men, with thirty-two guns, of which only five battalions stood their ground.

It is futile speculating as to the result had Grouchy arrived before the Prussians. It has been observed that war is a series of blunders, in which he wins who makes the fewest. Though the arrival of Blucher at a crisis of the battle was due to the arrangements of the Duke, who expected him about four o'clock, whereas the British army had to sustain the French attack unaided till nearly eight, the battle was won, not so much by the skilful dispositions of Wellington—who freely exposed his person throughout the day, being always at the menaced point, inspiring his men by voice and example—as by the desperate valour and tenacity of the British infantry. These qualities wrung from Napoleon the admission, made to Soult, "How beautifully that English infantry fights, but it must give way!"

And Wellington knew he could depend on his men, for when he was advised to withdraw the exhausted regiments, he asked, "Will they stand?"

"Till they perish," was the reply.

"Then let them stand, and we will stand with them to the last, for the position must not be weakened," said the great Duke.

A peace, extending over forty years, succeeded the turmoil of the great war, and with the London Exhibition of 1851, it seemed as though the millennium had set in. No more for the British army, were he *certaminis gaudia*—the "rapture of the strife," which, according to Cassiodorus, Attila promised his troops when addressing them before the battle of Chalons. But the glories denied to our soldiers in Europe were showered upon them without stint in India, and the doors of the temple of Janus were seldom closed to its worshippers during the lengthened period between Waterloo and the Alma.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM CENTRAL

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NEPAUL, MAHRATTA, AND BURMESE WARS.

1810–1826.

Reduction of Mauritius—Expedition to Java and the Celebes—The War in Nepaul—Death of General Gillespie at Kalunga—Capture of Almora and Defeat of the Ghoorkas by General Ochterlony—The Pindaree and Mahratta War—Battle of Kirkee—Battle of Seetabuldee and Submission of Nagpore—Defeat and Dispersion of Holkar's Army at Mahidpore—Action at Korygaum—Defeat of the Peishwa—Capture of Asseerghur and End of the War—Expeditions against the Joasmi Pirates and the Beni-Boo-Ali Arabs—Siege and Capture of Bhurtpore—The First Burmese War—The Battles round Rangoon—The Expedition to Arracan—Advance up the Irrawaddy—Capture of Donabew and Prome—Repulse at Wattigaum—The Actions at Mellown and Pagahm Mew—Conclusion of the Burmese War.

In Asia the process of building up our Indian Empire had received no check during the period occupied in the life-and-death struggle with Napoleon. Indeed France contributed her share of the materials for the completion of the goodly fabric. After the overthrow of the Mahratta powers by Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley, India proper enjoyed the blessings of peace for a few years. There were no hostile operations within her borders until the Nepaulese War, but in 1810, while the victor of Assaye was engaged in his struggle for the recovery of Portugal, an English expedition effected the reduction of the French possessions in the Indian Ocean. Great loss had accrued to English commerce by the depredations of French cruisers issuing from the Isle of France, now known as Mauritius, and Bourbon, or Reunion, and in 1810, a combined naval and military expedition was despatched from the shores of India. Some 3,650 troops, including the 69th and 86th regiments, under Colonel Keating, disembarked, on the 7th July, at the island of Bourbon, and, on the following day, marched in three columns for St. Denis, the capital. Some sharp fighting took place, the 86th charging with the bayonet, and a redoubt was captured. On the 10th July, the Governor surrendered the town and island, the loss of the British troops and seamen, the latter under Captain Willoughby, being seventeen killed and fifty-nine wounded.

For the reduction of Mauritius, a fleet was assemhled, which, including transports, numbered seventy sail, under Commodore Rowley, and 10,000 men, under the command of General Abercrombie, were brought from the three presidencies of India and the Cape. A landing was successfully effected on the 29th November at Grand Baie, about fifteen miles from Port Louis, the capital, upon which an advance was made on the following morning. On the 2nd December an action was fought, in which the 33rd regiment charged the enemy, capturing his field-pieces, but Colonel John Campbell, commanding the regiment and Major Smith, of the artillery, fell in the conflict, with 167 men killed, wounded, and missing. General de Caen, the French Governor, now offered to capitulate, and the town and island passed into the possession of England, by whom they have been retained, unlike the island of Reunion, which was restored to France at the Peace. The entire loss in both services was only twenty-nine killed and about 150 wounded, including Colonel Keating.

An expedition was conducted in the same year against the Dutch settlements in the Eastern Seas, which, with the other possessions of Holland, had practically passed under the dominion of France. The Moluccas* were first attacked, and Amboyna, the largest of the group, was captured, after a feeble resistance. The same fate befell the islands of Celebes and Ternate. But the most brilliant feat of arms performed at this time, was the capture, on the 9th August, of the fort on the island of Banda, the chief of the group. Captain Cole, R.N., with the crews of two frigates and a sloop, and 100 soldiers of the Madras Fusiliers,† in all about 400 men, landed about midnight, scaled the walls of the fort, upon which the island was surrendered, and spice to the value of about £400,000 became the property of the lucky captors.

In the following year (1811) Lord Minto, Governor-General of India, despatched an expedition for the reduction of the important island of Java. It consisted of a powerful fleet of Royal and Indian ships-of-war, with 12,000 soldiers, under Sir Samuel Achmuty, Commander-in-chief at Madras. The whole force, accompanied by Lord Minto, mustered at Malacca, and arrived off the north coast of the island. A landing was effected on the 4th August, and on the 8th, the city of Batavia was occupied without opposition. But a severe resistance was encountered in storming the enemy's entrenched camp, mounted with heavy guns, and defended by 10,000 men under General Jansens. After battering the works and repelling a sortie, the camp was stormed at dawn on the 26th August, in the most gallant style, by the British and

* The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, had been captured in 1801, but were restored to Holland at the Peace of Amiens.

† This gallant regiment, since known as the 102nd and the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, bears "Amboyna," "Ternate," and "Banda" on its colours.

native troops, led by Colonel Rollo Gillespie, one of the most intrepid soldiers the Indian army has produced. The 59th and 69th, under Colonels Gibbs and Macleod, led the attack, the 14th and 78th, under General Wetherall, following in support, together with some native battalions. Gillespie stormed the advanced redoubt, in which Jansens had taken post, and the seamen and marines took Fort Cornelis. The British loss was 156 killed, including Colonel Macleod, and 788 wounded, and Jansens, who effected his escape, left in the hands of the victors over 5,000 prisoners, besides above 1,000 slain. Admiral Sir Robert Stopford now embarked the troops to attack the Governor, who had taken post at Serondel, near Samarang, and on the 16th, Colonel Gibbs attacked and drove him out of his entrenchments. Seeing the futility of further resistance, Jansens surrendered the island of Java* and Sir Stamford Raffles was appointed Governor, Colonel Rollo Gillespie being left in command of the troops. Lord Minto, who now resigned the office of Governor-General to Earl Moira, better known as the Marquis of Hastings, was enabled to announce before his departure that the French flag had ceased to fly between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn.

The Nepaul War.

Lord Moira, who had served with distinction in America, arrived at Calcutta in October, 1813, and in the following year, found himself embroiled in a war with the State of Nepaul, which had seized some frontier districts belonging to the East India Company. An army of 34,000 men, including 12,000 irregulars, was assembled and organized into four divisions, under Generals Marley, Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony. The country was unknown and difficult, and the people known as Ghoorkas were warlike, and from them at the present time we recruit some of our best and most reliable Indian troops. On the 19th October, Gillespie, who, with 3,500 men, was to occupy the fertile and lovely hill valley of Dehra Dhoun, and to lay siege to the fortress of Jytok, opened the campaign by despatching his advance, under Colonel Carpenter, to Dehra, while Colonel Mawbey, with the main body, followed the retreating Ghoorkas in the direction of Kalunga, a hill fortress to which access was rendered difficult by means of stockades, a species of defence hitherto unknown in Indian warfare, but with the

* At the Peace in 1814, Java, together with Sumatra and all the other Dutch possessions, won with the expenditure of so much blood, was restored to Holland. It was in consequence of this unwise surrender that Sir S. Raffles formed the British settlement of Singapore.

formidable nature of which, when defended by resolute men, our troops were soon to become acquainted.

Gillespie arrived before the place on the 26th October, and raising a battery, opened fire four days later, and on the last day of the month delivered an assault. Three of the four columns failed to arrive in time, and the enemy, perceiving this, made a sortie, which was repulsed, and followed up by General Gillespie, who tried to take the fort by escalade. The outer stockades were carried, but the assailants were met by a heavy fire from the walls and were compelled to fall back with great loss. Irritated at this failure, General Gillespie, at the head of three fresh companies of H.M. 53rd regiment, and some dismounted men of the 8th Dragoons, again advanced to the attack. He had reached within thirty yards of the gate, and was in the act of cheering on his men, sword in hand, when he was shot through the heart. All the officers who followed him were struck down, and the attempt was temporarily abandoned, the troops returning to Dehra.

On receiving a battering train of 18-pounders from Delhi, Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command devolved, returned to Kalunga on the 24th November, and effected a practical breach in two days. Again an attempt was made to storm the fortress, but though the assailants mounted the breach, there was a precipitous descent of fourteen feet on the other side, where the garrison stood ready to receive them, matchlock and pike in hand. After remaining for two hours exposed to a heavy fire, the troops were withdrawn, having lost over 600 men killed and wounded. Mawbey now bombarded the fort, and in three days, the original garrison of 600 men was reduced to seventy, when the place was evacuated by its gallant defenders. General Martindale, who assumed the command, occupied Nahan and attacked Jytok, a very strong hill fortress. Two columns, respectively 1,000 and 700 strong, advanced on the 27th December, to storm the place, but were repulsed with the loss of 400 men.

General Marley, who was to have marched with a column of 8,000 men on Khatmandoo, the capital, procrastinated, and when he started, suffered two of his outposts to be surprised by the enemy, on the 1st January, 1815, and experienced considerable loss.

General Wood, the officer in command of an independent column of 4,500 men, displayed equal pusillanimity. On leaving Gorruckpore, he advanced, on the 3rd January, to attack the stockade of Jetpore, about a mile from Bhootwal, but encountering a determined resistance, he retreated and confined his efforts to defending the British frontier. Such was the officer who was appointed to supersede General Marley, who had quitted his division, leaving Colonel Dick in command. Though at the head of 13,000 men he accomplished nothing, but his

subordinate, Captain Latter, gained possession of the district of Moorang, driving away the Ghoorkas. A still more important success was achieved by Colonels Gardner and Jasper Nicolls (afterwards Commander-in-chief in India). Gardner, with 3,000 men, first drove the Ghoorkas to the hills in the direction of Almora, and Nicolls arriving with 2,000 regular troops and some artillery, the stockades in front of Almora were bombarded, and that place surrendered. The two provinces of Kumaun and Ghurwal were annexed, and have since remained integral portions of British India.

General David Ochterlony, however, achieved the most brilliant successes with his division of 6,000 men, operating on the western extremity of the frontier line of 700 miles. He commenced operations against Ummer Sing, the most able of the Ghoorka generals, by capturing the hill fort of Nalagurh, after almost incredible exertions in erecting a battery. He then turned the strong position at Ramghur, and, on the arrival of reinforcements, undertook some skilful movements, by which, without a direct encounter, the enemy were compelled to evacuate Ramghur, and all their other forts in the south. On the 1st April, 1815, Maloun, the only remaining stronghold, was invested. In the line of stockades stretching along the ridge between Maloun and Surajghur, the British general detected two assailable points, Kyla and Deothul, which were carried on the night of the 14th April. Two days later, Ummer Sing made a determined effort to retake Deothul, but was beaten back with the loss of his bravest lieutenant and 500 men, the British having 350 men killed and wounded. Maloun was now invested, and on the 8th May, a battery of heavy guns began to play on the place, when Ummer Sing surrendered the fort.

The Government of Nepaul now sued for peace, which was concluded on the terms of the cession of the hill country west of the Gogra, and of the Terai, and the admission of a Resident, or political officer, at Khatmandoo. The treaty was signed at Segowlee on the 2nd December, but, through the influence of Ummer Sing and the war party, the regent refused to ratify it. Accordingly, General (now Sir David) Ochterlony, took the field early in February, 1816, with 17,000, men, divided into four columns. Finding the Chiriaghati Pass occupied, on the night of the 14th, he marched, with a brigade, for another more difficult pass, and himself leading with the 87th regiment, threaded the defile, and by the morning gained the summit. The Ghoorkas, finding the Chiriaghati Pass turned, abandoned their stockades, and Ochterlony, on being joined by a second brigade, pushed on for Mukwanpore. Here the Ghoorkas made a desperate attempt to drive back the invaders, but suffered a sanguinary repulse, leaving 800 men on the field, the British loss being over 200. Seeing the futility of further resistance, the Rajah sent the ratified treaty from Khatmandoo, and hostilities ceased on the 3rd March.

The Mahratta and Pindaree War.

Peace was maintained for no lengthened period within the frontiers of India, as in the following year hostilities, which had long been threatening, broke out with the predatory Pindaree tribes, which was soon followed by a war on a large scale with the Mahrattas. In 1815, the Pindarees first made an irruption into the territories of the Company and of their ally, the Nizam, and it was continued in the two subsequent years on a greater scale; the Nagpore State also suffered from their depredations. A treaty was entered into with Scindia and the Rajah of Nagpore for their co-operation, though with evident reluctance as regards the Gwalior ruler; but Bajee Rao, the Peishwa, was more openly hostile, and he was compelled to sign a treaty on the 13th June, 1817, by which he renounced the position of head of the Mahratta empire, and ceded Saugor, Bundelcund and other districts to the Company. The state of Indore was at this time in complete anarchy, and Bajee Rao intrigued with its rulers to form a confederacy against the English. Central India, including the Rajpoot principalities, was in a state of disorganization, and the armies of Scindia and Holkar, over 100,000 men, were beyond the control of the Government. In order to cope with these unruly elements, and repress the Pindaree incursions, Lord Hastings, who united in his person the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, organized a vast army of 116,000 men, with 300 guns, and taking the field in person, on the 26th October, crossed the Jumna, with a division of 12,500 men, while General Donkin moved from Agra with a like force, both divisions directing their march on Gwalior, with the object, as Lord Hastings says, of compelling Scindia to subscribe the treaty to be dictated to him.

Never before had so vast an army been assembled under our standard. The "army of Hindostan" numbered 66,000 men, organized in four divisions, under Generals Donkin, Marshall, Brown and Sir David Ochterlony, who commanded the reserve. The "army of the Deccan," under Sir Thomas Hislop, Commander-in-chief of the Madras Presidency, numbered 50,000 men, and was formed into five divisions, under Sir John Malcolm, Colonels Doveton, Smith and Adams, with a reserve under Colonel Pritzler.

When Lord Hastings was within two marches of Gwalior, Scindia, on the 5th November, agreed to the terms imposed upon him, but on the same day, the Peishwa broke out into an open rupture. On the 26th, the Rajah of Nagpore followed suit, and on the 16th December,

Holkar took up arms. At this time Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the British Resident at the Court of the Peishwa, Bajee Rao, removed from Poona to a more defensible position at Kirkee, two miles distant, where he had for his protection the Bombay Fusiliers and three native battalions, some 3,000 men, under Colonel Burr. Confident that the other Mahratta states would take the field as they had secretly bound themselves to do, on the 5th November, Bajee Rao's army, numbering 18,000 horse and 8,000 foot, after burning the Residency, marched to attack the British force. Nothing daunted, Colonel Burr took the offensive and advanced with his small force to meet the enemy Gokla, the Mahratta general, opened fire with a battery of nine guns, and enveloped the British troops with his great mass of cavalry, while a battalion of infantry, under a Portuguese officer, attacked a sepoy regiment. They were repulsed, but pursued with such ardour that a gap was created in the British line. Seizing his opportunity, Gokla launched 6,000 horsemen against the regiment, but, rallied by the veteran Colonel Burr, they succeeded in resisting the charge, whereupon the whole line advanced and drove the Mahrattas from the field with the loss of 500 men, the British loss being only eighty-six. General Smith arrived at Poona with reinforcements on the 13th, but the Peishwa declined a second encounter, and four days later, he fled, leaving his capital in the hands of the victors. Thus fell the head of the great Mahratta power, exactly a century after its establishment by concessions from the Mogul Emperor of Delhi.

Appa Sahib, the Nagpore regent, who had signed the treaty with Lord Hastings, mounted the throne in July of this year (1817), and displayed more than Oriental duplicity in his conduct. He invited Mr. Jenkins, the British Resident, on the 24th November, to his camp, and made an attack the same night with 18,000 men, including 4,000 Arab horse and thirty-six guns, on the Residency, which was separated from the city by a small ridge, with two heights at the extremity, called the Seetabuldee hills. This position was held by a native force, consisting of two weak Madras regiments, two companies of the Resident's escort, and three troops of Bengal cavalry, with four guns. All the evening and until daylight, the enemy attacked the British position, and at length captured the lower hill, when they turned their fire on the larger hill, and began to close in upon the Residency, preparatory to an assault. At this time one-quarter of the little force, with fourteen officers, was *hors de combat*, when Captain Fitzgerald, commanding the cavalry, obtained permission of Colonel Scott, the commandant, to charge the enemy. He was told to "charge at his peril." "At my peril be it!" replied the brave young officer, who immediately charged, drove back the horse, cut up the infantry, and captured two guns. This dashing exploit excited the emulation of the sepoys, who rushed

down the hill, chasing the enemy before them like a flock of sheep. Seetabuldee is a name honoured in the annals of the native army, and well it may be.

British reinforcements, under Colonel Doveton, now poured into Nagpore. The Rajah's army was dispersed after a severe engagement, in which the British lost 140 men, but some 5,000 Arab troops retreated to the fort in the city, and repulsed an assault with the loss to the British of 90 killed and 179 wounded. The fort was evacuated on the 30th December, and soon after Appa Sahib was deposed and died at Lahore, a pensioner on the bounty of Runjeet Sing.

On the 21st December a decisive action was fought at Mahidpore with Holkar's army, 20,000 strong, under Guffoor Khan, a Pathan, and other leaders. Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm, who had served with the Duke of Wellington at Seringapatam and was afterwards Governor of Bombay, attacked the Indore army, which was admirably posted on the opposite bank of the Sipree, its front defended by 70 guns, and its flanks protected by an angle of the river and a deep morass. The British army crossed the river, under a terrible artillery fire, and continuing their advance with great intrepidity, captured the batteries, the gunners being bayoneted at their posts. The infantry made no stand, and the cavalry, reported to be the finest in India, fled without affording assistance. The loss of the enemy was not less than 3,000, that of the British being about 778 killed and wounded, but the success was decisive.* The enemy lost sixty-three guns, and refused again to face British troops. By the treaty, signed at Mundesore, cessions of territory were made to the Company, and young Holkar, who displayed great gallantry in the battle, lost his independence.

The Pindaree predatory bands, numbering 23,000 men, dispersed as the British divisions closed on their haunts in Malwa, and were pursued and cut up, and Cheetoo, the greatest of their leaders, was hunted for more than a year, and ultimately perished in a jungle infested by tigers. Ameer Khan, the Pathan leader of freebooters, numbering 52 battalions of infantry, with a numerous cavalry and 150 guns, now came to terms, and became a feudatory prince, with a "jagheer" of £150,000, and thus in four brief months, Lord Hastings had broken up the Mahratta Confederacy, and defeated and dispersed levies of

* Holkar's sister, Beema Bye, displayed a personal gallantry in the field, of which Indian princesses have given many instances. Though only twenty, she rode at the head of 20,000 men, lance in hand, and was captured. Another remarkable woman was Toolsye Bye, the favourite wife of Jeswunt Rao, who, on his death, adopted the young Holkar, and governed as Regent. A woman of great beauty and ambition, she intrigued with the British Government, and before the battle of Mahidpore, was decapitated, and her remains thrown into the Sipree. In the great Indian Mutiny the Ranee of Jhansi was killed fighting in the ranks against us, and, on the other hand, the Begum of Bhopal was our faithful ally.

over 150,000 men with 500 guns. And this he effected without the sanction of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, or of the Board of Control in Downing Street.

But before taking leave of the Mahratta and Pindaree wars, mention must be made of an action in which the sepoys of the Bombay army earned as much glory as their brethren of Madras at Seetabuldee. When Bajee Rao began his retreat southward on the 28th November, 1817, he was pursued by General Smith's column, but doubled back towards Poona. Colonel Burr, the commandant, called to his support the detachment at Seroor, consisting of the 1st Bombay Native Infantry (or Grenadiers), 600 men, 300 irregular horse, and two six-pounders, manned by twenty-four artillerymen, the only Europeans of the force. Captain Staunton commenced his march at eight on the morning of the 31st December, and at ten A.M. on New Year's Day, 1818, reached the high ground on the Bheema, near the village of Korygaum,* about sixteen miles from Poona. The Mahratta army, 25,000 strong, was drawn up on the opposite bank, and, crossing over, made a determined attack on this handful of men, jaded with a long march, and destitute of either provisions or water. The Peishwa watched the fight, which was directed by Gokla and Trimbukjee. All day the Mahratta and Arab troops made every effort to capture the village, the streets and houses being taken and retaken at the point of the bayonet. At length Lieutenant Chisholm, commanding the artillery, was killed, and the Arabs made a rush and captured one of the guns, but Lieutenant Pattinson, adjutant of the native regiment, a man of nature and mould equally heroic, being 6 ft. 7 in. in height, though lying on the ground mortally wounded, raised himself up and led on his men till a second ball laid him low. But the gun was regained, and as night fell, the Peishwa, hearing of the approach of General Smith, retreated, and Staunton fell back on Seroor. The British loss was heavy. Of eight British officers with the column, three were killed and two wounded; and of the twenty-four artillerymen engaged, twelve were killed and eight wounded. Of the sepoys sixty-two were slain and 118 wounded, exclusive of the irregular horse. On the 10th February, General Smith took possession of Sattara, when the ancient standard of Sevajee was hoisted, and the remainder of the Peishwa's dominions annexed. Continuing the pursuit, he surprised the Peishwa's army at Ashtee on the 19th February, when that prince abandoned the field; but Gokla, the bravest of his generals, who had served under Sir Arthur Wellesley in 1803, charged at the

* Lord Hastings endorsed the comment of General Smith that this action of Korygaum was "one of the most brilliant affairs ever achieved by any army, in which the European and native soldiers displayed the most noble devotion and most romantic bravery, under the pressure of thirst and hunger, almost beyond human endurance."

head of 300 horse on the British cavalry, and fell with three sabre cuts and three pistol bullets in his body. The legitimate Rajah was restored to the throne of his great ancestors, Sevajee, a small territory, being restored to him. Bajee Rao, hunted out of the Deccan, crossed the Taptee, and returned to the Nerbudda, but seeing no hope of escape, on the 16th May came to terms with Sir John Malcolm. The fallen Peishwa continued a pensioner of the Indian Government at Bithoor, sixteen miles from Cawnpore, until his death, and his adopted son, the infamous Nana Sahib, on finding that the pension would not be continued to him, became the chief promoter of the great Mutiny of 1857.

The war had now come to an end, so far as any resistance in the field was concerned, but several forts held by Arab and other mercenaries held out in the Deccan and on the Malabar coasts, which had to be reduced. The garrison of the fort of Talneir were put to the sword, and the commandant executed, by the orders of Sir Thomas Hislop, in retaliation for the murder, owing to a misunderstanding, of two British officers, who were treating for its surrender. The concluding event of the war was the capture of the fort of Asseerghur, reported to be impregnable. Under secret instructions from Scindia, the commandant refused to surrender, but after the fortress had been battered for a fortnight with thirty-four mortars and twenty-eight heavy guns, he capitulated. In punishment for the treachery of Scindia, who actually gave Lord Hastings a written order on the commandant for its evacuation, Asseerghur was retained.

The Expeditions to Arabia.

Probably few of our readers ever heard of the Joasmi pirates, or the Beni-Boo-Ali Arabs, and many will express surprise that we should introduce such obscure races into this volume. And yet British soldiers were engaged in three campaigns with them, and the 65th and Old Bombay Fusiliers bear the words "Arabia" and "Beni-Boo-Ali" on their colours, commemorative of good service rendered in these "little wars." In 1809, a military and naval expedition was despatched from Bombay to punish the piratical Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf, called Joasmis, whose headquarters were at Ras-ul-Khymah, on the line of coast extending from Ras (or cape) Mussendum to Abuthubee, a distance of 150 miles, known as the "Pirate Coast."

The maritime Arabs* have been remarkable for centuries for their piratical proclivities, and since 1797, had committed numerous depredations on the native craft flying the British flag. In September, 1809, a combined expedition was sent from Bombay, which included H.M.'s 65th regiment, and the flank companies of H.M.'s 47th, under Colonel Lionel Smith, and the town of Ras-ul-Khymah was captured after some fighting. Lingah, on the Persian Coast, belonging to the Joasmi pirates, was occupied without resistance and burnt, and the strong castle of Luft was stormed on the 27th November, with considerable loss. Other towns on the pirate coast were captured, including Shinas, where a desperate resistance was made, the Arabs losing 1,000 men. This place and others were surrendered to our faithful ally, Seyyid Said, ruler (or Imaum, as he was called) of Muscat and Zanzibar, and the vessels of the pirates were burnt.

But as the Joasmis regained their strength and continued their course of piracy, in 1819 a second and stronger military and naval expedition was despatched from Bombay on 30th October, to suppress them. A small army of 3,000 men, including H.M.'s 47th and 65th regiments, besides Bombay artillery, in all about 1,645 Europeans, under Sir William Grant Keir. The troops were disembarked at Ras-ul-Khymah on the 2nd December, and regular siege operations were undertaken, with the assistance of 500 sailors from the Royal and Indian navy ships-of-war. After a week's bombardment, and the repulse of a sortie, the town was stormed, with the loss of only five killed and fifty-two wounded, including Major Molesworth, 47th regiment, the Arabs losing 1,000 men and sixty-two guns found on the walls. Other places were captured, the resistance at the fort of Zayah being very determined. All the Joasmi ports were visited and their war-vessels were burnt, and on the 8th January, 1820, the Joasmi commanders were glad to sign a treaty of peace by which piracy was suppressed, and the slave trade in the Persian Gulf was abolished.

During the year complications arose with the Beni-Boo-Ali, a warlike tribe of Arabs, near Ras-ul-Had, who were accused of acts of piracy, and killed a messenger from the British Political Agent in the Persian Gulf. Thereupon he sent against them six companies of native infantry, with some guns, which, being reinforced by a contingent of about 2,000 men from Muscat, accompanied by the Imaum in person, marched for the interior. On the 9th November, the column came into collision with the Arabs, who, adopting the tactics that proved so nearly fatal at El Teb and other battles in the Soudan in 1884–85,

* For a detailed history of these piratical tribes, and the British expeditions of 1809 and 1819, and the expedition against the Beni-Boo-Ali Arabs, on the adjacent coast, the reader is referred to the "History of the Indian Navy" (two vols. Bentley and Son. 1877), by C. R. Low, I.N

charged, sword in hand, and of eight officers and 380 sepoys engaged, six of the former and 270 men were slain, the Imaum being also wounded. To chastise these brave Arabs and restore our damaged prestige, an expedition was sent from Bombay, consisting of 3,066 men, including the 65th regiment and the Bombay Fusiliers, and a battery of Bombay Artillery, 1,263 Europeans in all. The troops, with an Indian naval brigade, under Sir Lionel Smith, landed on the 11th January, 1821, at Sohar, but owing to a want of caution, the force suffered severely in a night attack on the camp on the 10th February, when an officer and sixteen men were killed, and Brigadier Cox and twenty-three men were wounded. On the 2nd March, the column arrived before the enemy's town, when, disdaining the protection of breastworks, they advanced, sword in hand, on the British troops drawn up in the open plain to receive them. The fight was short and decisive, and of less than 1,000 warriors, 500 were left on the field, and 236, including ninety-six wounded, were taken prisoners. The British loss was twenty-nine killed and 173 wounded. The place was destroyed, and the chief and 150 followers were transported to Bombay, whence three years afterwards they were returned to their devastated homes.

Before entering upon the Burmese War, we will briefly describe an important success achieved by the British army, one all the more welcome as it wiped out a previous disastrous failure, and thus enhanced our prestige, which counts for much among Orientals. That we hold India as much by reputation for invincibility as by our possession of superior military qualities, was shown by the fact that it was our ill success at Sebastopol, which encouraged the belief in the minds of the Bengal sepoys and their leaders that our soldiers had deteriorated, and was one of the direct incentives to the great Mutiny. Those who deride the moral advantage of prestige, would do well to remember this undoubted and significant circumstance.

In 1825, on the death of the Rajah of Bhurtpore,—the great Jaut fortress which Lord Lake had failed to capture in 1804,—his son, a child of six, was dethroned by his nephew, upon which Sir David Ochterlony,* the British representative in Malwa and Rajpootana, and an officer of the highest distinction, ordered the assembly of an army to vindicate the authority of the supreme Government, and dispossess

* This gallant old soldier was the first of the East India Company's officers to receive the highest honours of the Bath, a distinction hitherto jealously denied to them. He had served in the campaigns against Hyder Ali, and to him was due the successful termination of the Nepaul War. He felt bitterly the unworthy treatment he now received, and said he was "disgraced" after an illustrious service of fifty years, and died of chagrin at Meerut within two months of his supercession.

the usurper. But his acts were disavowed by Lord Amherst, and he was superseded by Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, who, however, counselled active operations against Bhurtpore, which had now become a focus of disaffection, some 25,000 men being collected for the defence of the fortress. Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-chief, one of Wellington's cavalry generals in the Peninsula, assumed command of an army of 20,000 men, with a siege train of 100 pieces of ordnance, and the siege was commenced on the 10th December, 1825. The fortress was surrounded by a lofty and thick wall, with a ditch 55 feet deep and 150 feet broad, which fortunately the defenders were prevented from filling from a neighbouring lake by the intervention of a British detachment. For several days thirty-six mortars and forty-eight heavy guns played on the walls, but in vain. Resource was had to mining, and after several had been fired with inadequate result, on the 18th January, a great mine, charged with 10,000 pounds of powder, was exploded, when a column, under General Reynell, rushed up the breach, and bayoneting the defenders, captured the place. During the siege 6,000 of the enemy—some placed their losses at 14,000—were said to have fallen, the British loss being under 1,000. The capture of Bhurtpore, effected at a time when the army was engaged in difficult and protracted operations in Burmah, had a salutary effect on the native mind, and afforded a striking exhibition of the skill and resources of the dominant race.

The Burmese War.

The next enemy with which our soldiers in India were engaged were the Burmese. Into the causes of that conflict we will not enter, but by the wars of 1824–26, of 1852–53, and the last of 1885, this country has acquired a vast empire which, when opened up and developed, will doubtless greatly enhance our power and prestige in the East, though at the same time adding largely to our responsibilities and taxing our imperial resources by bringing us into contact with the empires of China and Siam. In 1823, the Burmese authorities of Arracan claimed the island of Shahporee, near the Chittagong district occupied by us, and though Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, proposed to appoint a joint commission to investigate the question of right, they sent over 1,000 men and killed and drove out the feeble detachment holding the island. The Burmese were dislodged, and in reply to a letter of remonstrance from the Governor-General, the noted Burmese general, Muha Bundoola, was sent with a large army

to Arracan to drive the English out of Bengal, and was directed to send the Governor-General to Ava, bound in golden fetters, which he took with him. Lord Amherst replied on the 24th February, 1824, by a declaration of war, and a fleet and army of 11,000* men, including the 13th, 38th, 41st and 89th regiments, under Sir Archibald Campbell, who had served with distinction in Spain, rendezvoused at the Andaman Islands, and thence proceeded to Rangoon, the great port on the Irrawaddy. Meantime Bundoola gained a success at Chittagong, in which six officers were killed and the detachment of 300 native troops and some local levies were annihilated. Rangoon was captured on the 11th May, the teak stockade defending the town being easily silenced by a broadside from H.M.S. *Liffey*. The troops were landed without opposition, but owing to the abandonment of the town by the people, every hope of advancing on Ava by land was extinguished, and the army was driven to comparative inaction for six months, during which great sickness and mortality prevailed.

On the 28th May some stockades near the town were captured, the enemy leaving 300 dead, while the British loss was very small; and on the 10th June, the enemy's works on the river at Kemmendine, about three miles from Rangoon, were captured. On the 1st July the Burmese took the offensive, but were repulsed, and on the 8th, Sir Archibald Campbell made a combined attack, with the assistance of the Royal and Company's ships, under the famous novelist, Captain Marryat, on the enemy's works on the river. These were easily carried, but a severe resistance was experienced at Kemmendine, the seven stockades of which were held by 10,000 men. The works were captured at the point of the bayonet by General Macbean's column, 800 being slain in the stockades, including the Burmese commander-in chief. In August an expedition from Rangoon captured Martaban, and other towns in the maritime province of Tenasserim, but had it not been for the exertions of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, in supplying the troops with provisions, the army would have had to be withdrawn. Early in October a detachment of sepoys was repulsed in an attempt to storm a stockade at Kykloo, fourteen miles distant from Rangoon, when Major Wahab and twenty-two men were killed, and sixty-two wounded. A brigade of Europeans advanced against the works on the 17th October, when they were found to be abandoned.

The renowned Bundoola arrived from Arracan, with an army of

* With the exception of a detachment of the 40th Bengal Native Infantry, and the Governor-General's Body Guard, the only cavalry of the force, the native troops employed in Burmah belonged to the Madras army. The Bengal sepoys refused to cross the *Kala panee*, or "black waters," as they called the sea, though they participated in the Arracan expedition which marched down the coast.

60,000 men, and the rapidity with which the Burmese entrenched themselves in front of the British camp, which was speedily surrounded with stockades, and the precision of their movements, reflected much credit on the skill and discipline of his troops. Bundoola made a desperate assault on Kemmendine throughout the day and night of the 1st December, but the troops and the seamen of the flotilla drove him off with heavy loss, and the fire-rafts he sent in shoals to burn the English shipping, were grappled and turned aside. On the 5th December, Majors Sale and Walker, with two columns of British troops, supported by gunboats, advanced to attack the entrenchments, from which the Burmese were quickly driven, but Bundoola, nothing daunted, on the following day made a furious onset on the British position at the great Bhuddist temple, known as the Dragon Pagoda, one of the vastest and most magnificent edifices in the world, on which were mounted twenty guns. These opened fire on the assailants, while four British columns simultaneously attacked and completely routed them. Bundoola took up a position at Kokein, five miles distant, which was attacked in front and rear by the Commander-in-chief with two columns, on the 15th December, and the enemy were driven out of the extensive series of stockades with heavy loss. The Burmese chief now retired to Donabew, fifty miles up the river, but before doing so his incendiaries succeeded in burning down half Rangoon. Thus the year 1824 closed with the British army in peaceful possession of Rangoon and a large district of Lower Burmah.

Early in the following year, Colonel Richards wrested the province of Assam from the Burmese, and occupied the capital, Rungpore, and two columns were formed, one to advance through Cachar and Munipore, upon Ava, and another to penetrate Arracan. Colonel Shouldham, with the Cachar column of 7,000 men, was unable to penetrate the country owing to the rains, which began in February, rendering the roads impassable, and was compelled to return to Bengal. General Morrison of the 44th, with General Macbean, second-in-command, started in January, 1825, from Chittagong with an effective force of 9,500 men, including the 44th and 54th regiments, organized in three brigades. The column, with a powerful flotilla of the Indian Navy, under Commodore Hayes, proceeeded down the coast some 250 miles, to the capital of Arracan. In the attack on the town, on the 31st March, General Macbean effected little, but on the following day, Brigadier Richards, at the head of a second column, including a brigade of seamen of the Indian Navy, with heavy guns, stormed a conical hill, the key of the position, and the town was then evacuated by the enemy. This was the only serious opposition encountered by the army in the campaign, and the loss during the two days was thirty killed and

130 wounded. The monsoon commenced in May, and the country became a pestilential marsh, when sickness committed fearful ravages in the camp; one-quarter of the army perished, and two-thirds of the remainder were in hospital, and few of those who suffered from the "Arracan fever" ever recovered their health. At the end of the year the remains of the expeditionary force was withdrawn.

It was not until the 13th February, 1825, nine months after his arrival at Rangoon, that Sir Archibald Campbell commenced his march up country, with the object of bringing the King of Ava to terms, and if necessary of occupying his capital. He divided his army into three columns; one of 600 men, under Colonel Sale, of the 13th regiment, was sent to occupy the town and district of Bassein, but soon returned to Rangoon. A second column, under his own command, numbering 2,400 men, moved up the Irrawaddy by land, while Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton proceeded by water with the third column—which was accompanied by a powerful flotilla, manned by the crews of the Royal and Indian Navy squadrons—with the object of attacking Donabew.

On arriving off this place on the 28th February, General Cotton discovered that Bundoola, who had taken post there with 12,000 men, had employed all his skill in fortifying the post. A stockade of most substantial construction was strengthened by a wall, on which were mounted 150 guns and swivels, while a wide and deep ditch surrounded the works. The British force, of which one regiment had not arrived, succeeded in carrying a minor stockade, but was beaten back in attempting to storm the greater work. Upon hearing of the disaster, Sir Archibald Campbell retraced his steps and arrived before Donabew on the 25th March. The attack began on the 1st April, and the Burmese made a vigorous sortie, but Bundoola was killed by a shell or rocket from the flotilla, and when, on the 3rd April, the British heavy guns and mortars opened fire, it was found that the enemy had evacuated the post.

The advance was now continued, and on the 25th April, Prome was occupied without opposition. But two months had been wasted in the start, besides the time lost by the return to Donabew, and as the rains were approaching, the second campaign was brought to a close, the army having only advanced 150 miles towards the capital, which was 500 miles distant from Rangoon. There were some abortive attempts at negotiations for peace, but the king acted with true Eastern duplicity, and as a large army was entrenched at Wattigaum, some twenty miles distant from Prome, General MacDowall was despatched with four native regiments to dislodge them. But the attack was mismanaged, and the columns suffered a disastrous repulse, with the loss of 200 men, including ten officers, among the killed being the

general. The Burmese, encouraged by this success, closed in on Prome, when Sir Archibald marched against them with his small force. General Cotton's division, on the 1st December, stormed the stockade in his front, where the Burmese left 300 dead, and on the following day, Brigadier Sale led the attack with the Commander-in-chief's division, and drove the enemy out of their entrenchments, the flotilla co-operating by their fire. In these operations the British casualties were 172, including six officers killed and six wounded.

The march was now resumed for the capital, but at Meaday, on the 26th December, a flag of truce arrived with fresh proposals for peace. A treaty was actually signed on the 3rd January, 1826, but the ratifications promised on the 18th never arrived and on the following day, the British commander, with 4,500 men and twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, attacked the Burmese entrenchments at Mellown, opposite his camp on the Irrawaddy. Here was assembled an army of 20,000 men, but without counting the odds of ten to one, the small British force advanced confidently to the attack, and Brigadier Sale, with the 13th and 38th regiments, assaulted and captured the enemy's works before General Cotton's division, consisting of three brigades, under Colonels Godwin, Blair, and Parlby, which had made a *détour*, arrived to co-operate. In this spirited affair, Sale and Major Frith, commanding the 13th, were wounded, and the British casualties were thirty-four, including nine killed.

Though all his bravest generals had been defeated in succession, the King listened to the promises of a savage and renowned warrior, on whom was conferred the title of "Prince of the Setting Sun," who started with 16,000 men to exterminate the white invaders of the kingdom of the "Golden Foot." On arriving within five miles of Pagahm Mew, the British army found this vain-glorious general ready to try conclusions with them on the open plain. With only 1,300 men,* Sir Archibald Campbell, on the 9th July, vigorously attacked the Burmese army. The small British force was organized in two brigades, under Sir Archibald and General Cotton, the former leading the 13th, supported by the 89th, while the 38th was the leading regiment of

* Of these, however, 900 were veteran European troops, the remains of the 13th, 38th, 41st, and 89th regiments, and of a battery of Bengal Horse Artillery. The 1st Royals were in the rear, and the 47th and 87th regiments were engaged collecting grain and cattle. Among officers subsequently well known to fame, who were present at this final engagement, were Sir Willoughby Cotton, of Afghan celebrity; Colonel Sale, of the 13th, "the hero of Jellalabad"; Colonel Godwin, Commander of the Burmese expedition of 1852; Colonel (afterwards Field-Marshal Sir) George Pollock, who retrieved British laurels in Afghanistan; Sir John Cheape, of the Bengal Engineers, a distinguished name in Indian annals; and last, but not least, Lieutenant Henry Havelock, the deliverer of Lucknow, who wrote an excellent history of the war.

Cotton's brigade, supported by the 41st. The gallant Commander-in-chief was so impetuous in his attack that, at one time, he was surrounded and in danger of being cut off, but the Governor-General's Body Guard, now mustering only thirty-four troopers, gallantly charged and covered his retreat to the main body. The Burmese were routed at all points, and driven back in wild disorder on the capital, and the unhappy "Prince of the Setting Sun" expiated his folly, or his patriotism, by being trampled to death under the feet of elephants.

The British army advanced without further molestation to Yandaboo, within forty miles of the capital, where they were met by Mr. Price and Mr. Judson, of the American Mission, and two Ministers, with orders to accept any terms the victorious British general might dictate. Accordingly, the treaty was signed on the 24th February, by which the King ceded Assam, Arracan, and Tenasserim to the Company, agreed to pay one million sterling towards the expenses of the war (which cost thirteen), and to admit a British Resident at Ava. At the time it was loudly asserted in England that the results were inadequate to the great cost and losses incurred in prosecuting the war; but the final issue of this remarkable campaign, as brought about by the later wars of 1852 and 1885, has been the acquisition of an empire as large as half Europe, a military enterprise which, perhaps, no other nation in the world, except England, could have brought to a successful issue.

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CHAPTER XX.

THE AFGHAN, SCINDE, AND GWALIOR CAMPAIGNS.

1838—1844.

The Afghan Expedition—Capture of Ghuznee and Entry into Cabul—Storm of Khelat—Disasters in Afghanistan—The Defence of Jellalabad—Siege of the British Cantonment at Cabul—Retreat through the Passes and Destruction of the Cabul Force—General Nott at Candahar—Forcing of the Khyber Pass by General Pollock—Actions of Mamoo Kheil and Jugdulluck—Battle of Tezeen and Occupation of Cabul—Release of English Prisoners and Return to India—Capture of Kurrachee and Aden—The Conquest of Scinde—Battles of Meanee and Hyderabad—The Gwalior Campaign—Battles of Maharajpore and Punniar.

For a period of twelve years a profound peace reigned in India, which made great advances in material and administrative reform under Lord William Bentinck. With the exception of the brief campaign in Coorg, when that small principality was quickly subdued, not a shot was fired in India until Lord Auckland, in 1838, engaged in the Afghan war, though in justice to him, it should be said, that this ill-omened expedition was due to the folly and perversity of the English Foreign Office, presided over by Lord Palmerston, and of Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, the body which regulated the affairs of the Honourable East India Company, their chief abettor in India being Mr. Macnaghten, one of Lord Auckland's secretaries, who had conducted the negotiations with the ruler of the Punjaub. The Court of Directors were themselves averse from embarking in hostilities with a power separated from our provinces by the Punjaub, at that time ruled over by the able and astute, but wholly unreliable, Runjeet Sing, the one-eyed "lion of the Punjaub." By the tripartite treaty with Runjeet Sing and Shah Soojah, formerly Ameer of Afghanistan, a weak and unwarlike prince, we agreed to find the troops to reinstate the latter on the throne, and also the money to pay for a contingent of native troops, nominally under his orders, but officered by Englishmen. Our ally in the Punjaub showed his good faith by even refusing our troops a passage through his territories, so that the army had to go round by Sukkur, on the Indus, and the Bolan Pass, instead of by the direct road through the Khyber, and we exchanged the sinister friend-

ship of this intriguing prince, then sinking into the grave, for the proffered alliance of Dost Mahomed, the *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan, the most able and sagacious Oriental prince of his day. Such was the fatuity of the British Ministry, haunted with the mental disease since diagnosed as Russophobia, that they demanded that Dost Mahomed should break with that power as well as with Persia and the Khanates of Turkestan, without offering him anything in return, or protecting him from their hostility. The result was that Dost Mahomed entered into an alliance with Russia, and received an envoy from the Czar at his court, when Captain (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes, the British envoy, who had done his best to open the eyes of his superiors to the folly of their conduct, quitted Cabul on the 26th April, 1838. The British Government, had they not been blinded by the folly and pride which generally precede the adoption of a calamitous policy, would have desisted, alike from financial and military considerations, from embarking on an expedition into one of the wildest and most sterile countries in the world, 800 miles from our frontier; but the warnings of the most sagacious Indian soldiers and politicians, such as the Duke of Wellington, Marquis of Wellesley, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Metcalfe, and Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, and the promptings of common sense, were alike unheeded.

The army of invasion consisted of a Bengal column, under Sir Willoughby Cotton, of 9,500 men,* with no less than 30,000 camels carrying ammunition and supplies, and 38,000 camp followers, besides Shah Soojah's contingent of 6,000 men. The Bombay column, under Sir John Keane, numbered 5,600 troops, and marched up from Kurrachee—which was captured after a feeble resistance—upon Hyderabad, the capital of Scinde, the Ameer of which was coerced into signing a treaty. The combined columns, under Sir John Keane, crossed the Indus at Bukkur, marched through the Bolan and Kojuck passes, and Shah Soojah, escorted by British bayonets, entered Candahar without opposition on the 25th April, 1839. Up to this point the expedition had been a military promenade, the only sufferers being the camels, of which patient animals no less than 20,000 had perished.

The march was resumed for the strong fortress of Ghuznee, 230 miles distant, on the 27th June, but Sir John Keane neglected to take his siege-train with him, and on arriving before the place, it was found to be too strong to be breached by field-pieces. The parapet rose sixty

* The Bengal portion of the army of invasion was originally double this strength, but on the abandonment of the siege of Herat—due to the heroism of Lieutenant Pottinger, a young English officer—by the Shah of Persia, on the 9th September, 1838, Russian influence in Persia received a severe blow, as the Shah was assisted by Russian officers, and at the final assault on the 24th June, when 1,700 Persians were slain, General Berowski was killed

feet above the plain, and there was a wet ditch, so that mining and escalade appeared equally impracticable, while it was garrisoned with 3,000 men, under Hyder Khan, a son of the Ameer's. But there was a *deus ex machinâ* in the person of the chief Engineer, Captain George Thomson, of the Bengal Engineers, who, on learning that one of the gates had not been built up, conceived the brilliant idea of blowing it in with gunpowder placed in twelve bags. Aided by a tempestuous night, at 3 A.M. on the 23rd July, the Engineers, led by Captain Peat, and Lieutenants Macleod and Durand—afterwards Sir Henry Durand, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub—succeeded in placing and exploding the bags, containing 300 pounds of powder. On this the storming party, consisting of detachments of all the European regiments, the 2nd, 13th, 17th and 1st Bengal Fusiliers (all of which bear "Ghuznee" on their colours), under Colonel Dennie of the 13th, supported by the remainder of these regiments, the whole under Brigadier Sale, moved to the attack, and, after a spirited resistance, succeeded in less than fifteen minutes in bearing down all opposition, and the British colours were planted on the ramparts of the citadel. Our loss was seventeen killed and 165 wounded, including the gallant old brigadier and seventeen officers. Of the Afghans, 514 were actually killed in the assault, and others by the cavalry. The exploit was a brilliant one, and every way worthy the comrades of the men who stormed Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. It was the solitary military exploit between Ferozepore, on the Sutlej, whence the army started, and Cabul, which was evacuated by Dost Mahomed, who fled to the Hindoo Khoosh. His rival entered the capital on the 7th August, and apparently nothing could exceed the success of the expedition.

But conquering Afghanistan, and holding it for the usurping Shah Soojah—as we found in our expedition to that country nearly forty years later—were very different military problems, and when the Indian Government, compelled by financial considerations, withdrew the greater portion of the European troops, trouble arose. On the 9th October, 1839, the "Army of the Indus," as it was officially called, was broken up, and one division returned through the Khyber Pass to India, under Lord Keane "of Ghuznee," leaving three brigades, some 10,000 men, at Cabul, Jellalabad and Candahar, with a regiment of native infantry at Ghuznee, Sir Willoughby Cotton remaining in command at Cabul, and General Nott in Western Afghanistan. General Willshire returned with the Bombay troops through the Kojuck and Bolan Passes, and on the way inflicted chastisement on Mehrab Khan, ruler of Beloochistan. Khelat, his capital, was breached by artillery, and taken by storm on the 15th October, 1839—the British regiments engaged (who have the word "Khelat" on their colours and appointments) being the 2nd Queen's and 17th—with a loss of thirty-seven

killed and 107 wounded, while 400 of the enemy were slain, including Mehrab Khan.*

Expeditions were undertaken in 1840–41 to the disturbed districts round Cabul, not with unvarying success. In the attacks on Pushoot and Julga in the Kohistan,† our native troops were repulsed, and in the cavalry action at Purwan Durra, on 2nd November, 1840, the native cavalry refused to follow their officers when called upon to charge a handful of horse led by Dost Mahomed. In this affair three officers were killed and two severely wounded, and the Ameer, having done his *devoirs* as a prince and soldier, rode straight into Cabul and surrendered himself to Sir William Macnaghten, and was sent to India.

The winter of 1840–41 passed without any incident of note, save that Sir Willoughby Cotton was succeeded in the command in Afghanistan by General Elphinstone, an amiable officer, but disqualified by physical weakness and indecision of character, from keeping in check a wild and turbulent people like the Afghans. He brought with him the 44th regiment, commanded by Colonel Shelton, who had lost an arm at Waterloo, and served in Arracan, but, beyond undoubted gallantry, possessed of no quality fitted for command. Sir William Macnaghten wilfully shut his eyes to the reports of Pottinger, his assistant in the Kohistan, Rawlinson at Candahar, and other political officers, as to the disturbed state of the country, and reported to his superiors that all was going on well. He was about to proceed to take up the post of Governor of Bombay, leaving Sir Alexander Burnes as his successor, and Sale was under orders to return with the 13th and other troops to India, leaving only two British regiments‡ in Afghanistan, the 44th at Cabul, and the 40th at Candahar, besides one battery of European horse artillery in each division, when the threatening storm burst, and few of those at Cabul at this time lived to return to India.

Early in October, 1841, the Eastern Ghilzies, having had their allowances reduced, rose in rebellion and blocked the Khoord-Cabul Pass on the road to Jellalabad and India. On the 9th of the month Elphinstone sent a weak native brigade to clear the road, and two days later, Sale was despatched with the 13th to assist in the operations, and was wounded. The pass was forced and the brigade—consisting of the

* Khelat was retaken by the son of Mehrab Khan, from the Governor of Shah Soojah, who had remained in possession, and the British political officer in charge, Lieutenant Loveday, was murdered. In October, 1840, General Nott recaptured the city.

† For details of these campaigns *see* "Journal and Correspondence of General Augustus Abbott, C.B.," by C. R. Low. (1879. Bentley.)

‡ This was exclusive of native troops—a regiment of cavalry, a battery of artillery, and four regiments of infantry between Cabul, Ghuznee, and Jellalabad; five regiments of infantry, with cavalry and artillery in Candahar, and the Shah's contingent of the three arms divided between the commands.

13th, the 35th N.I., Abbott's and Backhouse's batteries of native artillery, 200 native cavalry and some sappers—pushed on, experiencing severe opposition the whole way until Gundamuck was reached, on the 30th October. Soon after their arrival, Sale received peremptory orders from Elphinstone and Macnaghten to return to Cabul, where matters had assumed a serious aspect; but deeming a march through the passes impossible, encumbered as he was with 300 sick and wounded, he pushed on for Jellalabad, which was entered on the 13th November.

The troops numbered 2,060 all told, and they had only two days' provisions, but nothing daunted, on the day after their arrival, Colonel Monteith sallied out, with 1,100 men, and drove the enemy away, when supplies were brought in. Though Sale and the other senior officers were brave, the soul of the defence of Jellalabad was Captain George Broadfoot, a Madras infantry officer, now commanding the Shah's sappers, who possessed a genius for war, and was declared by Havelock to be a "heaven-born soldier." Under Broadfoot's directions the defences of Jellalabad rose like magic, but a more effective bulwark against the designs of Akbar Khan, the warlike son of Dost Mahomed, beleaguering the place, was the determined stand Broadfoot made at the council of war, backed up by his friends, Captains Havelock, Oldfield (commanding the cavalry), Augustus Abbott and Backhouse (commanding the batteries of artillery), against obeying the orders of General Elphinstone and Mr. Macnaghten from Cabul, to abandon the place to the Afghans and retreat to India. This proposal had the support of Sale and of Captain Macgregor, the political authority, as well as of Dennie and Monteith, the senior officers of the garrison; but the arguments and the eloquent appeals of Broadfoot, at length carried the day, and Akbar Khan's treacherous overtures were rejected with scorn, and he was told he must take Jellalabad *vi et armis*, if he wanted it. More than that, the garrison sallied out on the 11th March, and drove him from the field. The siege was now turned into a blockade, but on the 7th April, the garrison again sallied out, in three columns, and the Afghan army of 6,000 men was defeated and driven to the Cabul river with the loss of their guns. During this action, Captain Havelock, commanding the advance column of 300 men, repulsed two charges of 1,500 Afghan horsemen. The success was complete, though dimmed by the loss of Colonel Dennie, and on the arrival of the relieving army, a week later, the garrison were found in good spirits and amply supplied with provisions.

Meanwhile the Afghan tribesmen closed round the British cantonments at Cabul, and the events that followed the massacre of Sir Alexander Burnes, and other officers, in the Residency at Cabul, on the 2nd November, form one of the saddest chapters in our military history. But it must be borne in mind that of the garrison of 6,000

men, only 700 were Europeans—the 44th regiment, newly arrived from India, and a battery of Bengal Horse Artillery, who nobly did their duty to the last. Nevertheless, a successful defence might have been made but for the weakness of Elphinstone, and the mulish obstinacy of Brigadier Shelton, his second-in-command, personally a brave officer. The Cabul force was indeed fortunate in the possession of many capable officers, but they were junior in rank, such as Colin Mackenzie, George Lawrence, Vincent Eyre, and, above all, Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, and a man of the true heroic mould.

Blunder succeeded blunder, and disaster, disaster. The first great blow was the loss of the commissariat supplies, due to their being stored in a fort outside the entrenchments, which were themselves untenable owing to their being under fire from adjacent heights and forts, while the Bala Hissar, or citadel of Cabul, had been abandoned to Shah Soojah for the use of his harem. On the 13th November, an indecisive action was fought with the Afghans, and on the 23rd the troops suffered a severe and ignominious defeat, when the general entreated Sir William Macnaghten—the so-called Envoy and Minister to the Court of Shah Soojah, but the *de facto* ruler of the country—to enter into negotiations with the Afghan chiefs. On the 11th December, when only one day's supplies remained, terms were arranged by which the country was to be evacuated, but Akbar Khan and the other Sirdars broke faith, and, at length, on the 23rd December, Sir William Macnaghten was murdered at an interview by Akbar Khan, together with Captain Trevor, one of his assistants, while another assistant, Captain Colin Mackenzie, and his military secretary, Captain George Lawrence, were carried off prisoners. Major Eldred Pottinger, the gallant defender of Herat, now succeeded to the head of affairs, and urged his military chief to reject a treaty, sullied by treachery and murder; but the council of war refused to fight, and accepted the terms by which the army was afforded a safe-conduct to Peshawur.

On the 6th January, 1842, with snow falling, the British army of 4,500 fighting men, with 11,000 camp-followers, began the retreat, but the Afghans attacked them in the defiles of the Khoord-Cabul Pass, some five miles in length, and 3,000 souls perished that night with cold and by the sword. Thus the army struggled on, the ladies and children being surrendered to Akbar Khan, with the senior officers, military and political; and at the Jugdulluck Pass, where twelve officers were slain, the Cabul force may be said to have ceased to exist, though twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers contrived to reach Gundamuck. Between this place and Jellalabad these gallant men fell under the weapons of their remorseless enemies, and, at length, on the 13th January, Surgeon Brydon entered that haven of safety, the sole survivor of 15,000 men!

In Western Afghanistan, General Nott showed what could be done by a resolute officer, and held Candahar against the enemy, and he and Major (afterwards Sir Henry) Rawlinson, the political officer, refused to be bound by the orders of Elphinstone and Macnaghten to evacuate the country. A column, sent from India to relieve Candahar, under General England, joined hands with Nott's force; but a great disaster befell the garrison of Ghuznee, which surrendered to the enemy, after holding the fortress for six months.

In the meantime, the Indian Government had collected a force under General Pollock, at Peshawur, of 8,000 men, which included one European regiment of infantry, the 9th Foot, the 3rd Dragoons, and a battery of Horse Artillery. After overcoming numerous difficulties as to transport and the *morale* of his troops, Pollock, on the 5th April, advanced through the Khyber Pass, which he skilfully captured by crowning the heights on either side, the 9th regiment, which led the column, having forty-six out of 135 casualties. At the same time, Gholaub Singh, with 12,000 Sikhs, accompanied by Captain Henry Lawrence, marched by an adjacent pass and kept open the British communications with Peshawur. Pollock's force reached Jellalabad on the 15th April, but owing to the vacillating conduct of Government, he remained here inactive for two months. However, in August, he learned that General Nott had quitted Candahar, to effect a junction with him at Cabul, and on the 20th, Pollock marched from Jellalabad with 8,000 men and seventeen guns, including the 9th, 13th, and 31st Foot, 3rd Dragoons, and two batteries of European Horse Artillery. On the 23rd, he arrived at Gundamuck, and on the following day, with a portion of his force, drove the enemy out of their position at Mamoo Kheil, with the loss of seven killed and forty-five wounded. Pollock marched from Gundamuck on 7th September, with the greater portion of his force, in two divisions, under himself and General McCaskill, the brigadiers being Sale and Tulloch; and on the following day, with his own division, stormed the heights of Jugdulluck, held by the Ghilzies, with the loss of six killed, and fifty-eight wounded, including the gallant Sale, who led the attack. Finally, on the 13th September, with both of his divisions, General Pollock attacked and defeated an army of between 16,000 and 20,000 Afghans, holding a very strong position on the heights and pass of Tezeen. The enemy, he says, "actually came up to the European bayonets," but they were driven from peak to peak with heavy loss. The British casualties were twenty-three killed and 130 wounded.

The enemy offered no further resistance, and the British army, on the 15th September, arrived before Cabul,* whence Akbar Khan had fled

* *See* "Life and Correspondence of Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, G.C.B.," by C. R. Low. (W. H. Allen & Co. 1872.) Sir George Pollock died in 1872, and

towards the Hindoo Khoosh mountains, taking with him all his British captives. These were, however, released under romantic circumstances, and arrived at Cabul on the 22nd September. Meantime, Nott, sending back a column through the Bolan Pass, under General England, quitted Candahar on the 7th August, and bringing with him from Ghuznee the renowned gates of the temple of Somnath, in Guzerat—whence they had been taken by the great conqueror Mahmoud, eight centuries before—in accordance with a fantastic order from the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, arrived at Cabul the day after General Pollock. During this march the enemy were defeated on the 30th August, and on the 14th September, at Maidan, twenty miles from Cabul.

In order to punish the truculent people of Kohistan, the mountainous country to the north of Cabul, a column, under General McCaskill, stormed the capital, Istaliff, and the town of Chareekar (where a Ghoorka regiment had been annihilated during the insurrection) and other places were destroyed. On the 20th October, the united armies, having gloriously vindicated British honour in Central Asia, quitted the scene of so many disasters and triumphs, and returned through the Khyber Pass and the Punjaub to Ferozepore, where Lord Ellenborough had assembled an army of 20,000 men to welcome them, and impress Shere Sing and the chiefs of the Punjaub —who had lost the restraining hand of Runjeet Sing, who died on the 27th June, 1839, at the age of 57—with a sense of British power.

Dost Mahomed was now released and sent back to his own country, though, in 1848, he formed an alliance with Chutter Sing, who sold to him the province of Peshawur, and Afghan cavalry actually fought against us at Goojerat. But in 1857, having concluded a treaty of amity with the East India Company, "the Dost," as he was called, remained staunch to the British alliance at the time of our utmost need in the dark days of the Mutiny.

Capture of Kurrachee and Aden.

With the accession of Queen Victoria recommenced the era of our Indian annexations. Before detailing the incidents of the campaigns in Scinde and the Punjaub, which resulted in the absorption of those magnificent provinces, we shall briefly describe the capture of Aden and Kurrachee, military operations which are remarkable, not

was interred in Westminster Abbey, described by Macaulay as "that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried."

only as being the first undertaken by British troops (excluding the hostilities in Canada), but on account of the great value and far-reaching consequences of these annexations, in the one case, of the key of the Red Sea—as Aden and the island of Perim, occupied in 1857, may be called—and, in the other, the finest harbour in India after Bombay, a port which is the natural outlet for the trade of Scinde and the Punjaub. Kurrachee was taken on the 3rd February, 1839, by a squadron, consisting of the *Wellesley*, 74, flagship of Sir Frederick Maitland, a brig of the Royal Navy, and three vessels of the Indian Navy; and on the same day, the 40th Foot and a regiment of Native infantry were landed, and occupied the place. Shortly before this the island of Kharrack, in the Persian Gulf, off Bushire, was occupied by a British garrison as a protest against the siege of Herat by the Shah's forces, but the island was evacuated when the Persian army retired. The capture of Aden was effected by a combined expedition of two ships of the Royal Navy, two of the Indian Navy, 400 men of the Bombay Fusiliers, a regiment of Native infantry, and some artillery. On the 19th May, 1839, the squadron engaged the batteries on the island of Seerah and the heights, and on the fire being returned the troops landed, and this important conquest was effected with the loss of only sixteen men. On the 11th November a body of 5,000 Arabs endeavoured to retake Aden by the isthmus, but were repulsed with heavy loss. Again, on the 21st May, and a third time on the 5th July, 1841, they made desperate attempts to dispossess the British garrison, but were repulsed with heavy loss.

The Scinde Campaign.

Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation on the 1st October, 1842, expressing his intention to "devote all his efforts to the maintenance of peace;" and within six months, he annexed Scinde, a state divided into three principalities, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Major Outram, the Political Resident at Hyderabad. Sir Charles Napier, Commander-in-chief at Bombay, who had been invested with supreme military and political power, arrived in Scinde on the 9th September, 1842, and on the 3rd January following, he marched with 350 European soldiers, mounted on camels, fifty horsemen, and two guns, to attack the desert fort of Emamghur. On the fourth day he reached the fort, which was abandoned on his approach, and the fortifications were blown up. Sir Charles Napier had ordered the Ameers to meet Major Outram in conference regarding

the new treaties forced on them, and several meetings were held at Hyderabad, but the Belooch troops were incensed at the wholesale spoliation of their provinces, especially of the venerable Meer Roostum, the Rais, or lord paramount, of Upper Scinde. The treaty was signed on the 12th February, 1843, and on the 15th masses of infantry and cavalry assailed the Residency, but were repulsed by a company of the 22nd Foot and the Native escort. After a gallant resistance of three hours, Outram retired to the armed steamer anchored in the river with the loss of seventeen men.

Sir Charles Napier now moved on Hyderabad, and on the 17th February, with only 2,700 men, and twelve guns, attacked and utterly routed a Belooch army 20,000 strong. The enemy held a strong position, with a ravine in front and a wood on either flank, defended by fifteen guns. The little army advanced over the plain, swept by the fire of the guns, and on arriving at close quarters, the brave Belooches, discharging their matchlocks, dashed over the bank with headlong courage, but were met with a withering fire from the 22nd regiment leading, and the native infantry, which never wavered, though attacked by such superior numbers. At one time they were almost overpowered, but the cavalry, under Colonel Pattle, consisting of the 9th Bengal Cavalry and Poona Horse, made a brilliant charge on their rear, capturing some of the guns, and the enemy gave way, when the infantry advanced, and the victory was decided. The British loss was six officers and sixty men killed, and fourteen officers and 177 men wounded. Among the slain were Majors Teesdale and Jackson, of the Native infantry; and Colonel Pennefather, of the 22nd, "that noble soldier," as Napier calls him, was severely wounded. Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir William) M'Murdo, of the staff, engaged and slew one of the bravest chiefs, and Captains Fitzgerald and John Jacob, afterwards Governor of Scinde, and one of the most striking figures in contemporary Indian history, performed similar exploits. The Belooches, who neither asked nor received quarter, lost about 5,000 men. Meanee, as a battle, was as creditable to the valour of the troops as to the generalship of the commander.

Sir Charles Napier now received the submission of the fort of Hyderabad, and entered the city on the 20th February, obtaining possession of a vast accumulation of treasure and jewels, which was distributed among the troops; but Major Outram, disapproving of the war as unjust, with the noble disinterestedness which distinguished him, refused his share—£3,000—which was distributed among the charitable institutions of India. Shere Mahomed, Ameer of Meerpore, the ablest and most martial of the princes, gathered a fresh army of 20,000 men at Dubba, near the capital, and Sir Charles

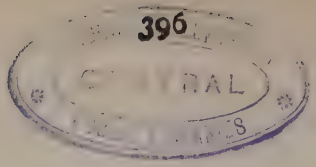
Napier, on receiving reinforcements, marched with 6,000 troops to dislodge him from his position behind the dry bed of a river. The British artillery played on the centre till it began to waver; the 3rd Cavalry and Bengal Horse charged his left, and the 22nd Foot, followed by the sepoys, rushed up the bank and carried the entrenchments at the point of the bayonet. Meerpore was occupied, and the fort of Omercote, in the desert, famed as the birthplace of the great Mogul emperor, Akbar, was found to be deserted; and thus was accomplished the conquest of Scinde, which Napier announced to the Governor-General by a *bon mot*, acknowledging his offence against morality—"*Peccavi*" (I have Scinde). No province of India has more quietly acquiesced in British rule than Scinde, while the Belooches have been among the best soldiers in our Indian army.

The Gwalior Campaign.

On the 5th March, the very day Lord Ellenborough announced the annexation of Scinde, he directed the concentration of a large force on the frontier of Scindia's territories, and before the close of the year, two battles were fought which placed the kingdom at his disposal. This was due to the anarchy of the state of affairs in the state, and the arrogance of the army, consisting of about 30,000 infantry, 10,000 horse and 200 guns, occupying points of territory within sixty-five miles of Agra. Two columns were formed for the simultaneous invasion of the Gwalior state, one from the north, under Sir Hugh Gough, then Commander-in-chief, and the other from the south, under General Grey. On the 28th December, 1843, Sir Hugh Gough advanced with 12,000 men to attack the Gwalior force, entrenched at Chounda. The progress of the British army was regarded in the light of a promenade, and some ladies, mounted on elephants, accompanied the troops, and the opinion was general that there would be no fighting. Not even the ordinary military precaution of reconnoitring was adopted, and the first intimation that the headquarters had that the enemy had taken up an advanced position at the village of Maharajpore, was the sudden discharge of round shot from their masked batteries. The dispositions were hastily altered, but the unfailing steadiness of British troops was once more displayed. The heavy guns had been left in the rear, and the light field-pieces could not cope with the enemy's ordnance, so the infantry of General Littler's column—led by the 39th Foot, which, by their gallantry at Plassey, earned the motto, "Primus in India"—were launched at their batteries,

which were served with devotion, the gunners being bayoneted at their posts. The Mahrattas were driven into the village, which was taken in reverse by General Valiant's brigade, and twenty-eight guns were captured. The cavalry, under Brigadier Scott, drove off the enemy's horsemen, capturing more guns, and then the entrenched position at Chounda was carried, and the victory was complete, the enemy losing 3,000 men and fifty-six guns, while the victors had 797 killed and wounded. Among the killed was General Churchill, Quartermaster-General, who showed his contempt for the enemy by declaring, the day before the action, that the only weapon he should use was a good horse-whip. On the same day the British left wing, which had pushed on for Punniar, twelve miles from Gwalior, defeated a second Mahratta army, of 12,000 men and forty guns. Scindia's kingdom lay at the mercy of Lord Ellenborough, who dictated a peace by which his army was, in future, limited to 9,000 men with thirty-two field-guns, while the contingent, officered by the British, for which he paid, was increased to 10,000, and the fort of Gwalior was surrendered,* and received a British garrison.

* More than forty years after these events the Gwalior fort was handed back to Scindia, in recognition of his loyalty to the British Government.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE SIKH, SECOND BURMESE, AND PERSIAN WARS.

1845—1856.

The Sutlej Campaign—Battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur—Action at Aliwal—The Victory at Sobraon—The Punjaub Campaign—Successes achieved by Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes—Actions at Ramnuggur and Sadoolapore—Battle of Chillianwallah—Capture of Mooltan—Battle of Goojerat—Annexation of the Punjaub—Our Frontier "Little Wars"—Second Burmese War—Capture of Rangoon—The Operations against Myatoon—The Persian War—Capture of Bushire and Mohamra—Actions at Kooshaub and Ahwaz.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH, while disclaiming schemes of conquest, had been so constantly engaged in hostilities that the directors of the East India Company recalled him, and appointed in his place Sir Henry Hardinge, "the hero of Albuera," who had lost an arm at Quatre Bras, when serving as British Commissioner with Marshal Blucher. Sir Henry, though a distinguished Peninsular officer, was a man of peace, but he was an advocate of the old Latin proverb, "*si vis pacem, para bellum*," and on his arrival in India, on the 23rd July, 1844, took steps unobtrusively, but effectively, to provide against the storm that had long been brewing on our frontier, where 70,000 Sikh soldiers, lusting for the plunder of the rich cities of Hindostan, were gathered in menacing array. The history of the Punjaub from the death of Runjeet Sing in 1839, to the war with England six years later, is an unbroken record of murder, anarchy and intrigue.*

* Kharruck Sing, son of Runjeet Sing, died prematurely on the 5th November, 1840, and his son, a gallant young Prince, was accidentally killed at his father's obsequies. In the following January, Shere Sing, a reputed son of Runjeet's, seized upon the throne, but the soldiers to whom he owed his elevation became his masters, and obliged Generals Court and Avitabile, who had disciplined them, to fly for their lives. On the 15th September, 1843, Shere Sing, as well as his son, was murdered by Ajeet Sing, at the instigation of his chief minister, Dhyan Sing, who himself was slain the same day by the assassin of his master. Upon this, Heera Sing, son of the murdered minister, having gained over the troops to his cause, captured the citadel of Lahore, in which Ajeet Sing had taken refuge, and slew him. Dhuleep Sing, the reputed son of Runjeet Sing by the Ranee Jhindun, then five

In order to meet the impending war, Lord Ellenborough had concentrated on the Sutlej, and the stations near it, 17,600 men with sixty-eight guns, which Sir Henry Hardinge, recognizing the urgency of the danger, increased to 40,500 men with ninety-four guns. The Sikh army, disciplined by Allard, Ventura and other European officers, was confident in its superiority over British troops. It had marched down to the Sutlej with the object of invading the Company's territories in 1843 and 1844, when we were engaged with Scinde and Gwalior, and it was a fortunate circumstance that its leaders succeeded in diverting the attack, or it would have gone hard with British supremacy. But at length the Ranee Jhindun, and her lover, Lall Sing, and minister, Tej Sing, desirous of averting the plunder of Lahore by the insolent soldiery, suddenly despatched them across the Sutlej to loot Delhi, and the rich cities of Hindustan, as, sixty-five years before, Hyder Ali had burst into the Carnatic.

Major Broadfoot, of Jellalabad celebrity, then political agent on the frontier at Ferozepore, informed Sir Henry Hardinge of these marching orders, on the 23rd November, and urged prompt measures of defence; but the Governor-General only sent a remonstrance, to which no reply was vouchsafed by the Lahore Durbar, unless a peremptory order to their troops to enter British territory could be regarded as one. The die was now cast, our supremacy in the Indian peninsula received a direct and insulting challenge in the face of the princes and people who had learned to regard us as paramount, and our troops were involved in a desperate struggle with the most formidable antagonists they had encountered since the days of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan.

On the 16th December, within four days of receiving the order from the Lahore Durbar to march, the Sikh army of 60,000 men and 150 guns, with 40,000 camp followers, had crossed the Sutlej, and was encamped within a short distance of the fort of Ferozepore, which was held by Sir John Littler, with 10,000 men and thirty-one guns.

years of age, was now proclaimed Maharajah, with Heera Sing as his minister. But Heera Sing attempted to curb the power of Gholaub Sing, Rajah of Jummoo, a feudatory of the Sikh state, and was slain, when the management of affairs fell into the hands of a brother of the Ranee Jhindun, and of her lover, Lall Sing, who instigated the soldiers, as they had become insubordinate and clamoured for fresh gratuities, to march against Gholaub Sing, who, being of Rajpoot origin, was odious to the Sikhs. The Jummoo Rajah only bought off these Pretorian levies by large donations of money, as did Moolraj, Viceroy of Mooltan, on whom they also made demands. Anarchy and murder continued to reign at Lahore. The Ranee's brother was executed by the soldiers, and in November, 1845, Lall Sing became Prime Minister, and Tej Sing Commander-in-chief, but the army retained all real power.

The Battle of Moodkee.—18th December, 1845.

The night before the army marched from Brussels for Quatre Bras there was the memorable ball at the Duchess of Richmond's, and now, on the eve of the 12th of December, when Sir Hugh Gough set out hastily with his troops to reinforce Sir John Littler, a ball was to take place at his Excellency's state tents at Umballa, but was abandoned, and the night spent in hurried preparations. The troops, heavily accoutred, marched 150 miles in six days, and Sir Henry Hardinge, who had preceded the Commander-in-chief on the 14th, moved 5,000 men, under Brigadier Hugh Wheeler, from Loodiana to Bussean, to protect the depôt of stores collected there by the forethought of Major Broadfoot.

The Sikh generals, fortunately declining an encounter with Littler's column, left Tej Sing with some troops to watch him, and pushed on for Ferozeshuhur, where they threw up entrenchments, and Lall Sing advanced thence with about 20,000 men and twenty-two guns to Moodkee, where he took up a position under cover of the jungle. The British army had made a fatiguing march of twenty-one miles on the 18th December, not having broken their fast since the preceding night, and were about to prepare their dinner, when a cloud of dust marked the approach of a large host. Sir Hugh Gough, says Marshman, was completely taken by surprise, as at Maharajpore, and the first knowledge the British commander had of the approach of the enemy was an announcement from Broadfoot, who had ridden forward to reconnoitre. It was now nearly four o'clock in the afternoon, and only an hour of daylight remained, but Sir Hugh Gough did not hesitate a moment in lifting the gauntlet, and advanced a distance of two miles to attack the enemy, who had taken up a position behind some sand-hills on the open plain. The British army numbered 12,350 men, of whom 3,850 were Europeans, with forty-two guns, the three divisions of infantry being under Generals Sir Harry Smith, Gilbert, and Sir John McCaskill; the cavalry, which included the 3rd Dragoons, under Brigadiers White, Mactier, and John Gough, and the artillery, under Brigadier Brooke.

The Sikh guns opened fire on the advancing infantry, which was well replied to by the British guns, and the cavalry made a flanking movement on the enemy's left, and sweeping along the whole rear of his infantry and guns, silenced for a time the fire of the latter and put their numerous cavalry to flight. Had it not been that the infantry and guns were screened by the jungle, the cavalry charge would have been

productive of greater effect, but it was a brilliant manœuvre, and the 3rd Dragoons especially did great execution. At the same time the remainder of the cavalry and a battery threatened their right. While the artillery combat was renewed, the infantry, in *échelon* of lines, advanced on the enemy, and soon drove them from position after position with great slaughter, the bayonet—"that never-failing weapon," as Gough calls it in his despatch—being used with good effect. The conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim twilight, but the enemy lost seventeen guns, and night only saved them from worse disaster. The British loss was sixteen officers and 200 men killed, and forty-eight officers and 609 rank and file wounded, among the former being Sir John McCaskill, who was shot at the head of his division, and the gallant veteran, Sir Robert Sale, quartermaster-general, who had his thigh shattered by a grape-shot.

Battle of Ferozeshuhur.—21st and 22nd December, 1845.

The army rested for two days at Moodkee, where it was joined by a reinforcement of two European and two Native regiments, and early on the 21st, the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, leaving the baggage and sick and wounded in the fort at Moodkee, started without provisions or tents for Ferozeshuhur, where, under instructions, Littler joined them a little before noon, with 5,500 men and twenty-two guns, leaving 5,000 men to hold the position at Ferozepore. The Sikh army was 35,000 strong, with 100 guns, over forty of which were heavy guns of position, mounted on entrenchments, which extended round the village of Ferozeshuhur. It was nearly four o'clock in the shortest day of the year, that the British army advanced to attack these formidable entrenchments, the attack being directed on the sides defended by the guns of position. Military opinion was divided as to the policy of attacking the enemy with jaded troops at so late an hour; but so competent an authority as Sir Henry Havelock expressed his opinion that, "it was one of those cases in which it would have been better to have attacked at midnight rather than not to have anticipated a junction of the two armies"—a reference to the probability of Lall Sing being reinforced by Tej Sing, commanding the column blockading Ferozepore. However this may be, none will dissent from Sir Charles Napier's opinion, that the attack should have been made on the side of the entrenchments not protected by the heavy guns of position, a mistake which caused sanguinary results.

The British army consisted of 17,700 men, of whom 5,700 were

Europeans, with sixty-five guns. Sir Hugh Gough held the command on the right (Gilbert's division), Sir Henry Hardinge* in the centre, and Sir John Littler on the left, facing the strongest section of the Sikh position, where they had concentrated their heavy guns.

Led by the 62nd Foot, a brigade of Littler's division advanced straight on the muzzles of the guns, but the fire of grape and round shot was so terrible that it had to retire, the 62nd alone leaving dead within fifty paces of the entrenchments seventy-six men and seven officers. The other divisions encountered an equally severe resistance, and night fell on the conflict, only a portion of the entrenchments having been carried. Sir Harry Smith's reserve division was now brought forward, but though he captured another part of the position, and the 3rd Dragoons, repeating their feat at Moodkee, charged and took some of the batteries, losing ten officers and 120 men out of 400, the enemy remained in possession of the greater portion of the great parallelogram forming their position, whilst our troops, says the Commander-in-chief in his despatch, "kept possession of the remainder, and finally bivouacked upon it, exhausted by their efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated with an indomitable spirit." According to Marshman, an unimpeachable authority, Littler's division fell back to a village two miles to the west, and Sir Harry Smith's division, after occupying the village in the heart of the position, was also obliged, about two in the morning, to withdraw to a village two miles distant. General Gilbert's division, with which were the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief, consisting of about 8,000 men, "after capturing the guns in position, was met by a storm of musketry, and obliged to retire and bivouac on the edge of the Sikh entrenchments." About midnight the 80th Foot, supported by the Bengal Fusiliers, under orders of Sir Henry Hardinge, advanced and captured a heavy gun, which was playing with deadly effect on the exhausted troops, who were, however, harassed throughout the night by artillery fire. So passed a night, during which it is scarcely too much to say the destinies of India hung in the balance. But our soldiers were animated with unflinching resolution, and they had at their head two of the bravest officers who ever drew sword. It was suggested that the army should retire to Ferozepore, but the Governor-General scouted the proposal as fatal to the interests of the state. At daylight on the 22nd December the infantry formed line, and, supported

* In reference to Sir Henry Hardinge serving under Sir Hugh Gough, his senior in military rank, but subordinate in station, the same was done by Sir James Outram with his junior officer, Sir Henry Havelock, in the Indian Mutiny. The same noble resolve to subordinate all personal feelings to the calls of patriotism was evinced in 1709 by Marshal Boufflers, serving at Malplaquet under Marshal Villars. As the historian, Alison, says :—"How identical is the noble and heroic spirit in all ages," and continues,—"It forms a freemasonry throughout the world."

on both flanks by horse artillery, Sir Henry Hardinge leading the left wing and Sir Hugh Gough the right, advanced, regardless of the enemy's fire, and drove them out of the village of Ferozeshuhur and their entrenchments. Then changing front to its left, on the centre, the victorious soldiers swept along the rear of the position, bearing down all opposition. The line then halted, and received with ringing cheers the two commanders as they rode down the ranks. But though the Sikhs were in full flight for the Sutlej, and seventy-two guns rewarded the victors, a cloud of dust announced the approach of a new enemy. It was Tej Sing, at the head of 20,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and seventy guns; but the *faineant*, if not treacherous, chief, finding the camp at Ferozeshuhur was lost, withdrew without engaging the British army, which, exhausted from hunger, having tasted no food for thirty-six hours, was scarcely in a position to meet this new foe. Thus the British empire in India was saved as though by a miracle.

Ferozeshuhur was the most critical and sanguinary battle we had fought in India. Our casualties were 694 killed and 1,721 wounded, a loss due chiefly to unskilful strategy. The casualty roll included no less than 103 officers, among the slain being the noble Broadfoot, whose death would have dimmed any victory, and who was declared by his friend and fellow Afghan campaigner, Colin Mackenzie, to be "the foremost man in India." Broadfoot's assistant, Captain P. Nicholson, brother of the great soldier who fell at Delhi, was also slain, and Major D'Arcy Todd, commanding a battery of artillery, lately minister at Herat, a man of singular amiability and many accomplishments, Major Somerset, military secretary to the Governor-General, and Colonel Wallace. Also Colonel Taylor, who had served in America and Burmah, and at the forcing of the Khyber Pass. Of eleven officers of the Governor-General's staff, five were killed and five wounded, the only one who escaped being his youngest son, afterwards General Sir Arthur Hardinge.

Battle of Aliwal.—28th January, 1846.

The Sikhs recrossed the Sutlej, and the British army took up a position on its banks, awaiting the arrival of military stores. Towards the end of January, 1846, Runjoor Sing crossed the river with 10,000 men, and threatened Loodiana, held by only three battalions of Native infantry, when Sir Harry Smith was despatched, with four regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and eighteen guns, to cover that station. In the affair at Buddowal, the British commander nearly experienced a disaster, from which he was saved by the admirable handling of the

cavalry by Brigadier Cureton, but he lost most of his baggage. However, he redeemed his credit by the victory achieved eight days later. Sir Harry Smith was now reinforced to a strength of 11,000 men, with thirty-two guns, his brigadiers being Wilson, Hicks, Wheeler, and Godby, with Cureton commanding his cavalry ; and advanced to Aliwal, on the Sutlej, where Runjoor Sing had taken post with 19,000 men and sixty-eight guns.

The British line advanced at ten o'clock, and was met by a fierce cannonade from their whole line. Bringing up Hicks' and Godby's brigades on his right, Sir Harry carried the village of Aliwal, held by hillmen, but encountered a determined resistance from the Sikh soldiers posted on their right. Meantime Cureton charged the Sikh cavalry and drove them upon the infantry, the 16th Lancers, who lost 100 men, doing great execution. While Godby's brigade, changing front, took the infantry in reverse, Wilson and Wheeler's brigades drove them back on their side and captured sixty-seven guns. The line now advanced on the river, and the enemy, completely hemmed in, precipitated themselves in disordered masses into the ford and boats, on which the howitzer battery played with great effect. The British loss was only 151 killed and 413 wounded, and the victory was most complete, and redounded greatly to the credit of the British commander.

Battle of Sobraon.—10th February, 1846.

Gholaub Sing, on behalf of the Sikh durbar, now sued for peace, but Sir Henry Hardinge demanded the disbandment of the army, which could not be effected by negotiations. It was not till the 8th February, when the heavy siege-train arrived from Delhi, that the army, now numbering 16,224 men, of whom 6,533 were Europeans, with ninety-nine guns, were in a position to move against the Sikh entrenchments at Sobraon. These, erected, it is said, with the assistance of European officers, consisted of a triple series of semi-circular earthworks, with the river for its base, the outer line, two and a half miles in circumference, being surrounded with a deep ditch. The ramparts were mounted with sixty-seven pieces of heavy ordnance, and the entrenchments, the most formidable our soldiers had encountered in India, were held by 35,000 men, under Tej Sing, Lall Sing commanding the cavalry. A bridge of boats united these works with others across the river, where heavy guns swept the left bank. The plan adopted by the British commander was to attack the western, or weakest corner of the entrenchment where it rested on the river, thus

taking the whole of the guns along the water line in reverse. Sir Robert Dick was directed to attack at this point, while the centre division, under General Gilbert, and the right division, under Sir Harry Smith, were ordered to make feint attacks to divert the attention of the enemy.

The dispositions were made on the morning of the 10th February, under cover of a dense fog, and at seven o'clock, the heavy guns opened on the encampment; but as it was feared that their fire would effect little in silencing ordnance mounted in well-constructed batteries, at nine o'clock Stacey's brigade, supported by three batteries, moved to the attack. A desperate struggle ensued, as the Sikh commanders had concentrated their guns and men on the threatened point. Wilkinson's brigade moved forward in support, but the hardly-pressed regiments recoiled from the deadly fire of the enemy. But the persevering gallantry of British soldiers met with its reward, and they succeeded in obtaining a footing within the entrenchments. In this struggle the 10th Foot, newly arrived at the front, displayed the disciplined valour for which it gained so great a name during its prolonged Indian service, and never fired a shot until it entered the enemy's works. The 53rd also, fresh from Meerut, supported by two regiments of Native infantry, did equally excellent service. The fighting was severe, and the losses experienced heavy, the 10th regiment having three officers and 130 men killed and wounded. On attaining this first success, Brigadier the Honourable T. Ashburnham's brigade moved in support of Gilbert and Smith's divisions, on the right and centre, and threatened the works from these points, supported by artillery. Soon no less than 120 guns were engaged, and every part of the long line of entrenchments was assaulted.

The charge of Gilbert's division on the centre batteries, the strongest portion of the works, was finally successful, but before the ramparts were gained, 689 men fell in half an hour The 29th Foot and Bengal Fusiliers led these attacks, and suffered heavily in proportion. Thrice did they assault the works only to be driven back, but at length they succeeded in effecting an entrance to the right of the entrenchment, and then they had their revenge on the enemy who had slaughtered their wounded comrades. The 29th lost in killed and wounded thirteen officers and 165 men, and the Bengal Fusiliers suffered even more severely. Scarcely less sanguinary were the charges made by Smith's division, but at length, the entrenchments were pierced at three points, and the Sikh artillerymen, disdaining to fly, were bayoneted by the side of their guns. Sir Joseph Thackwell's cavalry division on the left, including the 9th and 16th Lancers, now penetrated the works in single file, and reforming, led by the ever-foremost 3rd Hussars, charged and cut down the broken ranks of the enemy, who, seeing all was lost, made for the bridge. But either by accident or design, Tej Sing. who was

the first to fly, broke the bridge, and the river having suddenly risen seven inches, the efforts of the panic-stricken masses to gain the opposite bank caused a fearful scene of confusion and death. Hundreds were drowned in their frantic efforts to cross the swollen stream. The Horse Artillery, which had taken up a station on the river bank, opened fire on the struggling mob, and a terrible carnage ensued.

Among the spoils of this complete and memorable victory were sixty-seven guns, besides standards and munitions of war. As Sir Henry Hardinge says, it was a daring exploit, "by which, in open day, a triple line of breastworks, flanked by formidable redoubts bristling with artillery, manned by thirty-two regiments of infantry, was assaulted and carried." The enemy lost not less than 8,000 men, and the victors had 2,383 killed and wounded. Among the former was the gallant Sir Robert Dick, a veteran who had led the 42nd Highlanders in the Peninsula, and Brigadier McLaren, commanding one of the brigades of the centre division. Among the wounded were General Gilbert and Colonel Ryan, commanding the 50th Foot, which had twelve officers and 227 men *hors de combat.* The 31st also, which had been engaged at the three preceding battles, lost seven officers and 147 rank and file wounded. But the bloodshed was not in vain, for by eleven in the morning, not an unwounded Sikh soldier was to be seen on the British side of the Sutlej. The river was now bridged with boats at Ferozepore by Major Frederick Abbott, of the Bengal Engineers, and within three days, the whole army, including the troops under Sir John Littler, with camp-followers, numbering 100,000 men, with forty pieces of artillery, and 68,000 horses and transport animals, crossed the river without a single casualty.

Gholaub Sing arrived at the camp on the 15th February, ready, on behalf of the Sikh durbar, to agree to any terms; but Sir Henry Hardinge would only consent to sign a treaty in the capital, and on the 22nd, the citadel of Lahore was occupied by British troops. By the terms of the treaty of 9th March, the Sikh districts Cis-Sutlej, and the territory known as the Jullundur Doab, lying between that river and the Beas, were ceded to the Company, and, in order to meet the expenses of the war, half a million sterling was taken from the treasury, and the province of Cashmere and the highlands of Jummoo were surrendered in lieu of the balance of one million demanded by the victors. These provinces were handed over to Gholaub Sing,* who paid that sum for

* Gholaub Sing was one of three brothers of Rajpoot origin. He received from Runjeet Sing, in whose service he had been a running footman, the territory of Jummoo, lying between Lahore and Cashmere, and had commanded the Sikh contingent of 12,000 men, which assisted General Pollock in forcing the Khyber Pass in 1842.

them, and they became an independent province. In sixty days the British army had utterly defeated the Sikh forces, carefully trained by Runjeet Sing, in four pitched battles, and had captured 220 guns, which were paraded in a grand procession from Lahore to Calcutta, and the report of these great military successes was transmitted to every native state in the Peninsula. Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough were elevated to the peerage, and Sir Harry Smith received a baronetcy. But the serpent of Sikh ascendency was only scotched and not killed, and before the close of 1848, the British army was again involved in a desperate struggle, which ended in the utter discomfiture of the enemy, and the annexation of the Punjaub.

The Punjaub Campaign.

The second Sikh war was occasioned by one of those accidents which often occur in India, and which can only be met by the promptitude and sleepless energy of the British Government, which, after all the fine things said about civilizing agencies, owes its continued existence, as it originally derived it, to the sword, quite as much as to the goodwill of the governed. Sir Henry Lawrence, who watched over the administration of the Punjaub, assisted by a body of most able and patriotic officers, had gone to England on sick leave, and affairs were temporarily managed by Sir Frederick Currie, who selected Mr. Vans Agnew, of the Civil Service, and Lieutenant Anderson, of the Bombay Fusiliers, to accompany Khan Sing, the Governor selected by the Lahore durbar to supersede Moolraj, the dewan, or governor, of Mooltan. On the 20th April, 1848, as the British officers were returning from the fort with Moolraj, they were set upon and severely wounded, and the dewan and their Sikh escort leaving them to their fate, they were massacred. Had Sir Henry Lawrence or Lord Hardinge been in India, there is little doubt but that troops would have been moved from Lahore and Bukkur, where they were kept in readiness, and the insurrection nipped in the bud. But the former was absent, and Lord Hardinge had been succeeded by Lord Dalhousie, a man of masterful talents, but new to his duties, and Lord Gough considered the season unfit for campaigning, and determined to wait till the cold weather had set in. But there was a young officer, Lieutenant Edwardes, so well known in India as Sir Herbert Edwardes, in civil employ at Bunnoo, on the frontier, across the Indus, who had the spirit and almost the military talent of a Clive, and he, without waiting for orders,

marched with some local levies to encounter Moolraj, whose disciplined Sikh army of 8,000 men he defeated at Kinneyree, on the 18th June, an inspiriting anniversary, as he observed, for an Englishman. Receiving reinforcements, the young officer, assisted by Colonel Cortlandt, of the Sikh service, again defeated Moolraj at Sudoosain, on the 1st July, and at length, on the 3rd September, the siege of Mooltan was undertaken by a British force of 7,000 men, under General Whish, assisted by Edwardes' levies and a body of Sikh troops under Shere Sing. But the fort was not less strong than that of Bhurtpore, and though some outworks were captured, with the loss of 272 killed and wounded, Shere Sing—yielding to the desire of his troops and the importunities of his father, Chutter Sing, who had raised the standard of revolt in the province of Huzara, lying on the left bank of the Indus—on the 14th September went over to the enemy with 5,000 men and twelve guns. General Whish now abandoned the siege, and the revolt, which a little decision might have averted in its incipient stage, became general in the Punjaub.

Lord Dalhousie was equal to the emergency. A column of 7,000 men was despatched from Bombay to reinforce Whish. Some troops were sent from Ferozepore for the defence of Lahore, which, fortunately, Shere Sing, with the incapacity characteristic of all these Sikh leaders, failed to attack, though the population would have made common cause with him. Chutter Sing concluded an alliance with Dost Mahomed, Ameer of Cabul, by which he ceded the province of Peshawur; and Major George Lawrence, Captain Herbert, who defended Attock for six weeks against a Sikh force with great resolution, and other political officers, fell into the hands of Chutter Sing, and the only one who held out was Captain James Abbott, the political agent in Huzara, who succeeded in keeping Chutter Sing at bay with his Native militia till the close of the campaign.

In November, 1848, Lord Gough took the field with an army powerful in artillery and cavalry, but weak in infantry. The latter consisted of four British and eleven Native infantry regiments; the cavalry of three regiments of British Dragoons, and five of Native regular, and five of irregular horse; with upwards of sixty field-guns and eighteen pieces of heavy ordnance. On the 16th November Lord Gough crossed the Ravee, seven months after the murder of the officers at Mooltan, and on the 22nd, came into collision with Shere Sing, who, with 15,000 men, had taken up a position at Ramnuggur, on the Chenab, of which he occupied both banks. With the object of driving the enemy across to the right bank of the river, where the main Sikh force was encamped, Lord Gough opened fire on them with twelve field-pieces, but drew upon himself a cannonade from the twenty-eight heavy guns across the river. The order was given to limber up and retire, but one gun

stuck fast in the sand. Some thousands of the enemy's horsemen crossed the ford to carry off the gun, and the 14th Dragoons, supported by the 5th Cavalry, were detached to charge the Sikh masses The result was disastrous, and the cavalry had to retire under the heavy artillery and musketry fire brought to bear on them, with the loss of Brigadier Cureton, an experienced cavalry leader, and Colonel William Havelock, commanding the 14th Dragoons, who had earned distinction in the Peninsula and at Waterloo. Lord Gough withdrew his troops and awaited the arrival of his heavy guns and pontoons, as he determined to throw a strong division across the river higher up, and move down upon the left flank of their entrenchments, while he occupied their attention by a cannonade in front. With this object, on the 1st December, Sir Joseph Thackwell, a Peninsular officer, marched with 8,000 men and 32 guns to Wuzeerabad, twenty-four miles up the Chenab, which he crossed on the following day, and proceeded a distance of twelve miles down the river towards the enemy's position. On the 3rd December, General Thackwell advanced a further six miles, and in the afternoon was suddenly attacked by Shere Sing, who had withdrawn from his position at Ramnuggur. An artillery combat ensued, without any result, and during the night Shere Sing withdrew his army towards the Jhelum, where he took up a position of great strength, with his rear resting on the river, his main body being posted in ravines strengthened by field-works, and his front covered by a broad and dense belt of jungle.

Battle of Chillianwallah.—13th January, 1849.

Lord Gough remained inactive between the Jhelum and Chenab until the 11th January, 1849, when he advanced a distance of twelve miles to Dingee, and prepared, with two weak infantry divisions, to attack a powerful Sikh army of 30,000 men, with 62 guns, entrenched in a strong position, on ground where the British cavalry had no space for manœuvring. On the following day the army advanced, and was in the act of taking up ground for the night's encampment, when some Sikh guns opened fire, to which Lord Gough replied with a few rounds, when the enemy returned the fire by nearly the whole of his artillery. Lord Gough, contrary to his better judgment and the advice of his most trusted advisers, thereupon resolved to accept battle, though it was now three o'clock, with only two hours of day-

light left. His lordship adopted this course, undeterred by the examples of Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur, where success was lost by darkness intervening; but on those occasions circumstances demanded immediate action, whereas nothing was gained by now precipitating a conflict. The army was drawn up, with Sir Walter Gilbert's division on the right, flanked by Pope's brigade of cavalry, which included the 14th Hussars. The heavy guns were in the centre, Brigadier-General Colin Campbell's division formed the left, flanked by White's cavalry brigade. The field batteries were with the infantry divisions, and each of the cavalry brigades was supported by three batteries of horse artillery.

General Campbell pushed forward his two brigades, and accompanying that under Brigadier Hoggan, though fiercely opposed, won the ground in his front, but Brigadier Pennycuick's brigade suffered a disastrous repulse. The 24th Foot, outstripping the Native regiments, rushed upon the enemy's guns, breathless and in confusion, and was met by a deadly discharge of grape and a heavy musketry fire from the surrounding jungle, and then the Sikhs rushed out, sword in hand, and converted the repulse into a rout. The Brigadier was slain, so was Colonel Brooks, commanding the regiment; the colours were lost, and no less than twenty-three officers and 459 men* were killed and wounded. The Native regiments were unable to restore the battle, and suffered severely. Brigadier Penny's brigade, in reserve, was sent forward, but lost its way. The veteran Colin Campbell, however, was equal to the occasion. Observing the disaster "with that steady coolness and military decision for which he is remarkable," as Lord Gough wrote in his despatch, he spiked the guns he had captured, and advancing to the rescue with Hoggan's brigade, snatched victory from the Sikhs, and captured the guns which had dealt destruction on his other brigade. Meanwhile, Gilbert's division on the right fought its way with determined gallantry. His left brigade, under Mountain, carried the enemy's position and captured several guns; but one regiment of Native infantry lost its colours and its commanding officer, Major Bamfield. The other brigade, under Godby, put the Sikhs in its front to flight, but the 2nd Bengal Europeans (afterwards the 104th) were suddenly attacked in the forest by the enemy, though, assisted by the fire of Dawes' battery, they succeeded in beating them off, and remained masters of the field.

More unfortunate were the cavalry, which had been brought into line with the infantry in order to protect their flanks, and thus suffered

* A granite column, bearing the names of the officers and men of the 24th Foot, who fell in this gallant but unavailing attempt to carry the Sikh batteries, has been erected in the gardens of Chelsea Hospital.

equally from artillery fire and entanglement in the forest, so unsuited for the movements of horsemen. On the right was posted Pope's brigade—the 9th Lancers, 14th Dragoons, and two Native cavalry regiments, the guns being placed in the rear. The brigade advanced in single line through the forest, and were attacked by the Sikh footmen, when a panic ensued, and they fled. The artillerymen in the rear were ridden over, and the Sikh horse entered the ranks of the artillery with the flying dragoons, and captured four guns. Far different was the state of affairs on the left, where Sir Joseph Thackwell commanded. The Horse Artillery, under Colonel Brind, did considerable execution, and a squadron of the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), under Captain Unett, charged through the Sikh ranks to their rear, and returned with the loss of forty-eight men, that officer being among the wounded. Night fell as the conflict came to an end, but though it was desirable to keep his ground, Lord Gough was compelled by necessity to withdraw his troops, exhausted with fatigue and want of water, to the village of Chillianwallah, which gave its name to a battle as sanguinary and indecisive as any fought in India. Though the Sikhs were driven from their position, and twelve guns were carried off, they retired unmolested to a position at Russool, three miles distant, and we had lost four guns and the colours of three regiments. In killed and wounded our loss was eighty-nine officers and 2,357 men. On news of this battle, officially called a victory, being received in England, the Duke of Wellington requested Sir Charles Napier to proceed to India to assume the command, and he left England within three days; but before his arrival, Lord Gough had retrieved his laurels by the victory of Goojerat.

Battle of Goojerat.—22nd February, 1849.

Lord Gough's infantry was so seriously reduced that he was constrained to wait for the capture of Mooltan, to which General Whish had again laid siege on the arrival of reinforcements from Bombay, before undertaking operations against the Sikh army. The siege was reopened on the 17th December with an army of 17,000 men, and sixty-four heavy guns (including a battery manned by the Indian Naval Brigade), and pushed with vigour until the 2nd January, 1849, when the city was stormed. Moolraj, with 3,000 men, still held out in the citadel with remarkable resolution, but, at length, on the 22nd January, the garrison compelled him to capitulate.

After Chillianwallah, the British and Sikh armies lay encamped

opposite each other for twenty-five days, and then Shere Sing, turning Lord Gough's left, took post at Goojerat, on the 14th February, where he awaited the British attack, with 50,000 men and sixty pieces of ordnance. On the 20th February, when the last brigade of Whish's army had joined headquarters, now at Lassoorie, Lord Gough moved up to attack the enemy with nearly 20,000 men and eighty-eight guns.

The position held by Shere Sing was strong and well chosen. His guns were placed in front of the walled town of Goojerat in the form of a crescent, and a dry watercourse protected his right, while his left rested on a narrow and deep rivulet, enclosing a space of about three miles, having two loop-holed villages filled with troops. Acting under the advice of his chief engineer, Brigadier Cheape, who had conducted the siege of Mooltan with exceptional talent, and other officers, Lord Gough resolved to bring his magnificent artillery force, under General Tennant, into play, and the result was a crushing and decisive victory.

The infantry divisions under Generals Dundas (commanding the Bombay column), Campbell, Whish, and Gilbert, Brigadier Markham being in support, advanced in column of divisions with the field batteries, including the eighteen heavy guns, on the flanks being the brigades of cavalry, led by White, Hearsey, and Lockwood, the whole under Sir Joseph Thackwell. The advance was made with the order and precision of a field-day, the rays of the sun gleaming along the line of bayonets, sabres, and cannon. The enemy opened fire with their heavy guns, when the infantry was halted, and the whole of the artillery, protected by skirmishers, pushed to the front, and the artillery duel commenced. For two and a half hours the Sikh gunners stood to their pieces, under a fire the like of which had never been witnessed in India, for extent, rapidity, and effect. Many of their guns were dismounted, and when their fire had slackened, the British infantry commenced a steady advance, supported by the guns. Penny's brigade of Sir Walter Gilbert's division attacked the larger of the fortified villages, which they carried, after a hand-to-hand conflict, while the smaller village was stormed by the 10th Foot, led by their colonel, known as "Tiger" Franks. The whole Sikh line now gave way, and was pursued, Campbell's and Dundas's columns passing on either side of the town. During the conflict a body of 1,500 Afghan cavalry, under Akram Khan, son of Dost Mahomed, who had been ill-advised enough to throw in his lot with his old enemies, advanced against the flank and rear of Thackwell's cavalry division, when a brilliant charge was made by a regiment of Scinde Horse, 240 sabres, led by Captain Malcolm, supported by the 9th Lancers.

The British cavalry was now let loose, and they rode over and dispersed the flying Sikhs of all arms, pursuing them for a distance

of twelve miles, and capturing camp equipage, arms, and fifty-five guns.

The battle of Goojerat was admirably planned and fought, and its success was due to the Indian artillery, which a competent critic, Lord Hardinge, pronounced to be the finest in the world. The daring and successful charge of the Scinde Horse was also a brilliant feat of arms. The British army has not produced a braver soldier, and but few more inefficient commanders, than the successful general at Goojerat. He had displayed the former quality at Tarifa and Vittoria, and his generalship, as illustrated at Maharajpore and Chillianwallah, consisted in attacking the enemy's batteries at the point of the bayonet, regardless of numbers or position, or the lives of his men, among whom, nevertheless, he was popular. In this final battle of his long and distinguished career he was persuaded to employ his artillery, and the result was apparent in a decisive and brilliant victory.*

* The following unpublished letter from a distinguished officer of Engineers, written on the field of battle to a relative of the author's, gives an excellent account of this crowning victory of Goojerat :—"On the 20th February the British army was encamped at Shadiwal, within six miles of Goojerat, and in the morning of the 21st, the whole force, not more than 15,000 men, was under arms, with eighty-eight pieces of artillery, eighteen being heavy guns. The army advanced in columns of divisions at deploying distance, as far as the village of Huriawala. A few shots had been fired at our reconnoitring parties, and at our Horse Artillery batteries, which had been thrown forward to feel where the enemy's guns were posted by drawing their fire. The first shots were fired about eight o'clock, and at five minutes before nine, our batteries having been pushed forward, the action commenced by a general discharge from all our guns, which was quickly answered by the Sikh guns.

"The Commander-in-chief was posted on the top of a house in the village of Huriawala, from whence he could see the whole of the Sikh position. Their advanced lines of infantry were lying down in shallow trenches, dug with the bayonet and scooped out with the hand. These afforded little, if any, cover against round shot. Their second line of infantry was posted at some distance, and were mostly seated or lying down. Officers on horseback could be seen riding backwards and forwards, apparently for the purpose of giving orders, and encouraging their men to remain quiet.

"After about one hour's firing, our batteries were advanced about three hundred yards; the infantry made a corresponding advance, and each division took ground to the right or left to avoid the round shot from the enemy's batteries, which had passed our own guns. These could not be altogether avoided, for the Sikh artillerymen turned their guns near Middle Kalra, so as to bring a raking fire upon our heavy batteries. Our practice from the second position was beautiful; the shells fell among the infantry, and dispersed them to the right and left, and the 18-pounder shot went bobbing along up to the suburbs of Goojerat, beyond their brick-kilns, where I counted seventeen dead and two wounded men, all hit by round shot. This heavy fire effectually broke down the centre of the Sikh position, which was almost deserted, excepting by the artillerymen and by some infantry in the villages of Burra Kalra and Middle Kalra.

"In the meantime the enemy's cavalry had advanced and threatened both our

While Sir Colin Campbell swept the districts in the north, Sir Walter Gilbert proceeded on the following day with 12,000 men in pursuit of the enemy. At length the Sikh chiefs, being closely pressed, entered into terms with General Gilbert, and on the 12th March, at the celebrated monument of Manikylah, supposed to be a trophy of Alexander, Shere Sing, and Chutter Sing, with thirty-five subordinate chiefs and 16,000 men, the wrecks of the once formidable "Khalsa army," laid down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, together with forty-one guns, including those lost at Ramnuggur and Chillianwallah. Gilbert, pronounced by Sir Henry Lawrence to be "the first rider in India," continued his pursuit of the Afghan cavalry, and they were chased across the Indus up to the Khyber Pass, on which the natives of India epigrammatically remarked, "Those who rode down the hills like lions, ran back into them like dogs." Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjaub,

flanks. On our right the wet nullah, about six feet deep and ten feet broad, with steep clay banks, effectually protected our flank, and allowed Warner's battery to play upon the head of the advancing party, within good range. On our left the Afghan horse advanced, apparently with the intention of getting to our rear, but the spirited charge of the Scinde Horse (ordered by Thackwell), and a few shots from Huish's guns, soon sent them flying in great disorder, leaving one man of rank and many others on the field. In the centre a small party of daring men, about forty, dashed between Lane's guns towards the Commander-in-chief. These were engaged by individual officers, and by the small escort of Native cavalry under Stannus, and they were all eventually cut up or shot. Cocks, of the Civil Service, and Major Campbell, 53rd Native Infantry, were wounded by these men. They had apparently devoted their lives to some object. On one horse there were two men seated back to back.

"A second advance of our line, preceded by the guns, which opened at a short distance, soon drove the enemy from their position, excepting from the villages of Burra Kalra and Middle Kilra, which were carried by Penny's brigade (2nd Europeans, 31st, and 70th Native Infantry), supported by the 10th, Queen's, 8th, and 52nd Native Infantry, with considerable loss.

"The whole army advanced and halted. The Sikhs fled towards Goojerat, followed by the cavalry and horse artillery. The army again advanced, the fourth division in line, to the left of Goojerat, the third and second divisions in column, and the first division in line, to the right of Goojerat. The enemy's cavalry on their right fled, when our line again advanced, passing by the Sikh camp, which the camp followers plundered in fine style. Horses, camels, and bullocks were laden with tents, beds, boxes, clothes, and arms of all kinds. The troops marched steadily past, and the enemy's camp was soon in flames from the blowing up of large dubhas of powder.

"As our line advanced we came upon the enemy's guns and ammunition carts, which had been abandoned, and we found the whole country covered with baggage and wounded men. We halted and encamped beyond Goojerat. Our cavalry and horse artillery continued the pursuit for twelve miles, when we captured nine guns, and an immense quantity of ammunition and baggage.

"The enemy lost about 700 killed on the field of battle (I have counted 420, and have not been over the scene of the Afghan defeat, nor over many other parts of the field), and they must have lost about double that number of killed in the pursuit, or say 2,000 killed, and their wounded may be about the same number. Our loss was 800."

and the famous "Kohinoor" diamond was set apart for the crown of England. His lordship was created a marquis. Lord Gough obtained a step in the peerage; Generals Gilbert and Thackwell became baronets; and Generals Campbell, Wheeler and Cheape received the K.C.B. There was peace within the borders of India, which now extended from the Khyber to Cape Comorin, a distance of over 2,000 miles, until the great Indian Mutiny shook our power to its base; and had it not been for the loyal assistance afforded us in our hour of need by the brave enemy we had humbled to the dust, it is certain that India would have had to be reconquered from the sea to the Himalayas.

Our annexation of the Punjaub brought us into conflict with the warlike tribes inhabiting the mountain ranges on our north-west frontier. The petty wars and expeditions that ensued were endless, and would alone require a volume adequately to describe them. Almost every year a punitive expedition was despatched against one or other of the frontier tribes, and the famous "Black Mountain" has been the scene of desperate fighting. This range, which runs north and south, between Thakote and Derbund, and in its highest point rises to an altitude of 10,000 feet, lies in the north-west corner of Hazara, on the left bank of the Indus, and is inhabited by the Hussunzyes, Akazyes, and other tribes.

The first expedition, in 1862, was confined to the southern portion of the range. Three famous officers, Colonel Mackeson (murdered by a fanatic at Peshawur), and Major Napier (afterwards Lord Napier), and Major James Abbott, commanded columns. In 1868 there was a second expedition, commanded by Sir Alfred Wilde, of the Guides, whose operations, carried over the whole range, were crowned with success. In 1888 an expedition, commanded by General McQueen, who had graduated under Sir Frederick Roberts, invaded this difficult country, and, as in the previous campaign, no tents were taken. Generals Channer and Galbraith earned distinction in the severe fighting between 3rd October, when the troops left Oghi, to the 9th November, when they returned. The operations resulted in the complete submission of the tribes, but our troops lost about 100 killed and wounded, among the former being Colonel Crookshank, commanding one of the four columns. The expedition against the Affredees, Wuzeerees, and the numerous tribes of the north-west frontier, began with the operations undertaken against the Momunds in 1849 by Sir Colin Campbell, who commanded at Peshawur for three years, and Sir Charles Napier, when Commander-in-chief, himself accompanied a column, which, in 1850, forced the Kohat Pass, repeating the tactics

employed by Pollock at the storming of the Khyber Pass in 1842. The north-west frontier has been the best school for our Indian officers, many of the most famous of whom, such as Reynell Taylor, Nicholson, Coke, Herbert Edwardes, Keyes, the Battyes, Probyn, Brownlow, Daly, Hodson, and others too numerous to mention, gained their spurs and acquired a practical knowledge of war on the peaks and passes of those stupendous ranges.

The most important of our frontier campaigns was the remarkable campaign of 1863, of which a narrative has been written by General Sir John Adye, when an army of 5,000 men, increased to 9,000, including the 7th Fusiliers, 71st Highlanders and 101st regiments, under Sir Neville Chamberlain, was engaged in a campaign which assumed such formidable proportions that before the close some 20,000 men were put in motion north of the Jhelum. Sir Neville Chamberlain was wounded, for the eighth time in the service of his country, and General Garvock brought the war to a close by the action of the 15th December, when Laloo and Umbeyla, at the Chumla end of the pass, were captured by the columns led by the 7th Fusiliers and 101st Bengal Fusiliers. The town of Mulkah, the nest of the Wahabee fanatics driven from Sitana by Sir Sydney Cotton in 1858, some twenty-five miles from Umbeyla, was burnt by the Bonair chiefs on the 22nd December, in the presence of Colonels Adye, Roberts and Reynell Taylor, and then the army broke up. In this brief campaign, when two months were occupied in forcing the Umbeyla Pass, nine miles in length, the British loss was nineteen officers and 238 men killed, and forty-seven officers, including Colonel Hope, commanding the 11th, and Colonel Keyes, commanding the 1st Punjaub Infantry, and 670 men wounded. The fighting on the mountain side was of a desperate character, and the "Crag" and "Eagle's Nest" pickets were taken and retaken, and finally held by the British troops.

On our north-east frontier the expeditions have been almost equally numerous. Here the tribes inhabiting the frontier districts of Assam, and the people of Bhootan, were the chief aggressors. There was severe fighting in 1859, with the Nagas of Assam, and the raids made by these frontier tribes have constantly demanded punitive expeditions. In Bhootan there was the "little war," brought to a successful issue by that gallant soldier, Sir Harry Tombs, and in 1871–72 took place the expedition against the Looshai tribes, the Cachar and Chittagong columns being under the command of Generals Bourchier and Brownlow, with Colonel (afterwards Sir) Frederick Roberts as chief staff officer, when a complete success was achieved. But both the Bhootanese and Looshais have since given rein to their inveterate habit of raiding, and have been made to feel the effects of British power. In Sikkim there was a little war, lasting between March and September 1888, in which

General Graham taught the insolent Thibetans a severe lesson by the defeats he inflicted on them, driving them through the passes out of the disputed territory.

The Second Burmese War.

Soon after the close of the Punjaub War, the Government was involved in hostilities with the King of Burmah, who permitted extortion and injustice to be practised on the European merchants settled at Rangoon, and refused to receive a permanent representative at his court, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of Yandaboo. When a mission was sent to Rangoon to remonstrate, the envoy was insulted, and finally Lord Dalhousie was constrained to send an expedition of 5,800 men, including the 18th, 51st, and 80th regiments, under General Godwin, who had served in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, and commanded the 41st regiment or a brigade throughout the war of 1824–26. There was also a powerful squadron of the Royal and Indian navies, the latter consisting of several fine steam-frigates. The Bengal column entered the Rangoon river on the 2nd April, 1852, and the first operation was the capture of Martaban, opposite the town of Moulmein, which was captured with small loss.

On the arrival of the Madras column, the fleet took up a position in front of Rangoon on the 11th April, and was received with a brisk fire from the enemy's works on both sides of the river, which was returned and silenced by the ships. While a detachment of the 18th Royal Irish and some seamen landed and carried the works at Dalla, another column proceeded three miles up the river to Kemmendine, which was captured after a resolute defence. On the following day the troops were landed to attack the town and the Great Dragon Pagoda, which had been fortified with great skill. While the fleet attacked the river defences and shelled the town, General Godwin marched by the road which turned all the defences of the Great Pagoda, and had proceeded about a mile, when a heavy fire was opened from a battery concealed in the jungle. The stockade was silenced and stormed, but the troops were so exhausted by fatigue and the heat, that no further advance was made until the 14th, when the whole force marched to attack the defences of the Great Pagoda, on its weakest or eastern side. This gigantic edifice, with its outworks, mounted 100 guns, and was defended by a garrison of 10,000 men. The heavy 8-inch mortars were dragged, with incredible labour, through the jungle, into position, and opened fire, which was answered with great effect by the enemy's batteries. A storming party

of 800 men, drawn from the 18th, 51st and 80th regiments, and the 40th Bengal Native Infantry, advanced to the assault, led by Colonel Coote, and under a terrific fire from the three terraces of the Pagoda, this great citadel was carried, with the loss of seventeen killed and 122 wounded, by the fiery valour of these gallant soldiers.

On the 20th May Bassein, mounting fifty-four guns, was captured with trifling loss by a combined force of 800 soldiers, and some steam-frigates of the Indian Navy, under Captain Campbell, I.N., whose sailors carried the stockade on one side of the river, while the troops led by the 51st L. I. captured the town. On the arrival of reinforcements, a combined force captured Prome on the 9th October with trifling loss, and some sharp fighting took place in its neighbourhood in November. The only other military operation of note before the close of the year was the capture of Pegu on the 21st November, by a column of 1,100 men, and the relief, on the 14th December, of the garrison of Pegu, who were closely pressed by a Burmese army. On the 20th December, Lord Dalhousie, issued a proclamation, annexing the province of Pegu. In January, 1853, General Steele proceeded from Rangoon to Martaban, and on 14th December, thence to Tonghoo, which he entered on the 22nd February, after a tedious march of 240 miles through an unknown and difficult country.

But the most arduous fighting of this war, as of that of 1885, by which the whole of the Burmese empire became British territory, was with the bands of dacoits who infested the country at all times, their leaders, who were in the pay of the corrupt Burmese ministers, being animated by resentment at the prohibition of their plundering methods, more than by a patriotic hatred of the invaders of their country. At their head was a notorious freebooter, Myatoon by name, a man of resource and skill. On the 12th December, Captain Hewett, I.N., defeated with loss 3,000 of his followers at Pantano; but five days later, a second attack by Commodore Lambert was repelled with some loss. Myatoon had taken up a strong position at Donabew, from which it required a large force to dislodge him. On the 4th February, Captain Loch, R.N., with 272 seamen and marines and 300 sepoys, attacked Myatoon, who was officially called a rebel, though his countrymen regarded him as a patriot chief like Wallace. Loch was, however, repulsed with the loss of his field-pieces and eighty officers and men, the gallant commander being mortally wounded. Sir John Cheape hurriedly proceeded from Prome with 800 men, and marched on the enemy's position, but owing to defective information and a failure of supplies, was compelled to fall back on the Irrawaddy. Again, on the 7th March, he started with 1,200 men, of whom half were Europeans from the 18th, 51st and 80th regiments, and after a tedious march through jungle, where the troops suffered greatly from the heat and

want of water, was compelled to retrace his steps to the river, having lost eighty men from cholera. On the 17th March, a third start was made, and after a skirmish on the 19th, the column arrived in front of the formidable Burmese position. In the first attempt to storm the stockade, the troops were repulsed with the loss of the senior officers, Majors Wigston and Armstrong. A second attempt, led by Ensign Wolseley, of the 80th Foot—so well known as Sir Garnet and Lord Wolseley—and Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir) Allen Johnson, of the 4th Sikhs, also failed, but finally, young Wolseley succeeded, at the head of a detachment of his regiment, with Lieutenant Taylor of the Madras army, doing duty with the 51st L. I., in storming the enemy's position. The latter young officer fell a sacrifice to his gallantry, and Ensign Wolseley was dangerously wounded, and had to return to England. The loss in these operations was two officers and nineteen men killed and twelve officers and ninety-four men wounded.

This action concluded the war, during which fifty-eight officers, 1,353 Europeans, and over 2,000 sepoys died by the sword or disease. Dacoity has ever been a permanent evil in Burmah, with its weak government, and was fostered by ministers in high office, who even received a share of the plunder. Hence the newly-annexed province of Pegu was ravaged by bands of dacoits until the end of 1855, and it was not till five years later that affairs settled down, under the administration of Sir Arthur Phayre, one of the most able of the long line of soldier-statesmen that our Indian Service has produced.

The Persian War.

The last war waged before the Indian Mutiny was that with Persia, in the preceding year, which, fortunately, was brought to a conclusion before we were engaged in that great struggle. In 1856 the Persian Government despatched an army against Herat, on the pretext that the Ameer of Afghanistan, Dost Mahomed, had possessed himself of Candahar; and on the 25th October, the city was captured, when the British Minister withdrew from Teheran. On the 1st November, Lord Dalhousie issued a declaration of war against Persia, and a combined military and naval expedition sailed from Bombay. Major-General Sir James Outram, who was in England, was nominated to the supreme command, and Major-General Stalker proceeded to the Persian Gulf with the first division, numbering 5,670 men, of whom 2,270 were Europeans, a powerful squadron of the Indian Navy co-operating, under its Commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Leeke. On the 7th December,

the troops were disembarked at Hallilah Bay, about twelve miles from Bushire, the enemy being driven off by the fire of some gunboats, and on the 9th, they advanced on the fort of Reshire, about four miles from Bushire, which was shelled by the fleet and then stormed. In this affair Brigadier Stopford, of the 64th regiment, and Colonel Malet, commanding the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, were killed, and two officers died of their wounds. On the following morning the fleet bombarded Bushire, which was defended by batteries mounting fifty-nine guns, and at the end of four hours the city surrendered unconditionally and was occupied. On the 26th January, 1857, Sir James Outram arrived at Bushire with the second division, which included the 78th Highlanders, under Brigadier-General Henry Havelock, and the cavalry division, comprising the 14th Dragoons, which was placed under Brigadier-General John Jacob. On the 3rd February, Outram marched inland and occupied the enemy's entrenchments at Borazjoon, forty-six miles from Bushire, without opposition; but on the 8th, as he was returning, he attacked and totally defeated the Persian army at Kooshaub. The brunt of the action was borne by the Horse Artillery and the Scinde Horse, which charged the Persian squares in the most gallant manner. The Persians had 700 killed, the British loss being only ten killed and sixty-two wounded.

The next operation was an attack by the fleet on the Persian earthworks at Mohamra, situated at the junction of the Karoon with the Shatt-ul-Arab, or Bussorah river, where they had erected batteries of solid earth, twenty feet thick and eighteen high, with casemated embrasures, armed with thirty-nine heavy guns, commanding the passage of the river. A Persian army of 13,000 men, under the command of the Shahzada, or heir-apparent, defended the works, which were of such strength that the captain and officers of the French 50-gun frigate, *Sybille*, who had inspected the defences, declared to the naval officers at Bushire that the ships there assembled in the roads were inadequate to silence the works, and would suffer a sanguinary repulse.

Nevertheless, on the 26th March, the squadron of five steam-frigates and two sailing sloops, under the command of Commodore Young, I.N., took up positions, first within 300 yards and then sixty yards of the works, and bombarded them so successfully between six A.M. and one P.M. that they were silenced, when they were occupied by the seamen, while the troops, 4,900 men, who had meanwhile been landed from the transports, entered the enemy's entrenched camp. The squadron lost only ten killed and thirty wounded, and the Persian army left 300 dead in the works, and seventeen guns, the remainder having been thrown into the river. As General Havelock writes: "The gentlemen in blue had it all to themselves, and left us nought to do." The small British loss was due to the ships having packed

round their bulwarks and quarters trusses of pressed hay, which were found to be filled with bullets. Three days after this success a combined expedition, under Captain Rennie, I.N., consisting of three steamers and six gunboats, with 300 men of the 64th and 78th regiments, under Captain Hunt, ascended the Karoon river, a distance of 100 miles, as far as Ahwaz, whence they drove off a Persian army of 7,000 men, and occupied the town. Large stores of grain were captured at Ahwaz, and the expedition returned to Mohamra on the 4th April. The same day intelligence was received of the signature of peace with Persia at Paris on the 4th March, and thus was concluded this short and successful campaign. On the 2nd October, 1857, when we had our hands full in India, and every European soldier was required there, Bushire was evacuated, and soon after, the troops stationed at the island of Kharrack, off Bushire, also returned to India.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CRIMEAN WAR.

1854—1856.

The Army proceeds to Gallipoli and thence to Varna—The Landing in the Crimea—Battle of the Alma—The Flank March to Balaclava—Siege of Sebastopol—Battle of Balaclava—Memorable Charge of the Light Cavalry Brigade—Battle of Inkerman—Progress of the Siege—The Attack on the Quarries—Repulse at the Redan on the 18th June—Second Repulse on the 8th September—Evacuation of Sebastopol—Conclusion of the War.

After Waterloo the British army struck no blow in Europe until the Crimean War of 1854, a period of nearly forty years. Unhappily, in this time of peace, the sword of England was suffered to rust in its scabbard, and when the weapon was drawn again, its inability to bear the strain of protracted hostilities soon became apparent to an indignant nation. To descend from metaphor to reality, though the *personnel* of the army was as good as ever, its organization was defective, the medical, transport and supply departments were inefficient, and in some instances almost non-existent, and there were practically no reserves.

Probably no political "question" that has divided Europe into warring camps, has caused greater bloodshed than what is known as the "Eastern Question." It is a perennial difficulty, one that will not be solved until the inheritance of the "sick man," for which the eager disputants are ever on the watch, is divided either by peaceful arrangement, or by the dread arbitrament of war. The process of the disintegration of the Turkish Empire has gone on the whole of this century. Omitting the setting up of Egypt into a quasi-independent country, Turkey was hard hit after the war of 1828 with Russia, which resulted in a "rectification of frontier," a diplomatic phrase, capable of a wide interpretation. Then one by one the Turkish provinces were lopped from the parent state. Moldavia and Wallachia became independent as Roumania, Servia was erected into a kingdom, Bulgaria attained autonomy, after the struggle which ended in the treaty of Berlin; Bosnia and Herzegovina were absorbed by Austria, Cyprus by England; France assumed the protectorate of Tunis, and Greece appropriated a slice of the coveted territory adjacent to her frontiers, and is, apparently, destined to be the chief inheritor of the decaying

Mussulman empire. So the merry game of "beggar-my-neighbour" goes on, and if only it could be brought to a conclusion without bloodshed, an impossible hypothesis, the world would be well rid of one of the worst governments that has disgraced its annals.

The Crimean War arose out of one of these periodical outbreaks of ambition on the part of Russia. The Emperor Nicholas, casting a covetous eye on Constantinople, thought the time had arrived when he might put forth his hand and grasp the forbidden fruit, and in a communication to the British ambassador on the 21st February, 1853, offered to England as her share of the plunder, Egypt and Crete. Doubtless war might have been avoided with a little patience, and some of the practical wisdom of which, Oxenstiern says, statesmen possess only a small modicum; but an attack of war fever supervened, and the Czar entertained an unfounded belief in the ascendency of the peace party in England, headed by Mr. Cobden. War was declared by this country on 28th March, 1854, and an army was landed at Gallipoli and Scutari; and, early in May, Lord Raglan (Wellington's military secretary at Waterloo, where he lost an arm) and Marshal St. Arnaud arrived and assumed command of the allied armies, which had constructed field-works at Bulair, about seven miles in extent, reaching from the Gulf of Saros to the Sea of Marmora. The allied generals visited Shumla, and inspected the Turkish army of 40,000 men, under Omar Pasha, and at the Pasha's wish, on hearing that 70,000 Russians, under Paskievitch, had laid siege to Silistria, they embarked the allied armies, and passing through the Bosphorus, landed at Varna. Before the end of June the Russian army was compelled to raise the siege of Silistria, and on the 17th July, Omar Pasha, advancing on the track of the retreating Russians, entered Bucharest, in Wallachia, now the capital of Roumania.

As Turkey was considered safe from invasion, it was resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, and the allied army was once again moved from Varna, where it suffered greatly from cholera, to the Crimea,* and on the 14th September, a landing was effected at Old Fort, about twelve miles from Eupatoria and thirty from Sebastopol. The first man to spring ashore was Colonel Lysons—afterwards General Sir Daniel Lysons, one of the most gallant officers in the service—and by nightfall, 26,000† British soldiers, with fifty-four guns, 23,600 French-

* Mr. Spencer Walpole, in his "Life of Lord John Russell," says that "the country drifted into the Crimean War through the divided counsels of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen, being opposed to the course advocated by Lords Palmerston and John Russell, who wrote :—'Lord Palmerston for some months had been bent on sending an expedition to the Crimea, and I had only withheld my assent till the siege of Silistria should have been proved to be a failure.'"

† The army was divided into five infantry and one cavalry divisions ;—Light Divi-

men, with seventy guns, and 4,500 Turks, stood on the soil of "Holy" Russia. The first instance of mismanagement, which reigned rampant throughout the war, was manifest on this initial day of the campaign, for while the French and Turkish soldiers passed the night (a miserably wet one) under canvas, our troops had no tents, those that were landed being sent back, and, says Mr. Howard Russell, the *Times* correspondent, "they were soaked through and through, their blankets and greatcoats saturated with wet, without any change of raiment."

The army marched on the 19th September to encounter the Russian army, under Prince Menschikoff. There was a little skirmishing during the advance, and on the following day, was fought the battle of the Alma.

Battle of the Alma.—20th September, 1854.

There was an unaccountable delay in marching upon the Russian army, which lay only six miles distant, and it was ten o'clock before the British line moved towards the Alma, on the left, or south side, of which the Russian army occupied a strong position. The ground here rises from the river in steep ridges up to plateaux of varying height and extent, and is pierced here and there by dry watercourses, forming small ravines. On the slope to the right of the bridge over the river the Russians had thrown up two field-works, armed with twelve heavy guns and howitzers, which enfiladed the slopes parallel to them. Their principal battery consisted of an earthwork for thirteen guns, and farther in the rear was a breastwork for nine guns, which played on the right of the bridge. There were also two field batteries, one 300 yards from the river.

sion—Sir George Brown; 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, 7th, 19th, and 23rd Regiments, Major-General W. Codrington; 33rd, 77th, and 88th Regiments, Brigadier-General Buller. First Division—the Duke of Cambridge; Brigade of Guards, Major-General Bentinck; 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders, Sir Colin Campbell. Second Division—Sir De Lacy Evans; 30th, 53rd, and 95th Regiments, Brigadier-General Pennefather; 41st, 47th, and 49th Regiments, Brigadier-General Adams. Third Division—Sir R. England; 1st, 4th, 28th, 38th, 44th, 50th, and 68th Regiments, Sir John Campbell and Brigadier-General Eyre. Fourth Division—Sir George Cathcart; 20th, 21st, 63rd, and 1st Battalion Rifle Brigade (46th and 57th Regiments *en route*), Brigadier-Generals Torrens and Goldie. Cavalry Division—Lord Lucan; Light Cavalry Brigade, 4th, 8th, 11th, 13th, and 17th, Lord Cardigan; Heavy Brigade, 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards, 6th Dragoons (and Scots Greys *en route*), Major-General Scarlett. To each division of infantry were attached two field batteries, consisting of four 9-pounders and two 24-pounder howitzers, and to the cavalry division, a battery of Horse Artillery.

The ships opened the action soon after noon by shelling the heights, compelling the Russians to withdraw their infantry and guns, and covering the advance of the French right, their extreme left, under Prince Napoleon, being in contact with the second division. The 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, in two wings, were first across the river, and the wing under Major Norcott, first encountered the Russian fire, and was joined by Codrington's brigade, led by himself and Sir George Brown, with the second division on their right. Buller's brigade of the Light division was lost in a hollow, and did not participate in the rush up the heights on the enemy's position.

Nothing finer is recorded than the advance of Codrington's brigade, consisting of the 7th, 23rd, and 33rd regiments, with the 19th regiment of Buller's brigade. The Russian guns played on their flanks, and musketry fired on their front, but they pushed on with undaunted courage, though every foot they advanced was marked by lines of dead and dying. The 7th Fusiliers, led by the veteran Colonel Yea, was prominent as it pushed up those fatal heights swept by the enemy's missiles, and the gallant Welsh Fusiliers was, if possible, more exposed, and lost one-half its men. The 19th also made straight for the field-work vomiting fire on it, and the 33rd, attacked on the flank, was for a moment staggered by the fire of guns and musketry from the hill above. Soon these regiments were in the Russian earthworks, and bayoneted the defenders, and the colours of the 23rd, all riddled with shot-holes, were planted on the parapet. But Buller's brigade did not come to their assistance, and the first division was alone in its advance, while the Russians pushed forward in such heavy masses that the works captured with such a prodigal flow of blood had to be abandoned. At length the retreating brigade came up with the first division, now advancing majestically, the Guards led by the Duke of Cambridge, and the Highlanders by the veteran of a hundred battles, Sir Colin Campbell. As Codrington's brigade fell behind the Guards to reform, there was some confusion, owing to the heavy artillery fire, and the Duke ordered the line to halt and reform, when Sir Colin Campbell begged His Royal Highness not to hesitate, but to push on. The division, supported by artillery, marched forward with steadiness, and the Russian guns limbered up and retired.

Meanwhile, the second division, consisting of Pennefather's and Adams's brigades, under Sir De Lacy Evans, had forced the Russian centre and right centre. Covered by the fire of eighteen guns, the division advanced across the river on the same alignment with Prince Napoleon's division to the burning village of Bourliouk. The fire, says the veteran leader of the division, was such as perhaps few of the most experienced soldiers have ever witnessed; but they crossed the stream and advanced up the slope exposed to the fire of two

batteries and six battalions. In a short time the 95th lost, besides six officers killed, the Colonel, Major, and nine officers, and upwards of 170 men. The 55th had 128 casualties, and the 30th lost 150 officers and men. The French attack had already told on the Russian left centre, which had been turned. Their artillery retired, and the Guards and Highlanders advancing with steadiness and precision, drove back their infantry with dreadful volleys, and were supported on the right by Pennefather's and Adams's brigades of the 2nd division. The Russian army retreated as the British line advanced over the crest of the hill with bayonets at the charge, and the battle of the Alma was won. It was now nearly five o'clock, and as Lord Raglan and his divisional generals rode along the victorious line they were received with tumultuous cheering by the soldiers. But there was no pursuit, as the men had been eleven hours under arms, and Lord Raglan was desirous of preserving his cavalry, of which only the Light division, 1,100 sabres, was present on the field. In this battle the Russians had 33,500 infantry, and 3,500 cavalry, with ninety-four guns, and their position ought to have been impregnable. Their loss was officially stated at 1,762 killed, 2,315 wounded, including four generals, and 405 contused, with two generals prisoners. Our losses, about 3,000 in all, were chiefly borne by the Guards, Codrington's brigade and the second division. Fourteen battalions and the cavalry suffered little, and, indeed, 7,000 were not engaged. The French had 1,400 killed and wounded.

The enemy halted at the Katcha till after midnight, and at four o'clock on the following afternoon, arrived on the north side of Sebastopol. Marshal St. Arnaud wished to follow the enemy on the following day, but Lord Raglan declined, as he had 3,000 wounded English and Russians to remove on board ship, and there were in addition 1,000 sick. Early on the 23rd, the army marched from the blood-stained heights of the Alma, leaving some 750 wounded Russians behind under charge of an English surgeon. It was not until noon on the 24th that the allied army, reinforced by 7,000 French troops and the Scots Greys and 57th regiment, moved from the Katcha towards the Belbek, and on the following day, was executed the celebrated flank march to Balaclava by the ridge between the Belbek and the Tchernaya. On the same day Princes Menschikoff and Gortschakoff had retreated to Bakschiserai, leaving only nine weak battalions in Sebastopol, which, in the opinion of competent critics, could have been taken by a *coup de main*, while the pursuit of their main army, demoralized by defeat, would have ensured its rout or surrender. But this was not done, and the army sat down before that stronghold, the defences of which were daily strengthened under the presiding genius of General Todleben of the Russian Engineers, and the place was not captured for a twelvemonth, when tens of thousands of lives had been

sacrificed, and the prestige of England had suffered eclipse. The siege of Sebastopol was signalized before the close of the year by the battles of Balaclava and Inkerman, in which the prowess of both the English mounted and foot soldiers received remarkable illustrations.

Battle of Balaclava.—25th October, 1854.

Within three days of arriving at Balaclava, where the army once more came into communication with the fleet, Marshal St. Arnaud was compelled through illness to resign the command to General Canrobert, and died at sea. Owing to the insanitary state of Balaclava there perished during the first three weeks as many men as fell at the Alma. The allied armies now took up positions on the heights which envelop Sebastopol on the south side from the sea to the Tchernaya. The first bombardment began on the 17th October, our batteries mounting seventy-one pieces of ordnance, and the French forty-six, and the Russians replying with 130 guns. But though much ammunition was consumed, little damage was done. At this time, out of 35,600 men borne on the strength of the army, only 16,500 were effective, and the enemy was concentrating on the rear and flank of the besiegers with the object of raising the siege.

On the morning of the 25th October news was received at headquarters that a strong corps of Russians had attacked the redoubts on the hills at Balaclava, held by Turkish troops. Sir Colin Campbell, who was in command, had drawn up the 93rd Highlanders in front of the road to the town, the marines on the heights, and Lord Lucan's cavalry was in readiness to receive the Russian horsemen. The 1st and 4th divisions were put in motion, and also General Bosquet's division of French troops, and Lord Raglan proceeded to the scene of action. On the Russian advance the Turkish gunners fled from the redoubts, and were pursued by the Cossack cavalry, while the guns were turned on the 93rd Highlanders, which Sir Colin retired. The Russian cavalry now charged the "thin red line tipped with steel," which vomited forth volleys, first at 600 yards, and then at 250, when the horsemen wheeled about and fled. Said the veteran chief: "I did not think it worth while to form them even four deep." Now came the turn for the cavalry.

The heavy brigade, under General Scarlett, was drawn up in two lines, the first consisting of the Scots Greys and Inniskillings, the second of the 1st Royal Dragoons and the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards. Their trumpets rang out as soon as the Russian cavalry, lancers, and dragoons had descended the hill, and the heavy brigade advanced at

the charge. The shock of battle was great as the two distinguished regiments, the Greys and Inniskillings, charged together, as they had charged at Waterloo, but there was not a moment's doubt as to the result. A cheer burst from every lip—for Lord Raglan and his staff and a brilliant throng of French officers watched the exciting scene—as the first line disappeared in the midst of the forest of lances and upraised swords, and were quickly followed by the second line, completing the discomfiture of those gaily-clad horsemen, whose sabres had just drunk deep of Moslem blood. The Russian horsemen retired in confusion, and were followed by shot from our batteries, and as the 1st and 4th divisions had now arrived on the ground it had been well had the day's work ended here, so far as the cavalry was concerned.

Lord Lucan received an order for the Light cavalry to take up a fresh position in front, and on asking Captain Nolan, "Where are we to advance to?" received a reply to the following effect from that officer, who pointed in the direction of the Russians: "There are the enemy, and there are the guns."* It is a maxim in war that cavalry should never charge guns without infantry in support, but these were far in the rear, and there was a plain, half a league in length, before the enemy's guns could be reached. For 600 horsemen to attack thirty guns, supported by six battalions of infantry, under such circumstances, was a wild measure, and Lord Lucan hesitated; but he considered the orders were imperative, and directed Lord Cardigan to carry them into execution. At ten minutes past eleven, the brigade, 626 sabres, scarce more than one effective regiment, advanced in all the pride and pomp of war, their arms and accoutrements glittering in the morning sun. They rode in two lines, the 13th Light Dragoons and 17th Lancers in front, and the 4th Light Dragoons and 8th and 11th Hussars in the second line, and quickened their pace as they closed on the enemy's guns, which opened fire at a range of 1,200 yards. But undaunted by the iron storm which thinned their ranks, these gallant horsemen continued on their course, and soon were lost to view amid the smoke of the batteries. Through the guns they rode, sabring the artillerymen, and, pushing on, engaged the Russian infantry, while the flank fire of the batteries on the hill smote their depleted ranks, and a regiment of

* Lord Raglan had previously sent an order to Lord Lucan:—"Cavalry to advance and take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights. They will be supported by infantry, which have been ordered to advance upon two fronts." But it appears that neither the Duke of Cambridge nor Sir George Cathcart received any such instructions. Lord Lucan advanced his cavalry to the ridge, and received from Captain Nolan the following order:—"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns; troop of Horse Artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left." Immediately upon this, Lord Lucan gave the order to Lord Cardigan to advance upon the guns.

lancers attacked them in flank. Overpowered by numbers, but covered with imperishable glory, the shattered remnants of that gallant band—"the six hundred" immortalized in Lord Tennyson's verse—made their way back, covered by the Heavy Brigade, to their comrades, who had watched, spell-bound and breathless, this unique scene, of which the French General well said that "it was magnificent, but it was not war." The French Chasseurs, 200 strong, charged in support and lost fifty men, and our infantry moved towards the redoubts, when the Russian columns slowly retired. Of the Light Cavalry Brigade, ten officers, including Captain Nolan, and 147 men were killed; and eleven officers, including Lord Cardigan, and 110 men were wounded. Their names and those of the survivors are recorded in the roll of England's heroes, and the memory of "the wild charge they made" will never fade from the page of history.

Battle of Inkerman.—5th November, 1854.

Though the Russians had failed in their object of taking Balaclava, they fired a salute to celebrate what they regarded as a success, and on the following day sallied out, some 7,000 strong, and attacked the left of Sir De Lacy Evans's division, who speedily repulsed them, supported by the Guards and several regiments of the fourth division, and in rear by General Bosquet's division. Three days after the battle of Balaclava, our cavalry shifted their camp, and abandoning the lower road to the enemy, took up ground on the hills on the road to Balaclava, close to the rear of the French centre. On the memorable 5th November, the Russians, encouraged by the presence of two Grand Dukes, made a desperate attempt to break the lines of the investment by an attack, which was only defeated by the valour of the British soldier. Sir De Lacy Evans had repeatedly represented the insecurity of his position, but without effect. Ravines and curves in the hill led up to the crest, on which the right flank was resting without entrenchments or guns, for the two field-pieces placed on a sand-bag battery on the slope of the hill had been removed. The night of the 4th November had been wet and miserable, and before daylight, a strong force of Russians was concentrated, unobserved; and creeping up the rugged heights over the valley of Inkerman, burst like a flood on the undefended flank of the second division. It was about five o'clock, amid drizzling rain, that General Codrington, on visiting the outlying pickets of his brigade, heard a sharp rattle of musketry down the hill, where the pickets of the second division, temporarily under command of General Pennefather, were stationed. Speedily the Light and

second divisions were turned out, and the pickets of the latter fell back before the masses of Russian infantry climbing the hill. Adams's left brigade, consisting of the 41st, 47th and 49th regiments, was pushed to the brow of the hill to check the advance of the enemy by the road from the valley, and Pennefather's brigade, consisting of the 30th, 55th and 95th regiments, was posted on their flank, while Sir George Cathcart, commanding the fourth division, brought up such portions of the 20th, 21st, 46th, 57th, 63rd, and 68th regiments as were not employed in the trenches, to the right of the ground occupied by the second division. Buller's brigade of the Light division supported the second division on the left, and the Guards' brigade on the right advanced to the summit of the hill overlooking the valley of the Tchernaya. On arriving at the edge of the plateau in the ravine, close to the road to Sebastopol, the Guards encountered two columns of Russians coming up the steep ground covered with brushwood, and a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued. Lord Raglan arrived on the ground soon after seven, and ordered up the 18-pounders, under Gambier, who was wounded, when Dickenson took his place, and the fire of these heavy pieces had a most marked effect in deciding the fate of the day. The drizzling rain was so thick, and the ground so broken by ravines and covered with brushwood that the generals could not direct the attack; the individual courage and intelligence of officers and men were therefore called into requisition, and the battle resolved itself into a series of encounters between the enemy and isolated British regiments and companies.

As Sir George Cathcart was leading the 63rd regiment against the Russians posted on a hill, he fell at the head of his men, with a bullet through the head and three bayonet wounds in the body. The 63rd had expended their ammunition and were surrounded, but fought their way up the hill with the loss of 500 men, among the slain being the colonel. General Goldie, of Cathcart's division, who was engaged with his brigade on the left of the Inkerman road, was mortally wounded, and many wounded officers and men were bayoneted by the barbarous Russian soldiers.

On the right, Buller's brigade fought with equal determination, and suffered no less. The 88th were surrounded, but were relieved by four companies of the 77th, who charged the Russians. Still further to the right the Guards were engaged with overpowering masses of the enemy. Twice they drove them out of the Sandbag battery, but having expended their ammunition, and a fresh column of the enemy coming upon their rear, they were compelled to retire, with the loss of nearly half their number. Meanwhile the second division, in the centre of the position, suffered severely under the terrible fire to which it was exposed, and, mustered in rear of the camp after the fight, numbered

The fight within the Sandbag Battery.

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
CENTRAL

only 300 men. As Lord Raglan watched the progress of the battle, General Strangeways of the artillery, by his side, had his leg carried away by a round shot and died in two hours. At this time, under cover of the uncertain light, the Russians succeeded in capturing two batteries, and drove away or bayoneted the gunners and spiked four guns. At length, when the British troops were exhausted and almost overborne by superior numbers, 6,000 of their French allies arrived to their rescue. It was after nine o'clock when they appeared on the brow of the hill on the right, and were speedily engaged with the enemy, fresh columns of whom arrived to renew the conflict. By noon the Russians were driven down the hill towards the valley and the battle was over. The attacking force was estimated at 20,000 men, with a reserve of 15,000 from which to continue the struggle. By some the strength of the Russian columns were placed at over 50,000, and it is certain that at no time were more than 8,000 British troops engaged.

Never in history, not even at Albuera, where we were the attacking, not the defending party, did British soldiers fight with more desperate bravery or display the bulldog tenacity which knows not when it is beaten. The loss on both sides was proportionately great. The Russian casualties were estimated as high as 16,000,* and it is certain that 2,000 Russian dead were found on the hill-sides which formed the field of battle. On our side the casualties were 2,500, the killed including fifty officers, among whom were Generals Cathcart, Strangeways, and Goldie, and the wounded, Sir George Brown and General Bentinck. The Light and Second divisions—Sir De Lacy Evans, who was sick, joined the latter when the fight began—were opposed to the Russian centre; the Fourth division and Marines resisted the extreme Russian right nearest Sebastopol, and the Guards were engaged with their left column. The brigade lost fourteen officers killed, but they took an ample revenge, for round the Sandbag battery were heaped 1,200 dead and dying Russians. The Fourth division, besides losing its three generals, had 700 casualties, being more than one-quarter of its strength. Such was the struggle which has been aptly called the "Soldiers' Battle."

The siege of Sebastopol was now pushed on by the allies, and continued throughout the winter of 1854. No words can depict

* The heavy Russian losses at Inkerman were due to the deadly fire of the Minié rifle, with which Lord Hardinge had supplied the greater portion of the British army. During the Indian Mutiny, the precision and long range of the weapon superseding the "Old Brown Bess," created a panic in the ranks of the rebel sepoys. After the Franco-German War of 1870, the Minié gave way to the breech-loader, and in 1889, the Martini-Henry was displaced by the Magazine rifle.

the horrors of that investment, with storms of wind and snow, and with a scanty commissariat and little fuelling for the troops exposed on the open plateau to the rigours of an arctic climate. Service in the trenches was very arduous. Sickness decimated the troops, and 8,000 men were sent on board ship within seven weeks ending the 20th January, 1855, and according to official report, "the covering party for the entire right attack, upwards of a mile in extent, never exceeded 350 men, and the guard for the other attack was equally small."

The second bombardment of Sebastopol lasted between the 9th and 17th April without any decisive result, though the Malakhoff and Mamelon suffered considerably. The 77th regiment carried the rifle pits in advance of the right attack on the 19th April, when Colonel Egerton and eleven officers and men were killed, and fifty-six men wounded. In May the Piedmontese division, of 17,000 men, under General La Marmora, arrived to participate in the siege, and General Canrobert resigned the command of the French army to General Pelissier.

On the 6th June the third bombardment commenced, the British batteries mounting 154 guns and mortars, and at 6 P.M. on the following day, was delivered the assault on the Quarries by our troops, while our allies attacked the Mamelon. The storming party, led by Colonel Campbell, of the 90th regiment, carried the Quarries with a rush, and during the night repelled several attempts of the enemy to retake the position. Our casualties were ten officers and 117 rank and file killed and thirty-six officers and 486 men wounded. Of the six Engineer officers engaged, two were slain, and Captain (afterwards Lord) Wolseley, who had been doing duty with this branch of the army, was wounded in the thigh by a bullet from a canister shot. This and the capture by the French of the Mamelon, was the first advantage gained by the allies since the commencement of the siege seven months before.

The fourth general bombardment of Sebastopol was opened on the 17th June, the British batteries mounting sixty-two pieces of ordnance on the right attack, and 104 on the left, and on the following day, an assault was delivered on the Redan and Malakhoff. The result was a sanguinary repulse for both the British and French columns of attack. Our loss, including the Naval Brigade, was twenty-two officers, among whom were General Sir John Campbell and Colonels Shadforth and Yea (a specially fine officer) and 247 men killed; and seventy-eight officers,* including Generals Sir William Eyre and Harry Jones, and Colonels Tylden (mortally), Lysons, Johnson, Gwilt and Cobbe, Captain Peel, R.N., and 1,097 men, wounded. The French had

* Among the wounded naval officers was Mr. Midshipman Wood, who, for his gallantry, received a cavalry commission from Lord Hardinge, and gained such renown in the army as Sir Evelyn Wood.

thirty-nine officers killed and ninety-three wounded, and about 3,200 men *hors de combat*, while the Russians admitted a loss of 5,800. Ten days after this disastrous repulse, Lord Raglan died, having soon followed his colleague, St. Arnaud, and his enemy, Prince Menschikoff. Sir James Simpson, chief of the staff, succeeded, as senior officer, to the command of the army, though there was present in the camp the veteran, Sir Colin Campbell, in every way his superior.

On the 16th August the Russians delivered a counter-attack on the line of the Tchernaya, but were driven back by the French and Sardinians, with the loss of over 12,000 men. Fighting continued almost daily in the trenches, and on the 5th September, the allied batteries opened the last bombardment of Sebastopol, the British guns numbering 202, and those of the French no less than 627. Three days later was delivered the grand combined assault by the French with 30,000 men on the Malakhoff and Little Redan, while we attacked the Redan with only the Light and Second divisions, under the command of Sir William Codrington.

The French captured the Malakhoff, but the British storming columns suffered a disastrous repulse. The Light division succeeded in effecting an entry into the Redan, and were followed by the storming columns of the second division, issuing out of the fifth parallel; but all the brigadiers, except Colonel Windham, were killed, and the Russians returning into the work in large numbers, our men fell into confusion, and as no supports were sent by the general officer in command, they retreated from the Redan followed by the Russian fire. Though the first, third and fourth divisions had not been engaged, Sir James Simpson was disinclined to renew the conflict. But with the loss of the Malakhoff, the key of the position, the Russian hold of the Redan became untenable, and that night they evacuated it, together with the city they had so long and gallantly defended, which was now left a burning and blood-soaked ruin. They sunk their ships, blew up their forts and retired to the north side without molestation, carrying off most of the stores and trophies. The scene of desolation and ruin presented by the city of Sebastopol, now tenanted almost wholly by the wounded and the sick and the dying, has been vividly described by an eye-witness, Mr. Howard Russell, in his work on the Crimean War.

So frightful had been the carnage sustained during the last bombardment by the concentrated fire of the allied batteries, that no part of the city, except the bomb-proofs in the batteries, were safe, and the Russians owned to a loss of 3,000 men a week, and during a considerable period their loss was stated to be 500 daily. Sir William Codrington, who had commanded the Light division on the retirement of Sir George Brown, succeeded to the command of the army on the 12th November, but beyond the capture of Kinburn, no military

operations were undertaken, and on the 2nd April, 1856, proclamation of peace was made to the allied armies by salutes of 101 guns. Sebastopol and the Crimea were evacuated, but it was not until the 12th July that the last British troops, a detachment of the 50th regiment, delivered up Balaclava to a party of Russian Cossacks. During the expedition, the British army had lost, killed in action or died of wounds, 3,500; died of disease, 20,244. Of these 270 were officers. The French loss was estimated at 63,500, and that of the Russians was placed as high as half a million of men. These losses are exclusive of the wounded.

The operations in the Baltic were almost entirely conducted by the fleet, the only soldiers engaged being some Engineers at the siege of Bomarsund. The generation succeeding the one which made these enormous sacrifices to limit the pretensions of Russia, have seen the provisions of the treaty of Paris, one by one, torn up, until little now remains of that instrument, and the great Northern power continues her slow but persistent advance towards the realization of the Slavonic idea of domination in the Balkan peninsula and Eastern Europe generally.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE INDIAN MUTINY.

1857—1859.

Causes of the Indian Mutiny—Previous Military Revolts in India—The Rising at Barrackpore and Meerut—Advance on Delhi Actions at the Hindun and Budlee Ke-Serai—The Relief of Arrah—The Mutinies at Benares and Allahabad—The Massacre of Cawnpore—The Defence of Lucknow—Havelock's Advance on Lucknow—His Return to Cawnpore—Final Advance and Relief of Lucknow—Events in the Punjaub—Siege and Storm of Delhi—Battles of Agra and Narnoul—Relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell—Battles round Cawnpore—Siege of Lucknow—Sir Hugh Rose's Campaign in Central India—Capture of Jhansi, Calpee, and Gwalior—Battles of the Betwa, Koonch, Golowlee, and Morar—Campaign in Rohilcund and Oude—Pacification of the disturbed Provinces.

THERE were no great battles, and, with the exception of the siege of Delhi, no great sieges in the Indian Mutiny, yet, nevertheless, no military episode in our history stands out in brighter relief, as displaying the heroism of the British soldier. Our military prestige, which had suffered considerably by the events of the Crimean War, was enhanced by the heroic defence of Lucknow, by the series of battles fought by Havelock to effect its relief, by the dogged determination of the stand on the historic ridge before Delhi, which was rewarded by its capture, by the brilliant campaign in Central India, and, more than anything, by the resolute bearing of our race, who proved their right to the appellation of "Imperial," by their steadfastness when struggling against overpowering odds in numberless cantonments and forts and outstations throughout the Peninsula.

Sir Richard Temple was of opinion, and there can be no more competent judge, that the Indian Mutiny was due to the home Government reducing the British army in India to a dangerous point, while increasing the native forces. The sepoys, also, came to entertain an overweening confidence in their own prowess, and were spoilt and flattered by Government and by their own officers; while a great blow was dealt to discipline when Sir William Gomm, the Commander-in-chief, deprived the commanding and other officers of the little authority they possessed, by reviewing at headquarters the sentences of regimental courts-

martial. This policy gave rise to the Mutiny by engendering a feeling among the sepoys that they were essential to us, and in a position to overcome the European army, and oust their masters from India. The annexation of Oude, whence we recruited largely for the native army, in the preceding year, and the "greased cartridge" question, though its groundlessness was proved to them, were also used by agitators to influence the minds of the sepoys.*

Our administration of Indian affairs had not been without admonitory symptoms of the existence of disaffection in our native army, and experience had shown the best method to crush the evil growth. There had been the mutiny (described in an earlier chapter) put down with an iron hand by Sir Hector Munro, and, in 1806, there was the military *émeute* known as the Vellore mutiny. On the 10th July of that year, the sepoys at that important fortress (where the family of Tippoo Sultan resided), situated eighty-eight miles from Madras, some 1,500 in number, attacked the European troops, numbering 370. Though without ammunition, they defended the barracks with obstinate courage, but eighty-two of their number were killed and ninety-one wounded, besides thirteen officers massacred in their residences. At length the survivors were rescued by Colonel Rollo Gillespie, who fell at Kalunga, who, hearing of the revolt at Arcot, sixteen miles distant, rode thither with a detachment of the 19th Dragoons and some galloper-guns. Blowing in the gate, the small party rushed in and took a signal revenge upon the mutineers, of whom 400 were slain. Had officers of the stamp of Rollo Gillespie been in command at Meerut, Allahabad, and other places where mutiny first showed its head, the scenes of massacre and rapine which render the year 1857 a sad and memorable one in our annals, would never have been enacted. The cause of the Vellore mutiny was the issue of some orders by the adjutant-general, forbidding the wearing of earrings on parade, ordering the sepoys to shave the chin, and prescribing a change in the form of the turban, the last being specially resented, as all Orientals deprecate any interference with their distinctive head-dress. With great injustice, the Court of Directors recalled the local commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock, and the Governor of Madras, Lord

* The following unpublished letter from Lord Beaconsfield to a military correspondent, dated 11th September, 1857, bearing on the causes of the Mutiny, will be read with interest :—"Assuming that the annexation of Oude was a sagacious act, it was surely a critical experiment. Was it wise simultaneously to reduce the European force in India, and involve ourselves in Persian wars? There seems such a total absence of all statesmanlike qualities in our government of India at this conjuncture. What could produce revolt and rebellion but such courses?" That the greased cartridge grievance was only a pretence, is proved by the fact that the sepoys were directed to tear the cartridge instead of biting it, and that these same rebels used these cartridges against us throughout the war, without any compunction.

William Bentinck; but the latter, after serving with distinction in the Peninsula, returned to India nearly a quarter of a century later as Governor-General, and proved himself one of the best and most liberal-minded rulers India has had. Seventeen of the ringleaders of the mutiny were executed, and 600 were dismissed the service with ignominy.

The next mutiny broke out in the Bengal army during the first Burmese War, in 1824. When native troops were ordered to Arracan, the Madras sepoys embarked with alacrity, but not so their Bengal brethren, owing to their religious aversion to the sea. The native regiments ordered on service were, accordingly, directed to proceed by march route, but presented a memorial setting forth the difficulty and expense of procuring transport. But their representations were unheeded, and when the 47th Native Infantry at Barrackpore were ordered to parade in marching order, scarcely one-third of the men fell in, the remainder of the regiment repelling the remonstrances of their officers with violent gestures and vociferations.

The Commander-in-chief brought two regiments of Europeans, a detachment of horse artillery, and the Governor-General's Body Guard on the parade ground, and on the sepoys failing to obey the order to ground arms, the artillery opened fire upon them. The mutineers threw away their arms and fled when the European troops fired on them, and the cavalry sabred the fugitives. The ringleaders were tried by court-martial and executed, and the severe lesson received by the native soldiery had a salutary effect.

The causes of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, to some of which we have referred, were many and deep-seated. But, indeed, had the revolt at Meerut been crushed by a display of vigour, the evils fermenting in the native army, and in our military organization generally—as, for instance, the folly of placing our arsenals under the protection of sepoys, and manning the major portion of our guns with native artillerymen—were too numerous and fundamental to be eradicated without a catastrophe such as overwhelmed the country in 1857, one which would convince the most sceptical that the military system was fraught with perils, the recurrence of which could only be averted by radical measures of reorganization. The lessons of the Mutiny year were inculcated at a heavy cost in blood and treasure; but they have been laid to heart, and whatever dangers to our rule in India the future may bring into prominence, they will not arise from such a fatuous policy as that indicated above.

The first overt acts of mutiny were committed at Berhampore and Barrackpore, near Calcutta. At the latter place, on the 29th March, a sepoy of the 34th Bengal N.I., named "Mungul Pandy"—the word "Pandies" was henceforward generally applied to the mutineers—cut

down the adjutant on the parade ground. The men of the regiment sympathized with the rebel, and refused to support the colonel and the brigadier of the station in arresting him. At length General Hearsey, commanding the division, a gallant old officer, arrived on the ground, and the guard, at his command, moved to arrest the mutineer, who thereupon shot himself; but he lived to expiate his offence by a felon's death, though his comrades remained unpunished. Not so the 19th N.I., which had revolted at Berhampore, and were marched into Barrackpore, where they were disbanded in the presence of H.M.'s 84th (brought from Rangoon), a wing of the 53rd, and two batteries of artillery, as well as of the native troops stationed there, including the disloyal 34th regiment.

On the 2nd May the 7th Oude Irregular Cavalry, at Lucknow, showed insubordination on the cartridge question, but were disarmed by Sir Henry Lawrence. About the same time, 85 men of the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry, at Meerut, refused to handle the cartridges, and on the 9th May, were sentenced to ten years' penal servitude. On the following day, a Sunday, while at evening service, the European residents were startled by the news that the "sowars," or troopers, of the 3rd Cavalry, had not only liberated their own comrades, but also some 1,200 convicts, men of desperate character. A terrible significance was soon given to these sinister reports by the flames which enveloped the lines where officers' bungalows were situated, and by the wild shouts and galloping forms of the troopers, speedily joined by the "budmashes," or bad characters, who assisted in the orgies of murder and rapine. At this time there were stationed at Meerut the 6th Dragoon Guards, a battalion of the 60th Rifles, and some European Artillery, an ample force, had a Hector Munro or a Rollo Gillespie been in command, to exterminate the cavalry and the 11th and 20th regiments of Bengal N.I.; but General Hewett, commanding the division, was an old and incompetent officer, and after the sepoys had shot Colonel Finnis and other officers, they proceeded to fire the bungalows and murder the Europeans, without regard to age or sex, with whom they fell in.

Instead of following the murderers and incendiaries, the European troops retired to cover their own barracks and officers' lines, and the mutineers, after having their fill of rapine and slaughter, made off unmolested to Delhi, where, on the following morning, the same scenes, but in an aggravated form, were repeated. The native troops at Delhi joined the rebels, and the Great Mutiny was inaugurated, when the European officers, military and civil, as well as helpless ladies and children, were butchered by the rabble of the city and the mutinous sepoys. Lieutenant Willoughby, of the Bengal Artillery, in charge of the magazine, held out with eight Europeans for three hours against the howling mob, thirsting for their blood, and the insurgent soldiers, faith-

less to their salt. Finding no help was to be expected from Meerut, where imbecility reigned supreme, Willoughby gave the signal for exploding the magazine, and in an instant 1,000 rebels were blown into the air. Five of that gallant band of Englishmen lived to wear the Victoria Cross, but Conductor Scully, who fired the train, was killed, and Lieutenant Willoughby only survived to be murdered on his way to Meerut. Few of the officers and ladies who struggled to reach that haven of safety were enabled to do so, but died on the way of exhaustion, or perished under the weapons of the cruel villagers.

General Anson, the Commander-in-chief, now assembled a force at Umballa, but unhappily died, on the 27th May, of cholera. Sir Henry Barnard succeeded him; but though both these men were fairly capable officers, there were others at the time in the Punjaub, serving under Sir John Lawrence, such as Edwardes, Chamberlain and Nicholson, far more competent to cope with the sudden crisis that had arisen; but the rules of the service prevented any violation of the claims of seniority and "red tape." General Barnard marched at once to join Brigadier Archdale Wilson, who meanwhile had marched from Meerut on Delhi. On the 30th May Wilson's force fought the first action of the war at Ghazee-ood-deen-nuggar. About a mile in front of this village was the river Hindun, spanned by an iron bridge, on a high ridge beyond which the rebels from Delhi had taken post. A company of the 60th Rifles advanced to the bridge, and Mackenzie's and Tombs's Horse Artillery batteries crossed the river at a ford and silenced the fire of the enemy's guns. The Rifles then advanced and drove the infantry from their position, and the 6th Dragoon Guards (or Carabineers, as they are more familiarly termed) pursued them from the field of battle. On the following day the rebels mustered in greater numbers from Delhi, and renewed the battle, but the small British force advanced as before and drove the enemy before them.

Under orders, Wilson joined Barnard, who had received his siege-train from Phillour, at Aleepore, on the 7th June, and on the following day was fought the action of Budlee-kee-Serai, about five miles north-east of Delhi. The rebels were strongly posted with guns in front, in a group of buildings protected on the right by a watercourse, and on the left by a canal. The indefatigable and gallant Hodson, of the famous Hodson's Horse, who throughout the succeeding siege was the "eyes and ears of the British army," made a reconnaissance, and at daybreak on the 8th June, Brigadier Hope Grant, of the 9th Lancers, moved across the canal with the cavalry and two troops of horse artillery, while the two small infantry brigades, which included the Rifles, 1st Bengal Fusiliers and 75th regiment, under Brigadiers Showers and Graves, with some field-pieces, marched straight for the "serai," or group of buildings. The heavy guns of the mutineers

were worked with effect, when Barnard ordered the 75th, supported by the Fusiliers, to charge with the bayonet. The enemy made an obstinate resistance, but were compelled to abandon their guns, when they were attacked by the cavalry and artillery, and fled precipitately. The British followed in pursuit in two columns, under Barnard and Wilson, and attacked in flank the rebel position outside the city on the ridge. A severe struggle ensued, but the position was carried, and before nightfall, after sixteen hours' fighting, the British army had established itself on that historic ridge, overlooking the cantonments whence Brigadier Graves, commanding the Delhi garrison, had been expelled four weeks before, and which was the scene of, perhaps, as remarkable a siege as any recorded in military history.

Mutiny and sedition were early rampant in Bengal and Behar, but Mr. William Tayler, of Patna, was equal to the occasion, though his acts were disowned and he himself dismissed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. But the commander at Dinapore, General Lloyd, displayed vacillation and incompetence. He shrank from disarming the three sepoy regiments under his command, and when they rose in mutiny, on the 25th July, he failed to pursue them with energy, and on the following morning, was too late to intercept them. The rebels, led by Koer Sing, the Rajpoot chief of Jugdeespore, laid siege to a fortified house at Arrah, twenty-five miles from Dinapore, belonging to Mr. Boyle, the railway engineer, who, with Mr. Wake, the magistrate, resolutely defended it with sixteen Europeans and fifty of Rattray's Sikhs. Influenced by Tayler's entreaties, Lloyd sent 415 men, including 150 of the 10th Foot, under Captain Dunbar, to relieve the garrison; but soon after midnight, when they were close to Arrah, they fell into an ambuscade. Dunbar and many men were killed, and the survivors retreated, running the gauntlet of the enemy's fire for fifteen miles to the Soane. Only a remnant reached the steamer and returned to Dinapore. But a man arose equal to the emergency, as ever happens when Britons are driven to bay. Major Vincent Eyre, of the Bengal Artillery, who had earned glory by his gallantry and fortitude in Afghanistan in 1841–42, undertook to relieve the Arrah garrison, who were nearly worn out with fatigue, and had consumed almost all their provisions and ammunition.

On the 30th July, the day of the failure, Eyre set out from Buxar with 160 men of the 5th Fusiliers, under Captain l'Estrange, seventeen volunteers and forty artillerymen, with three guns, drawn by bullocks, determined to effect at all hazards the relief of his beleaguered countrymen at Arrah, distant forty-eight miles. All night the small column marched, not halting till daybreak, when he first heard of Dunbar's failure. Pushing on, he arrived close to Arrah on the evening of the 1st August, and on the following morning, encountered the enemy, 4,000

strong, who were lining a wood, and enveloped his small force in front and flanks. After heavy firing the rebels retreated, but they took up a second strong position, from which the fire of his guns failed to dislodge them. The situation now became desperate, as the enemy came up to the muzzles of the guns, in overwhelming numbers, and attacked both in front and rear. As a last desperate resource, Vincent Eyre ordered a bayonet charge. The gallant Fusiliers responded to the appeal, and, with a cheer, threw themselves upon the enemy and drove them in utter rout from the field. Arrah was relieved, and on receiving a reinforcement of 300 men on the 12th August, Eyre inflicted a crushing defeat on Koer Sing at Jugdeespore. Thus in three weeks he succeeded in quelling the insurrection which threatened to spread from Behar throughout Bengal, and restored the river communication between Calcutta and the North-West Provinces.

Meantime, on the 4th June, a mutiny had broken out at Benares, which was suppressed by the stern energy of Colonel Neill, of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, who assumed command, superseding Brigadier Ponsonby on the parade ground. Supported by detachments of his own regiment and the 10th Foot, and by a battery of Bengal Artillery, under Captain William Olpherts, an officer of dare-devil courage, Neill disarmed and inflicted a fearful chastisement on the rebel sepoys stationed here. On the same and the following day, the native troops quartered at the neighbouring stations of Jaunpore and Azimgurh mutinied.

Having secured the safety of Benares, and overawed the fanatical Hindoo population, Neill, on the 9th June, pushed on for Allahabad, a most important station standing at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, and commanding the road between the Upper and Lower provinces. On the night of the 6th June the sepoy garrison mutinied and massacred the officers, including seven young cadets, who had just arrived from England. The populace here followed the example of the soldiers, and the surviving Europeans took shelter in the fort, which a gallant officer, Captain Brasyer, of the Sikhs, held until the arrival of a detachment of the Fusiliers, and on the 11th, of the terrible Neill himself, whose fame had gone before him as the ruthless exterminator of sedition, and the executioner of all rebels. Neill quickly took the offensive, and by the 18th, had completely overcome all opposition in the district. His work completed here, this extraordinary man, who was only actuated by what he conceived was his duty in these sanguinary reprisals, prepared, as soon as he had reinforcements, to march to the relief of Cawnpore, but on the 30th, was superseded by General Havelock, who had arrived fresh from the Persian campaign.

It was on the fatal 4th June that the four native regiments at Cawnpore rose in mutiny, which had long been anticipated by Sir Hugh Wheeler, the commandant. The defence, in the broiling sun of an open

entrenchment, containing some barracks through which the round shot freely penetrated, by a heterogeneous force—including about 400 European combatants, of whom seventy were invalids—hampered by about 400 women and children, is one of the most piteous chapters in the history of the Great Mutiny. Day and night the bombardment of this open position continued, without respite or sleep for the harassed garrison, and within a week all the 59 artillerymen were killed or wounded, but the men of the 32nd Foot, led by Captain Moore, presented an undaunted front, and the women displayed the cheerful heroism of the Anglo-Saxon race. Their last hope was gone when a letter was received from Sir Henry Lawrence, himself struggling against overwhelming odds at Lucknow, only forty-two miles distant, stating that it was beyond his power to afford assistance. At length they were compelled to capitulate to save the lives of the surviving women and children, and on the 27th June, the garrison quitted the entrenchment under a safe-conduct to Allahabad, given by the so-called Nana Sahib, an adopted son of the ex-Peishwa of Poona, who resided at Bithoor, about ten miles from Cawnpore. But on embarking in the boats provided for them on the Ganges, these helpless people were slaughtered from the banks, and the few that escaped were pursued, and ultimately only two soldiers and Lieutenants Mowbray-Thompson and Delafosse effected their escape, after a series of wonderful adventures, in which they killed many of the enemy and swam for six miles down the river until they were sheltered by a friendly Oude Rajah. Those who were not killed were taken back to Cawnpore and confined in a building.

Here, on the 15th July, they were ruthlessly massacred, under circumstances of revolting barbarity, by orders of the infamous Nana Sahib, and the whole of the bodies, dead and dying alike, with some who had escaped the assassins' daggers, were cast into a well. The number who thus perished were five men and 206 women and children, the victims being increased by the surviving fugitives of Futtehgurh, who, unconscious of the state of affairs at Cawnpore, had fled thither for refuge. Many years after a noble monument was erected over the spot sacred to these poor people,* and the late Colonel Sir Henry Yule wrote the pathetic inscription recording the tragedy. But the avenging army of Havelock was close at hand, and had already defeated the force Nana Sahib had sent to check its advance.

Meanwhile important events had happened at Lucknow, where the tide of mutiny surged high against the walls of the Residency, held by

* Of 900 souls who perished during the siege of Cawnpore, and in the subsequent massacre, 210 were European soldiers, 100 officers of the staff and from revolted regiments, and 376 European women and children, the rest being civilians. Sir George Trevelyan, in his graphic work "Cawnpore," estimates the total loss at 1,000 people.

Sir Henry Lawrence with the 32nd Foot, many of whose families and comrades met such a terrible fate at Cawnpore. Foreseeing the Mutiny, Lawrence had stored food in the Residency, and when the revolt of the native troops actually occurred, on the 30th May, he was not unprepared for a siege. On the 3rd June, the Setapore sepoys rose in revolt, and all Oude was in flames. On the 30th June, Lawrence, influenced by others, consented to send 700 men, of whom half were Europeans, to attack a rebel force at Chinhut, about ten miles from Lucknow. Instead of marching at daybreak, the troops set out while the sun's rays were strong, and suddenly found themselves under a heavy artillery fire from a concealed enemy. Lawrence replied with his guns, but at a critical moment, owing to the defection of his native cavalry and gunners, was compelled to retreat. Colonel Case, commanding the 32nd, was killed, and heavy loss was experienced, and soon the retreat degenerated into a rout, and the remnant of the column had to fight its way to the Residency. Lawrence undertook no further expedition, and from this date the British position was closely invested by an ever-increasing army of mutineers raging for the blood of the helpless women and children.

On the second day of the siege, Lawrence withdrew successfully after midnight the garrison of the Muchee Bhawun Fort, which was blown up. On the following day a great calamity befell the garrison of the Residency. Sir Henry Lawrence received a mortal wound from a shell while lying in his bed, and expired on the 4th July, giving directions for the prosecution of the defence to the bitter end, and with his last breath expressing a wish that his only epitaph should be the words,—"Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." It was a scene not less impressive than the deaths of Abercrombie and Moore and Nelson. Major Banks now assumed the direction of political affairs, and Colonel Inglis the command of the troops. The trust committed to their charge by the noble soldier now no more, these gallant officers executed with fidelity and success, and the record of the defence of Lucknow forms an inspiring page in this chapter of Indian history. The garrison, exclusive of women and children, originally numbered 1,692 men, of whom a considerable proportion were civilians and natives, who were regarded with suspicion, while the position consisted of a collection of detached buildings, defended by mud walls and trenches. On the 20th July, the enemy, after exploding a mine, attempted to carry the position by assault, but after four hours' desperate fighting, were repulsed with heavy loss. On the following day, Major Banks was killed, and news was received of the arrival of General Havelock at Cawnpore, after defeating the rebel forces in three pitched battles, and his intention soon to push on to their relief.

The siege was prosecuted with vigour by the rebels, who erected fresh batteries and exploded several mines, and on the 10th August, they tried their fortune at a second assault, but were repulsed, and a third attempt, eight days later, also failed. This last effort was made on the 5th September. A third of the European soldiers had by this time perished, and the natives who had stood nobly by the garrison began to despair, while the rations had been reduced, and the relief promised long ago seemed as far off as ever. Indeed, they had learned that Havelock had twice been compelled to fall back on Cawnpore. We will now turn to the desperate efforts made by the heroic Havelock, which were ultimately rewarded by the relief of the garrison of Lucknow.

Leaving Calcutta on the 25th June, he reached Allahabad five days later, and assumed command of the troops. On the same day General Neill had despatched a small column, under Major Renaud, of the Madras Fusiliers, to attack the enemy, and encourage the loyal inhabitants. Having organized his column, Havelock, on the 7th July, moved towards Cawnpore with 1,000 British soldiers, exclusive of Renaud's force, drawn from the 64th, 78th and 84th regiments, and the Madras Fusiliers, with 130 of Brasyer's Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs, eighteen volunteer cavalry, and six guns, under Captain Maude. It was in the midst of the monsoon, and the rain poured in torrents, while the country looked desolate, without signs of human life, the trees and posts along the road bearing the rotting corpses of rebels caught red-handed and executed by Renaud. On the 12th, Havelock overtook that officer, and inflicted at Futtehpore a signal defeat on the mutinous regiments which had compelled the surrender of Cawnpore. The British infantry, supported by Maude's guns, advanced steadily upon the enemy, drove them from their position, and through the town of Futtehpore, and captured their guns. Three days later Havelock again dislodged them from a strong entrenched position at Aong, though with the loss of the gallant Renaud. But the rebels, strongly reinforced from Cawnpore, rallied at the Pandoo Nuddee river, six miles distant, and the exhausted soldiers were called upon to renew the fight. They responded with alacrity to the demand of the general, and after Maude's guns had silenced two 24-pounders, the Fusiliers charged over the bridge and forced them to retreat towards Cawnpore.

On the following morning, the 16th July, the advance was continued on Cawnpore, twenty-three miles distant, but the heat was so terrible that numbers of soldiers fell fainting in the ranks, and a halt was called under some trees, after sixteen miles was traversed. Nana Sahib had taken post at some fortified villages on both sides of the Grand Trunk road. Havelock, eschewing an attack in front, which was strengthened with artillery, advanced with his infantry and eight guns on the left

flank. The Nana hastily brought up his guns, which poured destruction into the British ranks, when the 78th Highlanders charged with the bayonet, and drove the rebels out of the village. A second stand was made, but the 78th and 64th again put them to flight. The right wing was also driven from its position. Suddenly, inspirited by the Nana, they faced about and made a final stand, when the 64th charged and captured the last gun, and the rebels fled in dismay to Cawnpore. But though they had arrived too late to save the women and children, who had been slaughtered the day before, they took a memorable revenge on the mutinous sepoys, who had cause to "remember Cawnpore," every time they encountered British soldiers. Between the 7th and 16th July, the column had marched 126 miles and fought four actions, under a burning sun, but the general called on them for fresh exertions to relieve Lucknow. Leaving Neill, who had just joined him with reinforcements, at Cawnpore, Havelock crossed the Ganges and moved on the 25th July to Mungulwar, about five miles on the Lucknow road. On the same day he fought the action of Onao, and resuming his march, encountered the enemy again at Busseerutgunge. Thus twice in one day he defeated the rebels, but, nevertheless, cholera, fatigue, and losses in battle had so reduced his little army, that he had only 850 effective soldiers left to prosecute the object of his advance. Reluctantly he was compelled to return to Mungulwar, a course which roused the ire of the fiery Neill. The mutiny at Dinapore had prevented the despatch of the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Foot, for which Havelock had begged; but on the 5th August, he again advanced with his column reinforced by a company of the 84th and three guns, all that Neill could spare him from Cawnpore.

A second battle was fought the same day at Busseerutgunge, but the enemy fled, and his want of cavalry prevented him from cutting them up. Havelock had heard also of the mutiny of the Gwalior contingent, considered the best trained and drilled native force in India, and that they were within fifty miles of Cawnpore, and feeling that any failure to force his way through the streets of Lucknow would be disastrous alike to their force and the garrison, he fell back a second time on Mungulwar. Neill now appealed to him for aid, as 4,000 rebels were collected at Bithoor, and Havelock, first advancing on Busseerutgunge and inflicting a final defeat on the enemy collected there, retreated across the Ganges, and on the 13th August, re-entered Cawnpore.

Though the effective troops at his disposal were now a mere handful, Havelock advanced on the 16th to attack the enemy at Bithoor, and after an eight hours' march in the blazing sun, the British infantry carried the redoubt and village, the Fusiliers actually crossing bayonets with the rebels. In this affair the British loss was forty-nine, and that of the enemy 250. On returning to Cawnpore, Havelock found himself

superseded by Sir James Outram, but that noble soldier, the "Bayard of India," with the disinterestedness that distinguished him, placed his services at the disposal of his subordinate. The heroic Havelock, who had nine times defeated the disciplined battalions of Oude and Bengal, addressed his veterans in a memorable order, in which he said:—"Soldiers, your labours, your privations, your sufferings and your valour will not be forgotten by a grateful country," words which are inscribed on the pedestal of his statue, erected by Parliament in Trafalgar Square. Sir James Outram brought with him 1,450 men, including the 5th Fusiliers and a wing of the 90th regiment,* with artillery, a welcome addition to the depleted battalions at Cawnpore. Among Outram's officers were Colonel Robert Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) Chief of the Staff, and Major Vincent Eyre, who, on the advance from Allahabad a few days before, had annihilated a force of rebels while crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore.

On the 19th September the little army, numbering 2,500 men, with

* The 90th, with other troops, was diverted to Calcutta, while on its way to China. Reinforcements were brought from Ceylon, and from the Cape and Mauritius to Bombay, where a portion of the native army had mutinied, but it was not until after the capture of Delhi, on the 20th September, when the neck of the Mutiny may be said to have been broken, that any troops from England arrived in India. After that event a continuous stream poured in, to the astonishment of the natives, who said that the sea vomited forth red-coats, until 90,000 British soldiers stood on the soil of India. The writer of this volume remembers the effect produced on the native mind by this exhibition of the power of England, which they had come to regard as an effete power after the failures of the 18th June and 8th September, at Sebastopol. In addition to the troops there were landed the crews of H.M.S. *Pearl* and *Shannon*, and at an earlier date, in the month of June, the crews of the Honourable Company's ships, *Punjaub*, *Semiramis*, *Ajdaha*, *Zenobia*, and *Auckland*, proceeded up country. The Indian Navy received small thanks and no honours, and yet the service had no less than sixty-one officers (of whom two gained the V.C. for gallantry in the field) and 1,765 European seamen, with forty-two field-pieces, actively engaged on shore, in the suppression of the Mutiny under the Supreme Government, besides Naval brigades at Bombay, Surat, and on the Malabar coast. No more gallant service was rendered during the Mutiny than that performed by an Indian naval detachment of four officers and eighty-five seamen, with two howitzers, under Lieutenant Lewis, of the *Punjaub*, an officer of great daring, who had drilled his men to a high pitch of efficiency. There were 300 sepoys of the 73rd Native Infantry, and fifty native artillerymen, with two 9-pounders stationed at Dacca, a city having a vast disaffected population. At daylight, on the 22nd November, 1857, Lieutenant Lewis entered the Lall Bagh, a large enclosure, containing a mosque and tomb, with a range of loop-holed barracks. The sepoys received his force with a volley, when the sailors returned the fire, and charged with the bayonet. The sepoys fell back on the buildings and barracks, when a hand-to-hand conflict ensued. Driven out, the enemy made a last stand round their guns, but Mr. Mayo, midshipman, charged at the head of twenty seamen, when the sepoys broke, and were all either killed or dispersed. In this affair four sailors were killed, and Lieutenant Lewis and sixteen men were wounded. On the following morning three prisoners were hanged in the presence of a vast and sullen multitude from the city, who were quite overawed.

eighteen guns, leaving 400 soldiers to guard the entrenchments, crossed the Ganges, and on the 21st, came into collision with the enemy at Mungulwar. One brigade turned the rebel flank, while the heavy guns, supported by the 5th Fusiliers, attacked in front, and speedily the enemy fled, hotly pursued by Outram with the handful of volunteer cavalry. On the following day the column crossed the Sye, and advanced on Alumbagh, a large palace and park, surrounded by a high wall, about four miles from Lucknow. Here the enemy, 10,000 strong, with 1,500 cavalry, had taken post; but Havelock attacked with vigour, Hamilton's brigade in front, while Neill's brigade assaulted their right, and Eyre's, Maude's, and Olpherts' batteries overthrew the cavalry and artillery. Outram, armed with a club, pursued the fugitives to the Charbagh bridge, which spans the canal close to the city, and captured five guns. On the 25th September, the gallant band, for they were little more in comparison with the overwhelming numbers opposed to them, advanced to the relief of the Residency. Leaving the baggage at the Alumbagh, under a guard, Havelock started with the 5th, 78th, 84th, and 90th regiments and Madras Fusiliers, adopting the route by the Charbagh bridge. The fighting was of a desperate character, Maude's guns engaged in a duel with a battery on the bridge, and while Outram entered the enclosure to the right with a regiment, Neill charged with his brigade across the bridge. The main body now diverged to the right, and advanced towards the Residency, while the 78th Highlanders covered the passage of the long column of stores. The opposition between the Motee Mahul palace and the "32nd Messhouse" was deadly, the troops encountering fire, "under which," says Havelock, "nothing could live." A halt was now made to allow of the arrival of the supplies, and then, as darkness was coming on, the two generals, heading the advance, consisting of the Highlanders and Brasyer's Sikhs, pushed on through a storm of bullets from the roofs and walls of the loop-holed buildings, and the Residency was reached amid a scene of enthusiastic welcome that is indescribable. Unhappily, the heroic Neill was shot through the head while bringing up the rear with his Fusiliers, and his death in the hour of victory saddened all hearts. Many other gallant officers fell, including Major Cooper, commanding the artillery, and Outram was wounded. The total loss on this memorable day was 464, and since leaving Cawnpore 535.

Sir James Outram now assumed political and military command, and the troops were divided into two divisions, under Havelock and Inglis, the latter commanding in the Residency. But owing to his heavy losses and the danger of moving 700 women and children, besides 500 sick, Sir James was unable to cut his way out, and the combined columns were virtually on the defensive until the arrival, in the following November, of Sir Colin Campbell, who had been despatched from

England to assume the supreme military command. Meantime the investment of Delhi had been prosecuted to a successful result. Before giving details of the siege and storm of Delhi, we will briefly detail the events in the Punjaub, where Sir John Lawrence, assisted by a band of officers, political, civil, and military, of singular capacity, piloted the ship of state through the storm in an unexampled crisis.

On the 13th May the native troops at Meean Meer, the cantonment near Lahore, consisting of four regiments, were disarmed by the 81st Foot and two batteries of Horse Artillery. The fort at Lahore was also occupied, Phillour and Umritsur were reinforced, and Kangra was surprised and occupied. Equal resolution was not displayed at Ferozepore, and one native regiment, after burning and plundering, took the road for Delhi, but were pursued and dispersed. Peshawur, the bulwark of the Punjaub and farthest outpost of the Empire, was ruled by Sir Herbert Edwardes, with John Nicholson as his assistant, and General Sydney Cotton commanded the brigade, and Brigadier Neville Chamberlain the Punjaub Irregulars. These men, a remarkable group, assembled in council, and disarmed the four native regiments at Peshawur on the 22nd May, and two days later, a small force, accompanied by Nicholson, attacked and almost destroyed a mutinous regiment at Murdan. Then Nicholson disarmed some troops at Abasye, and this part of the Punjaub was saved.

In another quarter of this province, at Jullundhur, the troops rose in mutiny on the 7th June, and were joined at Phillour by the native portion of the garrison, and two days later, the mutineers entered Loodiana, where, aided by the troops and populace, they plundered the houses, released the prisoners, and marched on Delhi. At Mooltan the garrison was disarmed, but there were still in the Punjaub seven regiments of native infantry and two of cavalry, besides two at Peshawur and one on the frontier. A force from Rawul Pindee was detailed to disarm the troops at Jhelum, but the attempt failed, though ultimately the sepoys were all either slain or executed. The troops at Sealkote also got away and made for Delhi. But Nicholson, who now commanded the Movable Column in succession to Chamberlain, having first disbanded three regiments of his column, covered the distance of forty-four miles between Umritsur and Goordaspore in two forced marches, and on the 12th July, intercepted the Sealkote mutineers at Trimmoo Ghat, and defeated them, driving the survivors into an island, where they were exterminated. The Punjaub was now saved, as the troops at Ferozepore, Kangra and Noorpore were disarmed, and Nicholson marched to Delhi with his column, which included the 52nd Light Infantry. The final act in the Punjaub drama was the discovery of a plot in a disarmed native regiment at Peshawur, which was quenched in blood, only sixty escaping. As Edwardes wrote:—"700 men, who

were yesterday ripe for the murder of European officers and ladies and children, to-day lay dead in three deep trenches."

Sir John Lawrence and his military and political coadjutors were now enabled to breathe more freely, and turned their attention to despatching to Delhi, not only every available European soldier, until the Punjaub was almost denuded of troops, but by raising, training and forwarding thither all the Sikh and Punjaub levies they could raise, which materially conduced to the fall of the great focus of rebellion.

When the siege of Delhi commenced, the British troops only mustered 2,000 men, the Ghoorkas and Sikhs being about the same strength, while the mutinous sepoys were estimated at 12,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, besides 4,000 irregulars, but these numbers were continually being strengthened as the mutinous contingents and garrisons marched in. The rebels made their first attack on the camp in rear of the ridge on the 12th June, but were repulsed and pursued up to the walls of the city. Within a few days they made three ineffectual attempts to capture Hindoo Rao's house, an important position on the flank, and on the 17th, the British assumed the offensive, and destroyed a battery enfilading the ridge. On the 13th June, the rebels attempted to attack the camp in rear, but finding the bridge over the canal destroyed, were forced to retire, and made a desperate effort to capture Hindoo Rao's house, but were repulsed by the 60th Rifles, Ghoorkas and Guides, and fell back at sunset with the loss of 300 men.

Reinforcements now arrived, and also Neville Chamberlain and Baird Smith, of the Engineers, a most capable officer, under whom the siege operations were pushed with vigour. On the 5th July, Sir Henry Barnard, a man much beloved, but destitute of the qualities essential for success at such a crisis, died. General Reid succeeded him, but a few days later retired from the command, owing to bad health, and was relieved by General Archdale Wilson, a good artillery officer, but of no special capacity. Meanwhile the rebels, recruited from Bareilly, Central India, the Punjaub, and Rajpootana, attacked the rear and right flank of the British position on the ridge, with persistence, and in six weeks, twenty separate actions were fought by the hard-set besiegers. But Reed held Hindoo Rao's house, the key of the position, against every attack with his gallant Ghoorkas, while Hodson, the *beau-idéal* of a cavalry officer, by his Argus-eyed activity, kept secure the flanks and rear, and good soldiers—such as Jones of the 60th Rifles, Greathed of the 8th Foot (one of three gallant brothers in the camp), Hope Grant, of the 9th Lancers, and Chamberlain, like Deloraine, "good at need,"—repelled or defeated the enemy, and added to the ground they held the Subzee-Mundee suburb and other points on which batteries could be placed.

Nicholson, that "heaven-born general," like Clive, signalized his arrival in camp by marching out on the 25th August with 2,000 men, including the 61st, and inflicting a severe defeat on the rebels at Nujufgurh. On the 4th September the siege-train arrived, and Colonel Baird Smith, assisted by Captain Alexander Taylor, commenced the construction of batteries, which were pushed on with assiduity. The attack was made, without parallels, against a force thrice as numerous as the besiegers, the guns being planted in the open, the only method of attack available, as investment was out of the question. On the 11th September, the batteries opened fire, and by the 13th, practical breaches were made in the curtain connecting the Moree, Water and Cashmere bastions. The columns of attack, some 4,500 men, were formed, the first, under Nicholson, to storm the breach near the Cashmere bastion, and the second, under Jones, to assault the Water bastion, while the third column, led by Colonel Campbell, was to make its way into the city through the Cashmere gate after it had been blown open, and Major Reid, with the fourth, was told off to enter by the Lahore gate.

The memorable assault was delivered on the 14th, but the fighting was so desperate that it was not until the 20th that the city was finally won and all resistance ceased. Nicholson, ever eager and undaunted, mounted the breach at the head of his stormers, and Jones carried the Water bastion, and pressing on to the right, found himself under the Lahore bastion, but having no orders to attack it, fell back on the Cabul gate. Here he was joined an hour later by Nicholson, but the enemy, who had begun to retreat across the Jumna, emboldened by Jones's inactivity, returned and opened fire with their guns. Nicholson, taking men from both columns, advanced against the Lahore bastion, by a canal, but the fire was so heavy that the men fell back.

Many officers were killed, and Nicholson rushed to the front appealing to the men to follow him, when he was struck down by a bullet through the chest. Meantime, the fourth column was repulsed in fighting its way to the Lahore gate, and Reid was wounded, while the cavalry, under Hope Grant, which moved down in support close under the Moree bastion, suffered severely with grape. While this was going on, the Cashmere gate was blown in by the Engineers, under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, and the third column pushed on into the city; but Campbell, finding that the other columns had not advanced, fell back and joined the reserve, under Brigadier Longfield, which had occupied the posts from which the enemy had been expelled. The loss on the first day* amounted to sixty-six officers and 1,104 men killed and

* The total loss between the 30th May and 20th September, amounted to 2,151 Europeans, and 1,685 natives. The Delhi force never exceeded 8,000 to 10,000 men.

wounded, including the noble soldier whose death a few days later cast a gloom over the camp.

The operations were continued daily, and by the 20th September the entire city was won. The last act in this drama was the capture, by Hodson, outside the city, of the Mogul Emperor, the last sovereign of the house of Timour, and the slaughter of his sons and grandsons. This gallant officer has been severely censured for this act, but these princes were accompanied by 6,000 armed adherents, and Hodson had only 100 men of his regiment with him. These men, as murderers of innocent women and children, deserved no pity, and a civil court would undoubtedly have condemned them to death, yet Hodson's avowal that he "would rather have brought the King* into Delhi dead than alive," displayed a bloodthirsty animus. Nicholson died on the 23rd of his wound, to the sorrow of every comrade, especially of his friends Edwardes and Chamberlain, and it is recorded of the lion-hearted John Lawrence that when he heard the news he wept.

On the following day a column of 2,000 men, under Colonel Greathed, went in pursuit of the rebels, who were fleeing in the direction of Oude. Pushing on through Allygurh, Greathed arrived on the 10th October, before the fort of Agra, besieged by the mutineers, whence he had received pressing calls for aid. Here he was suddenly attacked by the enemy, but drove them back, and continuing the pursuit for several miles, captured all their baggage and guns. A few days later Sir Hope Grant assumed command of the column, and crossing the Ganges at Cawnpore, waited near Bunnee bridge for the arrival of the Commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell, with the main force, to effect the relief of Lucknow. Another column, under Showers, proceeded from Delhi to beat up the rebel quarters to the west and south-west, and a third force, under Gerrard, marched towards Rajpootana, where the Joudpore legion had mutinied on the 27th August. On the 16th November Gerrard encountered the rebels near Narnoul, when the 6th Dragoon Guards and Guides' cavalry charged and dispersed the cavalry and artillery, and the Bengal Fusiliers completed their defeat. In this action Gerrard was mortally wounded, and was succeeded by Colonel Seaton, one of the "illustrious garrison" of Jellalabad, who did excellent service at a later date in scouring the country.

Quitting Calcutta on the 27th October, Sir Colin Campbell arrived at Cawnpore on the 3rd November, and six days later, joined Hope Grant at Bunnee. Having received valuable information from Mr. Kavanagh, a civilian who arrived in disguise from the Lucknow Residency, the little army of 4,550 men—including the Delhi veterans,

* The King was tried by court-martial for rebellion and complicity in the murders of Europeans, found guilty, and transported for life to Rangoon, where he died on 7th November, 1862.

the 9th Lancers, and 8th and 75th Foot, with the 53rd, a battalion of detachments of the 84th, 90th, and Madras Fusiliers, and the 93rd Highlanders, his old Balaclava comrades, fresh from England—made a start for Lucknow on the 12th November.

Meantime, Outram and Havelock had held their own against all the attacks of the enemy in overwhelming numbers. They had taken into the system of defence some of the great palaces and public buildings of Lucknow, which were fortified under the superintendence of Colonel Robert Napier (better known as Lord Napier of Magdala), of whom Outram wrote that "their success has been in no small degree promoted by his incessant and self-denying devotion. Colonel Napier has never been many hours absent, by day or night, from any one of the points of operation."

After a skirmish the troops, on the 12th November, encamped at Alumbagh, which was still held by a portion of Outram's force, and the advance was resumed on the 14th. The Dilkoosha and Martiniere park and buildings were occupied, and on the 16th, the army resumed operations. Skirting the bank of the Goomtee for a mile, the troops threaded their way along a narrow lane through some enclosures, and their artillery opened fire on the Secunder Bagh. A breach was effected, and the place was stormed by the Highlanders and Sikhs, and the garrison were bayoneted to a man.* Traversing the open plain, a distance of about 1,200 yards, the next attack was directed on a large mosque surrounded by a wall with loop-holes, called the Shah Nujeef. The place was battered by the heavy guns manned by Peel's sailors, who failed in effecting a practical breach, when an undefended spot was discovered in the works, and the Highlanders, led by Colonel Adrian Hope, scaled the wall, and the place was won. On the following morning, the 17th November, the Lucknow garrison acted in co-operation, and Sir Colin Campbell ordered the "32nd Messhouse" to be stormed, which was gallantly effected by the young Captain Garnet Wolseley, of the 90th Foot, who, pressing on with his detachment, occupied the Motee Mahul palace and adjacent buildings, and opened a communication with the garrison. Here the Commander-in-chief was met by Outram, Havelock, and the other heroes of the siege and first relief of the Residency.

The operations were now brought to a successful conclusion. The losses were ten officers and 110 men killed, and thirty-five officers and 379 rank and file wounded. On the 22nd, the women and children, about 500 souls, and some 1,500 sick and wounded, were withdrawn from the Residency to the Dilkoosha, under the superintendence of

* Lord Wolseley informed the author, as a curious fact, that the burying parties interred exactly 1,857 corpses, the date of the year.

Outram and his Chief of the Staff, Colonel Napier; and a few days later, Sir Colin Campbell withdrew across the Ganges to Cawnpore, leaving a force of 4,400 men at the Alumbagh to retain hold of Oude, under Sir James Outram. But one officer was not destined to leave a spot hallowed by his glorious deeds. General Havelock died on the 24th November, and was buried at Alumbagh. His last words were, "I die happy and contented. I have for forty years so ruled my life that when death came I might face it without fear."

But stern work was in store for the retiring British force of 3,000 men, which left no time for regrets.

Scarcely had Sir Colin Campbell reached the Bunnee bridge, than he received expresses from "Redan Windham," the officer he had left at Cawnpore, with instructions to act on the defensive, that he was hardly pressed in the entrenchments by a strong rebel force, including the Gwalior contingent, under Tantia Topee and Nana Sahib, who was burning to repeat the Cawnpore tragedy.

Contrary to his orders, Windham marched out six miles on the Calpee road, with 1,700 men and 10 guns, and having attacked and defeated the rebels at Pandoo Nuddee on the 26th November, fell back upon Cawnpore. But Tantia Topee on the following day assumed the offensive, and having a powerful artillery of sixty or seventy guns, and about 14,000 trained soldiers, and 11,000 irregulars, forced Windham to give ground. Growing bold, the rebel leader cannonaded the entrenchments, and the whole British force was in danger of disaster.

Some fighting took place on the 28th, in which Brigadier Wilson fell, and the Commander-in-chief, riding on in advance of his troops, crossed the Ganges, and found the town, with his baggage and stores, in the hands of the enemy, though the entrenchments and bridge were safe. On the following day his troops crossed the river, and after starting off the convoy of women and children for Allahabad, Sir Colin, on the 6th December, commenced operations against the enemy with his compact force of 5,000 infantry in four brigades, under Greathed, Walpole, Inglis and Hope, 600 cavalry, and thirty-five guns. Leaving Windham in command in the entrenchments, he first opened fire with his heavy guns, and then advanced his infantry, and scattering the enemy before him, pushed on with his cavalry in pursuit of the Gwalior contingent, capturing many guns on the road, while General Mansfield, his Chief of the Staff, was sent to cut off the retreat of the enemy in another direction, but failed in his purpose. On the 8th December, Hope Grant followed up the enemy to the banks of the river, inflicting heavy losses on them and capturing fifteen guns. While a column under Seaton defeated the rebels in three actions in the Allygurh district, the Commander-in-chief advanced on Futtehgurh, on the Ganges, the scene of

an atrocious massacre, which he occupied on the 3rd January, 1858, after defeating the enemy on the previous day, and was joined there by Seaton's and Walpole's columns. Having driven the rebels out of the Doab, and across the Ganges into Rohilcund, Sir Colin undertook the siege of Lucknow and reconquest of Oude.

On receiving reinforcements and the siege-train from Agra, Sir Colin quitted Cawnpore on the 1st March, and joined the army concentrated at Buntheera, consisting, with General Frank's division, which had been operating with signal success in Oude, of nearly 20,000 Europeans of all arms, and 7,000 natives, with forty field-pieces and sixty siege guns. Among the divisional and brigade commanders were Lugard, Hope Grant, Adrian Hope, Robert Napier, and Sir James Outram, who had held his ground at Alumbagh* during the past three months, repulsing many attacks of the rebel hosts at Lucknow, estimated at 70,000 men. Operations were commenced on the 6th March, when Outram crossed the Goomtee with 6,000 men and thirty guns, with orders to turn the first line of the enemy's works, consisting of the Kaiserbagh, which was their citadel, having three lines of defence towards the river. Of these the line of the canal was the outer one, the second enclosed the Motee Mahul and Messhouse, the interior one being formed by the ramparts of the Kaiserbagh, the rear

* Since the 27th November, when Outram, with 4,400 men, took up a position about 1,200 yards from the Alumbagh enclosure, which was one of his outposts, there had been much desultory fighting. Before dawn on the 22nd December, he had moved out and surprised the enemy in a village, and on the 12th January, 1858, repulsed a determined attack, made by some 30,000 men from Lucknow. On this occasion they enveloped his entire position, but were defeated after nearly eight hours' fighting. Four days later the enemy made another attack, but with no better success; and again on the 21st February, they advanced on all sides simultaneously, but were driven back. There was also fighting on the 24th and 25th of the same month, when Outram took the offensive. On the unveiling of Foley's statue of Sir James Outram, in Calcutta, Lord Napier of Magdala, who was Outram's Chief of the Staff throughout the operations ending in the relief of Lucknow, and chief Engineer at the defence of Alumbagh, used the following words:—"The position was held with a mere handful of troops, against overwhelming numbers, well supplied with artillery. There were no walls or ramparts, merely an open camp, protected by a few well-selected entrenched posts, and a scanty line of bayonets, ever ready, day and night, to repel attack." The credit of laying out the Alumbagh defences has been attributed to Lord Napier, but, with characteristic generosity, his Lordship wrote that, at the time, he was recovering from a severe wound in the Cawnpore Hospital, and the "kudos" was due to his subaltern, Lieutenant (afterwards General) George Hutchinson, of the Bengal Engineers. He added:—"That able officer, in company with the late Colonel Berkeley, Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, laid out the defence of the Alumbagh camp, remarkable for its bold plan, which was so well devised that, with an apparently dangerous extent, it was defensible at every point by the small but ever ready force under Sir James Outram. A long interval between the camp and the outpost of Jellalabad, which it was obligatory to hold, was defended by a post of support called 'Moir's Picket, or the Two-Gun Picket.'"

of whose enclosures was closed in by the city. These lines were flanked by many batteries, and the adjacent buildings in the main street, called Huzrut Gunge, were strongly fortified, and gave an enfilading fire.

On the 9th March the Martiniere was shelled and captured, and on the following day Bank's house and the line of works were seized without loss. Batteries were now erected and played on the Begum Kothee, which was stormed by the 93rd Highlanders, the 4th Punjaub Rifles—led by Major Wilde, who commanded it throughout the siege of Delhi—and 1,000 Ghoorkas. At this time the gallant Hodson met his death, to the regret of the entire army. The line of buildings in the main street were also secured, and then advance by "slow sap" was commenced towards the Imaumbarra, through intervening houses and enclosures, under Brigadier Napier. On the 12th March, Jung Bahadur arrived from Nepaul with a force of 9,000 men and twenty-four guns, and took up a position covering the British left.

On the following day the siege guns and mortars opened on the Imaumbarra and Kaiserbagh, Outram co operating with a cross fire from the opposite side of the Goomtee, and on the morning of the 14th, the former palace was stormed by the 10th Foot and the Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs, under the gallant Brasyer, and following up their success, the Kaiserbagh was also captured, and its priceless contents given up to plunder. The third line of defence having been turned, all the neighbouring palaces were occupied by the troops, and on the 26th, Outram crossed the Goomtee, and advancing past the ruined Residency, took the iron bridge in reverse, and occupied the Muchee Bhawun. The final stroke was delivered three days later, by the capture of the Mossabagh, in the suburbs, but the cavalry brigadier, Campbell, failed to cut off the rebels. The glory of these operations was reaped by Sir Colin Campbell, but it should be stated, in justice to the chief Engineer of the army, Brigadier Napier, that he planned the whole of the siege operations, and their success was due to the fact that they were executed in strict accordance with his directions.

We will pass over with a bare mention the relief of Azimgurh by a column under Lord Mark Kerr, and the subsequent operations in that district by Lugard and Douglas. In the summer of 1857 there was also a mutiny and massacre at Jhansi, and risings at Nowgong, Rewah, in Bundelcund, at Saugor and Jubbulpore, at Nagpore, and at Hyderabad, in the Nizam's dominions, where Salar Jung showed himself a loyal friend to the British. On the 1st July in the Mutiny year Holkar's troops rebelled at Indore, and the Europeans took refuge in the fort at Mhow. This led to the Malwa campaign. On the 12th July, Brigadier Charles Stuart, of the Bombay army, accompanied by Colonel Durand, political officer at Indore, left Aurungabad, and

crossing the Nerbudda, on the 2nd August effected the relief of the fort of Mhow, where a large number of Europeans had taken refuge after the mutiny of the native troops. When the weather had cleared Stuart marched with 1,400 men, including 518 Europeans, to lay siege to Dhar, which was bombarded and captured on the 26th October. Thence Stuart marched to attack some 17,000 men, including a portion of Scindia's troops, at Mundisore, where he arrived on the 21st November. Here news was received of the victory over the rebels achieved by Major Orr, of the Hyderabad contingent, at Rawal. Some sharp fighting took place here and before the fort of Neemuch, where the rebels were besieging the Europeans of the district, especially before the village of Goraria, on the 23rd November, when the 86th (County Down's) and the 25th Bombay N.I. charged with the bayonet. Stuart marched thence to Indore, and disarmed Holkar's troops.

In order to restore British authority in Central India, the Bombay Government organized a column, styled the "Central India Field Force," under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, then General of the Poona division. On the 16th December, Sir Hugh, accompanied by Sir Robert Hamilton, the political agent at Indore, whose office had been temporarily filled by Colonel Durand, arrived at Indore, and at once took the field with 6,000 men, of whom 2,500 were Europeans, arranged in two brigades, one under Stuart, then at Mhow, and the second under Brigadier Stewart at Sehore. While the former officer marched against Chandaree, in Scindia's dominions, Sir Hugh Rose, on the 16th January, 1858, quitted Sehore with Stewart's brigade, which included the 2nd Bombay Europeans, and laid siege to the strong fort of Ratghur, in the Saugor district. While so engaged the Rajah of Banpore strove to raise the siege, but was defeated, and the fort was evacuated. The rebels, however, rallied at Barodia, but were attacked on the 30th January and dispersed. Pushing on for Saugor, on the 3rd February the column relieved the fort, in which were 190 women and children, the garrison being 120 officers and European artillerymen.

The next operation was the capture of the Fort of Garrakotta, held by sepoys of the Bengal army, which, during the Mahratta War of 1818, had resisted an army of 11,000 men, with twenty-eight guns. The fort was evacuated, but Sir Hugh, owing to a want of supplies, was unable to resume his march towards Jhansi. This enforced delay enabled the enemy to gather heart, and they strongly fortified the Pass of Narut. But finding that the Pass of Mudinpore offered an easier entrance through the ridge which separates Saugor and Shahghur, he made a flank march, and turning the line of defences at Narut, skilfully forced the Mudinpore Pass. The rebels in Shahghur were

so terrified that they abandoned Marrowra and Banpore. On the 17th March the column crossed the Betwa, and on the 21st, arrived before the strong fort and city of Jhansi, garrisoned by about 1,500 regular sepoys and 10,000 Bundeelas. On the 18th June preceding, Jhansi had been the scene of the treacherous massacre of sixty-seven Europeans, who had surrendered with the promise of their lives to the cruel and warlike Ranee, who now led her troops in person.

Sir Hugh Rose was joined here by Stuart's brigade from Chandaree, and batteries were thrown up and siege operations commenced with a small force consisting of two European and two Bombay native regiments and some Hyderabad infantry, besides the 14th Dragoons and artillery. For five days the bombardment was continued, when intelligence was received of the approach of a relieving army of 20,000 rebels, under Tantia Topee. Nothing daunted, Sir Hugh, without raising the siege, moved off to encounter the enemy with 1,200 men, including 500 Europeans, and on the 1st April engaged them on the banks of the Betwa, and before sunset, the grand "Army of the Peishwa" was signally routed, with the loss of eighteen guns. During the action the gallant General placed himself at the head of Captain Arthur Need's troop of the 14th Dragoons, and led the charge on the guns in dashing style.* The rebel loss was 1,500, chiefly sepoys of the Gwalior contingent.

The siege was renewed, and at three on the morning of the 3rd April, Jhansi was captured by assault, the two columns, led by the 86th and 3rd Europeans, vieing with each other in generous rivalry. The fighting in the streets was of a desperate character, and it was not until the 6th that all resistance was at an end. The British loss of 300 included six officers killed,† and that of the rebels was 3,000 in killed alone. The small British army, their ranks fearfully thinned by sickness and the sword, marched for Calpee, on the 25th of April, and on the 6th May, encountered Tantia Topee at Koonch, after a march of fourteen miles. The enemy were driven from their position into the town, and pursued beyond by the cavalry and horse artillery, the infantry being too exhausted by the heat and hard work to follow them up. It was anticipated that the Madras column, under General Whitlock, would have participated in the operations against Calpee, but that officer, after defeating on the 19th April, with heavy loss, the rebel army of 7,000

* Captain (afterwards Colonel Sir) Arthur Need informed the author that of his troop of forty-six sabres, sixteen were killed and wounded in this charge, including himself.

† Of these six, two belonged to the Indian Engineers, three more of the same corps were wounded, one of whom, Lieutenant Harry Prendergast, lived to command the army which conquered Upper Burmah in 1885. This officer and Lieutenant Goodfellow received the V.C. for their gallantry. All the Engineer officers, except Major A. Boileau, Chief Engineer, and another, were *hors de combat*.

men at Banda, remained inactive, though Rose begged his assistance in reducing Calpee,* a strong fort on a lofty rock on the banks of the Jumna, defended by ravines, a chain of temples and a line of entrenchments, and held by the Nabob of Banda and the Ranee of Jhansi.

On the 15th May, Sir Hugh reached Golowlee, on the north bank of the Jumna, about six miles east of Calpee, where Sir Colin Campbell had detached from Cawnpore a force, including Europeans mounted on camels, under Colonel Maxwell, to act in co-operation. The troops were greatly harassed by the enemy, and suffered much from the heat, Sir Hugh himself having five sunstrokes, and the medical authorities reported that if the operations were protracted the whole force would be in hospital. On the 22nd, the enemy, issuing from Calpee, made a bold attempt to turn the British right, and almost succeeded in overpowering Stuart's hardly-pressed brigade, when Sir Hugh arrived at the head of Maxwell's camel corps, and charged the rebels, who were within thirty yards of the guns. The enemy wavered and then fled into the ravines, where they were pursued, and the left attacked the rebel right wing, which gave way, and thus victoriously ended the battle of Golowlee. On the following day Maxwell's batteries shelled Calpee, which was occupied, and the enemy were pursued by the cavalry.

On the 1st June, Sir Hugh Rose issued a farewell order to his gallant little army, preparatory to returning to Poonah, when he received the astounding news that Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi, at the head of the Calpee rebels, had marched to Gwalior, defeated Scindia, who fled to Agra, and, having seized the city and fortress, proclaimed Nana Sahib as Peishwa. Recalling his detachments and despatching orders to Brigadier Smith to act in co-operation, Sir Hugh quitted Calpee, on the 6th June, with Stewart's brigade, now commanded by Brigadier-General Robert Napier, and making forced marches by night, on the 12th overtook Stuart, whom he had sent in advance, and four days later, arrived before Gwalior. The same day took place the battle of Morar, the cantonment near the city, when the rebels were defeated and suffered severely. Sir Hugh Rose now regained command of the Agra road and opened communications with Brigadier Smith, who, on the following morning, attacked and routed at Kotah-Ke-Serai, in front of the hills barring his approach to Gwalior, a rebel

* Sir G. Whitlock captured Kirwee, without opposition, on the 7th June, when the Rajah Narrain Rao surrendered, and 42 lacs of rupees (£420,000), with a vast quantity of gold and silver utensils and jewels, were captured. This booty gave rise to prolonged litigation in the English Law Courts. Whitlock's column, including the 43rd Light Infantry, which had marched 1,300 miles through Kamptee, Jubbulpore, Banda, and Kirwee, entered Calpee on the 7th July, a month after Rose had quitted it.

force led by the Ranee of Jhansi, dressed in male attire, who was killed in a cavalry charge by the 8th Hussars.

Leaving General Napier in the Morar cantonment, on the 18th June Rose marched in the fierce heat to join Smith, and on the following day, attacked the enemy, who had been reinforced from Gwalior, in their position on the hills. In the hard fighting that ensued, the gallant 86th (County Downs) with the 10th and 25th Bombay N.I., greatly distinguished itself. The enemy's batteries were taken, and, pushing his success, Sir Hugh Rose followed the retreating rebels, himself leading the 95th regiment, into the streets of the Lushkur, or New City, and Smith captured the palace with his brigade. Early on the following morning, Lieutenant Rose, of the 25th Bombay N.I., a nephew of the General's, taking with him a handful of his sepoys, scaled the rock-built citadel dominating Gwalior, and was killed in the hand-to-hand struggle with its desperate defenders. It was a brilliant exploit and a fitting finale to an exceptionally brilliant campaign. The same day Scindia re-entered his capital, under the escort of British dragoons, and Brigadier-General Napier started in pursuit of Tantia Topee with a mounted force, consisting of 500 cavalry and six guns.

Marching all night, on the following morning, Napier came up at Joura-Alipore with a rebel force of 7,000 men with twenty-five guns.* Regardless of odds, and unsupported by infantry, Napier charged with the *élan* of a cornet of dragoons, and having dispersed the enemy and captured their guns, returned to Morar, while Tantia Topee fled across the Chumbul into Rajpootana. In connection with this brilliant

* This remarkable feat of arms deserves a more detailed record:—The British force consisted of Lightfoot's battery of Bombay Horse Artillery, six guns and 99 men, and 511 sabres of the following corps:—Prettejohn's squadron of the 14th Dragoons, 62; Hyderabad Cavalry, under Captain H. D. Abbott, 243; squadron, 3rd Bombay Cavalry, under Lieutenant Dick, 92; and detachment, Meade's Horse, 174. On the morning of the 21st June, 1858, after an arduous march of nearly thirty miles under the fierce rays of the summer sun, followed by a night bivouac of a few hours on the parched ground, Brigadier-General Napier found himself at sunrise in face of the enemy, including 2,000 cavalry of the old Bengal army and Gwalior contingent, strongly posted in a well-chosen position, and drawn up in two lines, resting on the villages of Joura and Alipore. Napier's position was one requiring nerve, judgment, and decision, and he displayed these qualities in a marked degree. He resolved at once to attack. The action was commenced by Lightfoot taking up a position on the enemy's left flank. As soon as his fire caused the rebel line to waver, Abbott, supported by Lightfoot, who formed his gun detachment into a troop, charged and captured the battery of six guns opposed to him. As the enemy gave way, Napier made a bold dash on the other flank with the rest of his cavalry, and the rebels fled in confusion, leaving the whole of their guns and baggage in his hands. In this, his first independent command, General Napier displayed the qualities of a great soldier. Had he hesitated to attack, the enemy would have escaped unbroken, with all their guns, to work incalculable mischief elsewhere, and perhaps the small British force might have been crushed.

Central Indian campaign, it only remains to add, that, in addition to Whitlock's Madras column, a Bombay force, under General Roberts, co-operated in Rajpootana, and defeated the rebels in the field and re-captured Kotah, Roberts, together with Napier, Michel, Parke, Somerset, Holmes, and other officers in command of columns, took up the pursuit of the Delhi Prince, Feroze Shah, and of Rao Sahib, and that most active and ablest of all the rebel leaders, Tantia Topee, who had still a following of 8,000 men. For many months Tantia eluded his pursuers, though on one occasion, Brigadier Parke covered 240 miles in nine days; but at length, in April 1859, he was delivered up by a traitorous friend, Maun Sing,* Rajah of Nurwar, and by sentence of a court-martial, was hanged at Sepree, protesting that he was no rebel but an honourable foe, and that he never caused any European to be murdered or hanged.

After the capture of Lucknow in March, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell undertook the reconquest of Rohilcund. Walpole, who commanded an independent column, including three Highland regiments, suffered a disastrous repulse on the 15th April, before the fort of Rooyia, when near 100 men were killed, including Brigadier Adrian Hope, a very popular and gallant officer. Sir Colin now took command of the column, which numbered 7,000 men, with nineteen guns, and on the 5th May, defeated the enemy at Bareilly. The battle lasted for six hours, and was fiercely contested, but the enemy retired, and on the following day, the city was occupied, Brigadier Jones acting in co-operation from the north side. Meantime the Moulvie attacked Shahjehanpore, which was relieved by Jones's column, but the combined force was too weak to take the offensive until Sir Colin Campbell (now Lord Clyde) arrived, when the Moulvie retired into Oude, and Rohilcund was freed from the rebels.

Oude was still filled with bands of mutineers, and Sir Hope Grant had his hands full in dealing with the Moulvie and Beni Madhoo, a notorious leader, until October, when the Commander-in-chief took the field, and before the end of December, the southern frontier of Oude, between the Gogra and Ganges, was cleared of the enemy. He then moved northwards, and making a forced march all night on the last day of the year, surprised Beni Madhoo at Bankee, and slaughtered his followers as they strove to cross the Raptee. The pursuit of the broken rebel forces was continued right up to the Terai, on the frontier of Nepaul, and on the 20th May, 1859, at the Jerwah Pass, the last of the rebel columns, numbering 2,000 men, under Bala Rao, with whom was

* This rebel chief must not be confounded with his namesake of Oude. His strong fortress of Powrie, twenty miles from Sepree, was captured by Brigadier-General Robert Napier in August, 1858, after a siege of forty-eight hours.

his brother, Nana Sahib, was dispersed, and the operations of the Great Mutiny, extending over two years, were brought to an end.*

During these protracted operations, the British army had displayed a gallantry beyond praise, and an endurance almost unparalleled, when it is considered that they made forced marches and fought battles under the scorching sun of an Indian summer, when Europeans do not even venture out of doors. Especially is this true of Havelock's campaign, of the siege of Delhi, and of the Central India campaign, while the endurance and marching powers of the British soldier received, perhaps, the most marked illustration. The prowess of our troops raised the drooping prestige of the British army throughout the world, and the lesson had a terrible significance throughout the length and breadth of India for the subject races.

* On the conclusion of hostilities, Sir Hugh Rose and Sir Colin Campbell were raised to the peerage, with the titles of Lords Strathnairn and Clyde, and received the bâton of Field-Marshal, and Sir James Outram was created a baronet, with pensions in each case. The two latter did not long enjoy their well-merited honours. Outram died in 1863, and Lord Clyde in the following year, and both were interred in Westminster Abbey. Memoirs of these gallant generals, and of Lords Gough and Napier of Magdala, and others, may be found in "Soldiers of the Victorian Age," by C. R. Low. Two vols. 1880. (Chapman and Hall.)

CHAPTER XXIV.

OUR COLONIAL AND "LITTLE" WARS.

1840—1874.

The China Wars of 1840–42, and 1860—Storming of the Taku Forts and Occupation of Pekin—Our South African Wars—The Campaigns of 1819, of 1835, and of 1846–47—Defeat of the Boers at Boemplatts—The Kaffir War of 1851–53—Loss of the *Birkenhead*—Our New Zealand Wars in 1844–46, and 1864–66—Capture of Kawiti's Pah—Repulse at the "Gate Pah"—The Abyssinian Campaign—Action at Arogie and Capture of Magdala—The Red River Expedition—The Ashantee War of 1873–74—Actions of Amoaful and Ordahsu—Occupation of Coomassie.

It would be impossible, within the compass of this work, to detail the numerous "little wars" waged by England in our colonies, such as South Africa, where we have been engaged in about a dozen distinct campaigns; in New Zealand, where we carried on several Maori wars, including those of 1844–46 and 1864–66; in the Straits Settlements and various other dependencies. We can only give a brief record of some of the most important of these.

In the year 1840, we found ourselves embroiled, for the first time, in hostilities with the Celestial empire. Throughout this and our subsequent wars with China, the Chinese soldiers made a contemptible resistance to our troops. According to some authorities this was due to a lack of martial qualities inherent in the race, though, as the great Gordon infused some of his own daring spirit into his levies, this pusillanimity is more probably owing to bad leadership and want of discipline, as the Chinese meet death with a stolidity marvellous to the European mind, and the Tartar horsemen have always borne a reputation for bravery, which, however, in 1860, they failed to display in the encounter with the British and Sikh cavalry.

A force was despatched to China in 1840, and on the 26th February following, the Bogue Forts, on either side of the Bocca Tigris, commanding the route to Canton, were captured by the British naval and military forces. On the 2nd May, Sir Hugh Gough, then serving in India, arrived in the Canton river and assumed command of the troops, and on the 23rd, the attack was commenced on Canton by two columns,

including the 18th, 26th and 49th regiments, supported by a naval brigade from the Royal and Indian navies. On the following day, the fourth anniversary of the Queen's accession, the forts, mounting forty-nine guns, commanding the city, and the Chinese camp were captured, and the Mandarins capitulated, paying an indemnity of seven million dollars. The loss experienced was fourteen killed and ninety-one wounded.

The next operation was the capture of Amoy on the 26th August, but the strong forts surrendered without firing a shot. Thence the expedition proceeded to the Chusan group of islands. The troops were landed on the 1st October, and, supported by the fire of the fleet, drove the Chinese from their defences at Tinghae. The troops were re-embarked and proceeded to Chinghae, a city enclosed by a wall, and commanded by a strong citadel, mounting twenty-one guns. Some batteries were first occupied after a slight resistance, and when the walls of the citadel were breached, it was carried by the sailors and marines, who escaladed the walls of the city. Taking with him only 750 bayonets, Sir Hugh Gough, on 13th October, proceeded up the river, a distance of fifteen miles, and carried by assault the great city of Ningpoo. There was a lull in the operations for some months, but on the 10th March, the Chinese attempted to recapture Ningpoo and Chinghae, but were repulsed with loss, and taking the initiative, General Gough attacked and drove them out of their camp. The former place was evacuated on the 7th May, and an attack was made on the city of Chapoo, which was captured by a combined movement of the army, led by the General, on the east side, and the naval brigade on the west.

While lying off Chapoo, reinforcements arrived from England, including the 98th regiment, commanded by Colonel Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde. On the 28th May the fleet sailed for the Yangtse-Kiang, and proceeded up the river to its junction with the Woosung, where the enemy had erected extensive works. These were bombarded on the 16th June, when the troops and naval brigade landed and captured the batteries, mounting 250 guns, after a feeble resistance. The fleet, consisting of 73 sail, now advanced up the Yangtse, a distance of 170 miles, and on the 20th July, arrived off Chin-Kiangfoo, where, on the following day, the troops were disembarked in three brigades.

Lord Saltoun, on the right, captured an entrenched camp, and soon after General Schoedde escaladed the walls and carried the inner gateway, while Sir Hugh Gough advanced with the centre column against the south gate, which was blown in and the city entered. The city was found to be deserted by the inhabitants, and hundreds of dead bodies were discovered in the houses, the men having committed suicide after strangling their wives and children. The British loss was 185 in these operations.

Sir Hugh now pushed on for Nankin, said to contain a million souls,

but when all preparations were ready to bombard the city, the Emperor of China and his advisers came to town, and a truce was signed on the 20th August, which was succeeded by a treaty, by which the Chinese government agreed to pay an indemnity of twenty-one millions of dollars, ceded the island of Hong Kong, and opened to trade the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpoo and Shanghai.

We were not again engaged in hostilities with China until 1856–1857, when, owing to the Indian Mutiny, the troops despatched from England were diverted to Calcutta, though in the following year a small army of British and Bengal troops was engaged, under General Van Straubenzee, in capturing the city of Canton. But the Chinese violated the terms of the treaty, and repulsed with heavy loss the ships seeking to pass the Taku forts.

Early in 1860, 13,000 men, exclusive of a garrison of 5,000 at Hong-Kong, were despatched from India, under the command of Sir Hope Grant, with Generals Napier and Michel as the divisional commanders, and a French army of 6,700, men under General Montauban, acted in co-operation. A landing was effected without opposition by the allied forces at Pehtang, in the gulf of Pechili, on the 31st July, and on the 12th August, the whole force moved from the town to attack the cavalry camp and fortified works fronting Sinho. While Napier's division, with a cavalry brigade, including a detachment of the 1st Dragoon Guards, moved to the right, through some very heavy ground, Michel's division and the French column marched along the high road. The Tartar horsemen charged the cavalry, but Lieutenant (the late General Sir Charles) Macgregor repulsed them with Fane's Horse, receiving four wounds in the *mêlée*. The allied artillery now opened fire to the left, and the first line of entrenchments was carried by the infantry, which advanced and captured the second line and the town of Sinho. After bridging the canals, Michel's division and our allies, with twenty-four British and twelve French guns, advanced against the enemy's entrenched position at Tangkoo, which was stormed after being subjected to heavy artillery fire.

The most important military event of the campaign was the capture of the Taku forts, which was entrusted to Sir Robert Napier's division. On the morning of the 21st August, nineteen British and four French siege guns and mortars opened fire on the great north fort, and at seven in the evening, the storming columns, consisting of the 44th and 67th regiments, advanced towards the gate of the canal in the rear face of the fort, while the French attacked at a point where an angle of the work rested on the river's bank. Owing to the pontoon bridge being rendered useless by a shot, the soldiers had to wade across or swim the muddy ditch under a heavy fire; the first to do this and force their way within the gate being Lieutenants (afterwards General) Rogers

of the 44th, and Burslem of the 67th, with some men of their regiments, and Ensign Chaplin planted the British colours on the top of the parapet, immediately after the French, who had less difficulties to contend with. The enemy's fire was very heavy, and Sir Robert Napier bore a charmed life. A bullet knocked his binocular out of his hand, and another ripped open his boot. Brigadier Reeves was wounded in four places, and Napier's aide-de-camp was shot through the thigh.

The other forts on both banks of the Peiho surrendered without firing a shot, confirming Napier's opinion, in opposition to that of General Montauban, who was in favour of the advance being made on the south side. The British loss was seventeen killed and 184 wounded, including twenty-three officers, and that of our allies, about 130.

Leaving Napier's division in the rear, the allied commanders continued their advance on Pekin, and at Chang-kia-wan, on the 18th September, while Chinese commissioners were treacherously pretending to negotiate, found themselves in presence of an army of 20,000 men, whom they attacked, driving them from their field-works. On the 21st the allies gained another victory over the enemy, and Sir Hope Grant would have pushed on to Pekin but that he was unprovided with breaching-guns. By the 3rd October these and Napier's division had arrived, when the allied army advanced close to the walls of the capital. The French, however, diverged to the famous Summer Palace, which they sacked of its priceless contents, and it was not until the 9th, that they took up their position on the British left. A summons was sent to Prince Kung for the surrender of the city, and it was not until a few minutes before noon of the 13th, when the allied batteries were on the point of opening fire, that the Anting gate was thrown open, and the Union Jack and Tricolour floated side by side on the walls of the most ancient empire in the world. A demand for the payment of an indemnity of £100,000 for the families of some murdered prisoners was also conceded; the Summer Palace was destroyed by fire, and the old treaty of Tientsin was ratified. The latest of our wars with China was thus brought to a successful termination, and the allied army set its face for the return march to its ships.

The Kaffir Wars.

The wars which this country has waged in South Africa have been numerous. They have in every instance been arduous, and though the results have been advantageous to the colonists, in the acquisition of large accessions of territory, little glory has been attained by the troops in coercing ill-armed savages, however brave.

In 1819 Colonel Willshire, the conqueror of Khelat in the first Afghan War, with 250 men including a detachment of his regiment, the 38th, defeated an attack on the frontier station of Grahamstown, made by Gaika, the Kaffir chief. Willshire now carried the war into the enemy's country, and in September the chiefs were compelled to sue for peace. The boundary of the Cape Colony was extended to the Keiskamma river, the country between which and the Fish river being regarded as neutral territory. In April, 1835, hostilities again broke out, one of the causes being the expulsion beyond the Keiskamma river, of Macoma, a son of the late Gaika, by Colonel Wade, acting Governor, the said Macoma having been authorized to reside within the boundary by Sir Lowry Cole. Kaffraria was invaded by a British force, including the Seaforth and Gordon Highlanders, divided into four columns, one being accompanied by the Governor, Sir Benjamin d'Urban, who annexed the country as far as the Kei river. Hostilities lasted for four months, when peace was concluded with the Kaffir tribes at Fort Willshire.

The next war was in 1846, and the scene of the operations was in the country beyond the Kei river, on the same ground as was fought over thirty years later by Sir Arthur Cunninghame and Lord Chelmsford. The names of the Kaffir chiefs were the same—Kreli and Sandili, the latter being the son of Gaika, with whom the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, negotiated in 1819. The general in command in 1846 was Sir George Berkeley, who was succeeded in December by Sir Harry Smith, the hero of Aliwal. The army was divided into three brigades, under Colonels Campbell, Somerset, and Buller (afterwards Sir George Buller), and the operations were of the usual desultory character, with wet bivouacs, long marches, and hard fare as the chief incidents. The troops, some 1,600 men, in two divisions, under Colonels Richardson and Somerset, entered Kaffraria in April, and on the 16th, an attack was made on the enemy in the Amatola mountains. The Kaffirs fought well, and the bayonet was freely used by the 91st regiment, who were surrounded. After gaining the summit of the pass the force retreated, closely beset by the enemy, who lost 300 killed and 1,800 head of cattle. Encouraged by this affair and by an attack made on the baggage-guard at Burn's hill, the Kaffirs invaded the colony and attacked several outposts, but were repulsed in every instance, and on the 15th June, a column, under Colonel Hare, traversed the Amatola range, without meeting with opposition. There was much desultory fighting, in which the enemy suffered severely, and on the 17th September, the chief Macoma sued for terms, but the operations were not brought to a conclusion until the 19th October, when the great chief, Sandili, surrendered to the British authorities

But a new enemy appeared in the Dutch Boers, those formidable sharpshooters of whom our troops, when properly led, made short work in the ensuing campaign. Some 2,500 or 3,000 of these sturdy farmers, under Pretorius, assembled beyond the Orange river, and in July, 1848, the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, accompanied by Colonel Buller, marched to encounter them with a column consisting of two companies each from the Rifle Brigade and the 45th and 91st regiments, 500 men, with two squadrons of the Cape Mounted Rifles, and two guns.

Crossing the Orange river on pontoons, the column made marches of twenty miles on the 27th and 28th August, and on the following day, after a march of ten miles, breakfasted, and then made a further march of twelve miles across the plain, at the further end of which the Boers had taken up a strong position on the side of a range of low, rocky hills rising in terraces, and strengthened with a stone breastwork. The Cape Corps attempted to turn the position, but were driven back by a heavy fire, when the riflemen and 45th, in extended order, advanced and drove the enemy at the point of the bayonet from all three terraces, after two hours' hard fighting. The 91st remained with the guns till the Boers advanced to turn their left and attack the guns and waggons, when the Highlanders charged with fixed bayonets, and drove the enemy away in the greatest confusion. The Boers then took up a position behind a kraal, but the guns drove them out with grape and shrapnel, and the pursuit was kept up for about eleven miles, until the troops were thoroughly exhausted, having marched thirty-three miles, and fought a smart action. But they had only a short rest, and an hour after midnight pushed on rapidly after the Boers.

Advancing through Welman's Pass, with skirmishers on either side of the hills, they halted for the night, and continuing the pursuit, arrived, on the 2nd September, at Bloemfontein, the capital of what is now known as the Orange Free State. At daybreak on the 4th, Sir Harry Smith pushed on for Weinberg, on the Vaal river, where he arrived on the 7th. Here the Boers made their submission, and the troops remained in garrison until the 15th October, when they returned to Grahamstown and King William's Town. In this admirably-conducted expedition, the troops marched nearly 1,200 miles, and crossed many difficult rivers. They received the thanks of the gallant commander, who, in a letter to a friend in England, speaking of the action of the 29th August, in which the British loss was nearly forty officers and men, among the number being Colonel Buller severely wounded, said, "this outburst of rebels has cost as smart an officer as I ever witnessed."

Before the close of 1850 the Kaffirs again made an irruption into British territory, and the troops took the field, organized in two divisions, under General Somerset and Colonel Eyre, who was killed

before Sebastopol. On the 29th December a detachment of 150 men of the 91st was compelled to retire before the enemy, leaving two officers and twenty men dead, and nineteen officers and men wounded; but the retreat to Fort Hare was effected in good order, and the detachment received the thanks of the Commander-in-chief. On the 7th July, 1851, the Kaffirs were beaten off with heavy loss in an attempt to capture Fort Beaufort, and again on the 24th, the 91st, under Colonel Yarborough, repulsed an attack of about 6,000 of the enemy made on Fort Hare. General Somerset's division was engaged with the enemy on the old battle-ground, the Amatola Mountains, in June, and on the 2nd July, the Kaffirs were defeated and driven with considerable loss from their numerous strong positions in the passes. Between the 13th October and 7th November, brigades of the division, under Colonels Mitchell and Fordyce, were engaged in arduous operations in the ravines of the almost inaccessible Waterkloof. Early in 1852 reinforcements arrived from England, including Colonel Buller's battalion of the Rifle Brigade and the 43rd Light Infantry. This year was marked by a memorable incident, which forms one of the most glorious episodes in the history of the British soldier.

At 2 A.M. on the 26th February, the steam troopship *Birkenhead*, with 631 souls on board, including her crew of 132 men, the rest being soldiers and their families, suddenly struck on a sunken rock between Simon's Bay and East London. The troops consisted of detachments from several regiments, but at the word of command from the senior officer, Colonel Seton, of the 74th Highlanders, they fell in on the quarter deck, some being told off to work the pumps, and others to assist the sailors in lowering the boats, into which the women and children were passed. In about ten minutes after she struck the ill-fated ship broke in two, and soon disappeared beneath the waves. But never did discipline receive a more remarkable illustration of its power to triumph over the natural instinct of self-preservation, even when death was the alternative. As the ship took her last plunge, the officers shook hands and bade each other farewell, and the men stood unmurmuring in their ranks. Those who could swim struck out for the shore, but few reached it, and those who eluded the sharks which swarmed round the ship, were dashed to pieces on the rocks of the rugged coast near Point Danger. Of 631 souls, 438 perished, including Colonel Seton and Captain Salmond, commanding the ship, and 193 people, including every woman and child, were saved. A monument to the memory of the gallant dead in Chelsea Hospital records an unique instance of heroic constancy and military discipline.*

* The Emperor William I., of Germany, then Commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, was so struck with this remarkable incident, that he held a parade of the garrison of Berlin, to whom he read out the official despatch.

Early in 1852, the troops were engaged in the Amatola Mountains, and in March in the Waterkloof. There was severe fighting on the 4th March, and again on the 10th, when Colonel Napier, with the 74th and 91st Highlanders, and some native levies, defeated the enemy. Strong columns were engaged for many months, under Colonel Eyre and General Somerset, in clearing the Amatola Mountains and the inaccessible recesses of the Waterkloof, and across the Kei river against the chief Kreli. In September, 1852, Sir George Cathcart, who fell at Inkerman, successor to Sir Harry Smith as Governor and Commander-in-chief, undertook a combined movement to clear the Waterkloof of Macomo, the Gaika chief, and his followers. His force numbered 3,000 men, including the 73rd, 74th, and 91st Highlanders, Rifle Brigade, and 43rd L.I., with four guns, Colonel Buller now commanding General Somerset's division, his regiment being under Major (afterwards Sir Alfred) Horsford. On the 15th September the columns moved to the attack, and during that and the two following days, were engaged in clearing the forests and breastworks of the enemy, who were finally expelled from the Waterkloof. The operations had been conducted by the detachments simultaneously entering the forest and working towards a common centre, while others pushed on through the bush to crown the heights. More difficult ground could not be found, as the forest was very dense, interspersed with pitfalls and decayed vegetation, and the paths were very narrow, rocky, and precipitous.

Early in November, 1852, Sir George Cathcart, with a strong force, proceeded into Basutoland to chastise the chief Moshesh. On the 20th December took place what is known in colonial history as the battle of Berea, when the British forces, consisting of one division of cavalry (including the 12th Lancers) and two of infantry. under Colonels Eyre and Macduff, inflicted a severe defeat on Moshesh, who sued for peace. This concluded the Kaffir War of 1850–53, which, like its predecessors, was a hard and discouraging service against a cowardly and cruel foe, and consisted mainly of weary marches, unavailing pursuits and inglorious skirmishes.

The Maori Wars.

Our campaigns against the Maoris of New Zealand were not an unmixed success, and these savages were brave and honourable enemies, and, unlike the Kaffirs, neither murdered nor tortured the wounded, or mutilated the dead. In 1845–46 there were military operations of

a desultory character against the famous chief, Kawiti, the most important event of which was the capture of his great "pah," or stronghold. A force, under Colonel Despard, 99th regiment, concentrated at the Bay of Islands, on the Northern Island, to chastise this chief and Heki, who had hitherto defeated all attempts to reduce them. On the 10th December the march inland commenced. The greater portion of the force proceeded by boats, and a detachment by land, and as there were no roads, very great difficulty was experienced in transporting the heavy guns and stores. By the 28th December, there was concentrated before the pah the entire force, numbering sixty-eight officers, 1,110 men, 450 native allies, with eleven guns and mortars.* A stockade, with a breaching battery, was erected on the 1st January, 1846, for two 32-pounders, from the Honourable Company's ship *Elphinstone*—which had been brought up with great labour, and dragged a distance of eighteen miles—and two mortars, the other mortars being placed in another battery in rear. On the following day the Maoris attempted to capture the stockade, but were repulsed, and a third battery for a gun and howitzer was constructed to bear on the pah, also protected by a stockade. As soon as these were completed the face of the pah was rendered bare by cutting down the trees, and the batteries opened fire on the 9th January. Early on the following morning, the pah was stormed, the enemy offering a strenuous resistance, and they even attempted to retake the work.† "We had thus gained," says Colonel Despard, "in little more than twenty-four hours, the strongest fort which the New Zealanders had ever erected, and one which the natives throughout the whole colony hoped and expected would have resisted our utmost efforts." The British loss was twelve killed and thirty wounded, but the success achieved was great, and Kawiti and Heki, who were both present in the pah, sued for peace to the Governor, Sir George Grey, who had witnessed the operations. This exploit concluded the war, which had dragged along since 1844.

* The column consisted of 19 officers and 543 men, 58th Regiment; 6 officers and 150 men, 99th Regiment; 3 officers and 80 men, Royal Marines; 28 officers and 205 men from H.M.S. *North Star*, *Racehorse*, and *Osprey*; 4 officers and 60 seamen, and 15 Bombay artillerymen (acting as Marines) from the Honourable East India Company's ship *Elphinstone*, with two field-pieces, and two 32-pounders from that ship; and 42 Volunteers from Auckland.

† A plan of this pah, prepared by Captain Marlow, R.E., and Lieutenant Leeds of the *Elphinstone*, appears in Vol. III. of the New Series of Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers. The pah was about 120 yards by 70 yards, and consisted of two rows of palisades, 3 feet apart, 12 to 20 inches in diameter, and 15 feet high. Inside these rows was a ditch 4 feet deep, and there was an inner parapet, and each hut was surrounded with a palisade and parapet. This was a good specimen of the defensive work of these savages, which cost our troops such heavy loss in 1864.

In 1863, hostilities again broke out in New Zealand, and large reinforcements were sent to the colony. On the 21st February, in the following year, the pah known as Rangiawhia, was carried by assault, and there was more desultory fighting. But the most notable event was the unsuccessful attempt to capture the famous "Gate Pah," a strong work, constructed on the highest point of a neck of land, a quarter of a mile wide, the sides of which rested on swamps, with an entrenched line of rifle pits. General Duncan Cameron assembled, by the 28th April, a force of seventy-nine officers and 1,615 men* with fifteen pieces of ordnance. The 68th regiment took up a position before daylight in rear of the enemy, and soon after, the guns and mortars opened fire and continued the bombardment until 4 P.M., when a practicable breach was made. A column, consisting of 150 men of the 43rd L.I., under Colonel Booth, and an equal number of the Naval Brigade, led by Commander Hay, of H.M.S. *Harrier*, now advanced to the assault, the remainder of the 43rd and seamen and marines following as a reserve. The breach was gained and an entrance effected into the main work, where a fierce conflict ensued, in which Colonel Booth and Commander Hay both fell mortally wounded, and in a few minutes almost every officer was killed or disabled. The men, confused by the intricate nature of the interior defences, suddenly gave way to panic, and fled from the work. As darkness was setting in, the General resolved to defer a renewal of the assault until the following day, but the Maoris evacuated the pah during the night, passing unobserved through the lines of the 68th regiment. The troops lost in this disastrous affair seven officers and sixteen men killed, and two officers and forty-five men wounded. The Naval Brigade had four officers and forty men killed and wounded.

The Maoris, about 600 in number, took up an entrenched position about four miles from the "Gate Pah," and on the 21st June, Colonel Greer, commanding at Tauranga, moved to drive them out with a force of twenty-six officers and 568 men, further increased by a reinforcement of 250. The 43rd and 68th carried the rifle pits, at the point of the bayonet, in the most gallant style, but the Maoris fought with desperation and left 107 of their number dead, including the chief who commanded at the "Gate Pah." The operations that now ensued were of a desultory character, though the fighting was often severe; and on the 24th May, 1865, the Maoris even took the offensive, and attacked the camp at Nukumaru, where Colonel Weare commanded a force of 1,200 men, but suffered a repulse. An advance was made into the enemy's country, and a movable column opened the road to Taranaki,

* The troops consisted of the 43rd Light Infantry, 293 officers and men; the 68th Light Infantry, 731; the Naval Brigade, 429. Other regiments, 181.

and at length, in 1866, the Maoris, wearied out by successive defeats, sued for peace.*

The Abyssinian Expedition.

Scarcely had the British army been withdrawn from this distant colony than it was engaged in the land of the mysterious "Prester John," a country into which only the most adventurous European travellers had penetrated. In October, 1867, this country was involved in war with Theodore, "Negus," or Emperor, of Abyssinia, who styled himself "King of Kings." The campaign, though almost bloodless, was remarkable for the vigour and ability with which it was conducted, no less than for the unexampled difficulties encountered by the army of invasion. As in the case of the Ashantee expedition, the information regarding the country at the disposal of the authorities was found to be singularly defective. The commanding general, Sir Robert Napier, an officer of the old Bengal Engineers, had earned great distinction by his military services as Chief Engineer at the siege of Mooltan. In the Indian Mutiny he was Chief of the Staff to Sir James Outram, and commanded a brigade at Lucknow and Gwalior, and in China led the division which captured the Taku Forts.

Owing to the enormous difficulties of the route to Magdala, the almost impregnable rock-fortress of Theodore, the campaign resolved itself into a struggle with the forces of nature, in which the Engineer officer came off triumphant. Every difficulty was foreseen and overcome by the sagacious commander, who conciliated the people while resolutely prosecuting his purpose of penetrating 400 miles over a mountainous country and through rocky defiles to the fastness of the savage African potentate. All this was accomplished and the line of communications kept open by an army of only 10,800 soldiers.

The following in brief was the *casus belli*:—In 1861 Captain Cameron had been appointed Consul in Abyssinia, in succession to Mr. Plowden,

* At the time of this, the most important of our wars with the Maories, there were no less than 10,336 British soldiers in Australia and New Zealand, but after the conclusion of peace, the numbers were rapidly but gradually reduced. In 1868 there were only 1,900, and during the two following years, the troops were finally withdrawn from the Antipodes, in accordance with a despatch to these Colonies from Earl Granville, dated 19th May, 1870, stating the resolve of the Government, and offering the Colonists British officers to organize their defensive forces. In 1889 the Australian colonies possessed local military forces numbering 1,593 officers, 28,419 infantry, 2,475 horses, and 107 field guns. The British Government continued to provide for the naval defences of Australia, which pays an annual subsidy.

who had been murdered, for whom Theodore entertained a great regard. That monarch addressed a letter to Queen Victoria, soliciting the friendship of England, which, by some oversight, Lord Russell, the Foreign Minister, neglected to answer. This, with a journey made by Captain Cameron to the frontier province of Bogos, so incensed Theodore that he seized the Consul and other Europeans, including some missionaries. Lord Russell then made the further mistake of sending as head of a mission to conciliate Theodore, instead of a British officer of rank, a Chaldee Christian, who was assistant to the Political Agent at Aden. The tyrant, irate at what he regarded as a further indignity, threw the members of the mission into prison, upon which the British Government resolved to chastise the tyrant, who, on hearing of the contemplated despatch of an army, replied, "Let them come on, and call me a woman if I don't beat them."

In October, 1867, a pioneer force, under General Merewether, landed at Zoolla, in Annesley Bay, and pushed on to Senafe, and other troops, chiefly from Bombay, quickly followed. On the 3rd January, 1868, Sir Robert Napier arrived and assumed command, and a railway having been laid to Komaylee, roads constructed over the passes, and mule transport assembled, the army pushed on by stages, keeping open the communication with the sea coast, and establishing depôts as it proceeded into the interior.*

Having made his final preparations, and reduced the baggage and camp equipage, so that only one tent was allowed to every twelve officers or twenty men, on the 23rd March, Napier advanced from Lat with one division to make his swoop upon Magdala. Only fifteen days' rations were taken for the force, which included the 3rd Dragoon Guards, the 4th, 33rd and 45th regiments of the British army and some artillery. Every soldier carried 55lbs. weight, and the marching over the narrow mountain paths, with a precipice and forest on either

* The most prominent of the chiefs providing supplies to the British army was Prince Kasai, of Tigre, who succeeded, after Theodore's death and our withdrawing from Abyssinia, in establishing his own authority throughout the country, which he ruled for twenty years under the title of King Johannes. He was a man of energy and capacity, but his success was partially due to the four guns and one thousand stand of arms presented to him by Sir Robert Napier. Johannes prosecuted with success a war with Egypt, for the provinces of Bogos and Hamacem. In 1876 he won a great victory, in which 10,000 Egyptians were said to have been slain, and in the following year he subjected Menelek, King of Shoa. Episodes interesting to Englishmen in the reign of Johannes were the missions of General Gordon, on behalf of the Khedive of Egypt, and of Admiral Sir William Hewett, from the British Government, though neither were productive of any permanent result. His rival, Menelek, King of Shoa, allied himself with the Italians, on their occupying Massowah with the goodwill of England, and on King Johannes dying of his wounds, on the 11th March, 1889, the day after his decisive defeat by the Dervishes of the Soudan, made good his succession to the throne.

hand, was very fatiguing. Sometimes the men had to pass the night drenched to the skin, but there was no murmuring.

On the 9th April, Sir Charles Staveley's division, numbering 3,460 men, was concentrated in front of Magdala, which stands on the eastern end of a plateau, 9,150 feet in height, Fahla, where Theodore had planted some guns, being on the western extremity, while midway between the two rises the peak of Selassie, which is connected with Magdala by the saddle of Islamgie, and with Fahla by a saddle of the same name. From the foot of the latter the river Arogie runs down to the Bashilo. The sides of Magdala were scarped and steep, but at two points they rested on terraces, where an entrance could be effected through gates.

At daybreak on the 10th April, Napier crossed the Bashilo with his whole force, with the object of occupying the spur of Fahla, which was the key of the position. As the mules carrying the British screw guns issued from the pass of Arogie, the Abyssinians, some 7,000 strong, rushed down the sides of Fahla, while Theodore directed his artillery fire on the 23rd Pioneers, forming the head of the British column. Regardless of the rocket practice of the Naval Brigade, the enemy advanced, while the 4th Foot, supported by the 27th Beloochees, rapidly descended the steep path to encounter them. Soon the deadly fire of the breech-loaders began to tell, and the Abyssinians retired by the wooded height of Fahla, or into the ravines at the entrance of the defile. At the same time the Pioneers and Milward's battery repulsed a spirited attack at the Arogie valley, and the baggage-guard were also engaged. In this action the enemy lost 700 killed, including Theodore's bravest general, and 1,200 wounded, the British casualties being only twenty wounded.

Some negotiations ensued, but Napier insisted on his unconditional submission and the surrender of the captives. Theodore consented to the latter demand, but his overweening pride rebelled against the former proposal. Driven to bay, and finding all escape cut off by the native allies posted round his mountain fortress, the tyrant, who, to do him justice, displayed, in this supreme hour of his fate, a right royal courage, resolved, like Macbeth, "to fight the course." On Easter Monday, the 13th April, after a brief bombardment, the stronghold of Magdala was stormed in the most gallant manner by six companies of the 33rd regiment, led by Major Cooper, followed by the remaining four companies and three companies of Madras and Bombay Sappers. In support was the 45th regiment, and the 1st brigade formed the reserve, but their services were not needed. When the fortress was entered Theodore was found dead near the gate with a grim smile on his sinister face, as though of triumph at having escaped the indignity of falling alive into the hands of his enemies. True to his character,

his last act, before taking his life, was to direct the butchery of 300 native captives. On the 17th April the defences of Magdala were blown up, and the palace and other houses committed to the flames, and on the following day, the army set out on its return to Zoolla, where it arrived without opposition.

For his services Sir Robert Napier was raised to the peerage with a pension of £2,000 a year for two lives, and few generals have better merited the honour, or been more beloved by all ranks of the army. The cost of the expedition was nine millions, and though the burden to the British tax-payer was heavy, the result was not incommensurate, for it greatly increased our prestige not only in Asia and Africa, but throughout Europe, the chief military powers of which delegated attachés to report to their respective governments, while to this day the name of England stands high in Abyssinia.*

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The Red River Expedition.

In 1870, while the eyes of the civilized world were riveted on the tremendous struggle in progress between Germany and France, a British colonel of infantry was successfully conducting an expedition through a trackless wilderness to an obscure portion of the wild North-West, in the vast Canadian Dominion. The Red River expedition was the means of bringing to the front an officer, who may be regarded as perhaps the most remarkable and successful general the British army has produced since Wellington. There have been good soldiers and true

* In an address to the army, the victorious general said :—"You have traversed, often under a tropical sun, or amidst storms of rain and sleet, 400 miles of mountainous and difficult country. You have crossed many steep and precipitous ranges of mountains, more than 10,000 feet in altitude, when your supplies could not keep pace with you. When you arrived within reach of your enemy, though with scanty food, and some of you for many hours without either food or water, in four days you passed the formidable chasm of the Bashilo, and defeated the army of Theodore, which poured down upon you from their lofty fortress, in the full confidence of victory. You have released not only British captives, but those of other friendly nations. You have unloosed the chains of more than ninety of the principal chiefs of Abyssinia. Indian soldiers have forgotten the prejudice of race and creed to keep pace with their European comrades. The remembrance of your privations will pass away quickly, but your gallant exploit will live in history." Lord Napier succeeded Lord Strathnairn as Commander-in-chief in India, and was raised to the rank of Field-Marshal, and appointed Constable of the Tower. He survived to his eightieth year, and received the honour of a public funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral. Those who witnessed the impressive ceremony on the 21st January, 1890 (as did the author, who was likewise present at the funerals of Sir James Outram and Sir George Pollock in Westminster Abbey), will not soon forget the scene.

in this Victorian age, as the two Napiers, Clyde, Strathnairn and Roberts, but Wolseley not only possessed in a special degree genius for war, and a rare administrative faculty, but had the distinction of forming a school of followers. A soldier who claimed as his disciples such men as Evelyn Wood, Herbert Stewart, Brackenbury, Butler, Earle, Baker Russell and Redvers Buller, and ranked among his admirers a born leader of men, like the great Gordon, such an one must be gifted with many of the attributes of a great commander.

In the Red River campaign Wolseley led a force of over 1,200 British and Canadian soldiers, and 400 voyageurs, through a trackless wilderness, without any transport animals, but only manual labour, and across lakes and rivers with rapids not less difficult than those of the Nile, and requiring equal skill for their passage. The objective point of the expedition was Fort Garry, situated close to Winnipeg, then (we are speaking of the year 1870) a village of fifty houses on the left bank of the Red River. Almost insuperable were the difficulties involved in transporting a large armed force, with all the *matériel* of war, a distance of 600 miles, through rivers and lakes, and over no less than forty-seven "portages"—a word applied to the breaks in the navigation between two lakes or between a river and a lake—across which everything had to be "portaged," or carried on men's backs, a necessity which caused a most serious addition to the labour of the route, as the portages varied in length from 20 yards to 1½ miles. Of the entire distance of 600 miles, 48 only—that from Thunder Bay to Lake Shebandowan—was by land transport over a road only partially constructed. From Lake Shebandowan to Lake of the Woods was a distance of 310 miles, by rivers and lakes, with about seventeen portages, and from thence to Fort Garry the route lay by the Winnipeg River, the navigation of which was known to be so difficult and dangerous that none but experienced guides could attempt it. There were about thirty portages in this last portion of the route, the distance to Fort Garry being 260 miles.

Throughout this arduous advance, the first to rise in the morning, at daybreak, and rouse his men by his cheery voice, was the leader, Colonel Wolseley, who, when affairs looked their blackest, and a successful termination of the march appeared to all others an impossibility, never lost hope or wavered in his determination to accomplish his task. Fort Garry was reached, but the little army had the bitter disappointment to find that Riel had fled from the place across the United States frontier, sixty miles distant.* The escape of this rebel French half-

* In his General Order to his troops at Fort Garry, Colonel Wolseley said:—"You have endured excessive fatigue in the performance of a service that, for its arduous nature, can bear comparison with any previous military expedition. In coming here from Prince Arthur's Landing, you have traversed a distance of upwards of 600 miles. Your labours began with road-making and the construction of defensive

breed bore serious consequences, for after fifteen years, he again roused his ignorant compatriots to rebellion, and this time, having remained to meet General Middleton's gallant Canadian militiamen in open fight, not only suffered a signal defeat, but capture and death at the hands of the public executioner.

To the young, and almost unknown, leader of the unique, though bloodless, campaign of 1870, was chiefly due the success which crowned the unparalleled exertions of the small force in surmounting difficulties which would have daunted a less energetic and experienced soldier. But Wolseley had profited by the lessons he had learned in the trenches of Sebastopol, at the Relief and Siege of Lucknow, and throughout the arduous operations in Oude, at the Taku Forts, and on the advance from the sea to Pekin. For his years there was no such experienced officer in the British army. For him difficulties, whether physical or military, whether due to climate or transport, or any other cause, were only fresh incentives to increased exertion. To him might justly be applied the words spoken of Coriolanus :—

> "The blood he hath lost,
> Which I dare vouch is more than he hath
> By many an ounce, he dropp'd it for his country."

In Burmah he nearly bled to death of a very dangerous wound, and at Sebastopol he was thrice wounded (once severely), while his hair-breadth escapes in "the imminent, deadly breach" and in the field were as many as those of Othello. To a knowledge of war, derived from experience in many climes and under every condition, he brought a natural aptitude which we call genius, while to all was added a familiarity with the lives of the great masters of the art, the result of close study.

works; then followed the arduous duty of taking the boats up a height of 800 feet, along fifty miles of river full of rapids, and where portages were numerous. From the time you left Shebandowan Lake until Fort Garry was reached, your labour at the oar has been incessant from daybreak to dark every day. Forty-seven portages were got over, entailing the unparalleled exertion of carrying the boats, guns, ammunition, stores, and provisions over a total distance of seven miles. It may be said that the whole journey has been made through a wilderness, where, as there were no supplies of any sort whatever to be had, everything had to be taken with you in the boats. I have throughout viewed with pleasure the manner in which officers have vied with their men in carrying heavy loads. It has rained upon forty-five days out of the ninety-five that have passed since we landed at Thunder Bay, and upon many occasions every man has been wet through for days together. There has not been the slightest murmur of discontent heard from any one. It may be confidently asserted that no force has ever had to endure more continuous labour, and it may be as truthfully said that no men on service have ever been better behaved, or more cheerful under the trials arising from exposure to inclement weather, excessive fatigue, and to the annoyance caused by flies."

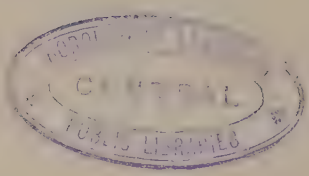
The Ashantee Expedition.

The next enterprise in which the British army was engaged was the Ashantee War of 1873–74. The chronic condition of invasion and rapine to which our settlements on the Gold Coast had been reduced by the Ashantees, who treated with well-founded contempt the cowardly Fantees and other tribes, euphemistically called "our allies," had reached a point at which the most pacific of Liberal Governments could no longer submit with impunity, unless they had resolved on abandoning our possessions in West Africa. Sir Garnet Wolseley was elected for the honourable task of driving out the enemy, and evolving some system of defence among the settlements governed from Cape Coast Castle, for which his special talent for administrative detail peculiarly fitted him. He cheerfully undertook the duty, without thought of the almost insuperable difficulties of the task, which can only be compared to making bricks without straw, for he was sent out to the West Coast without a single European soldier, only twenty-seven Special Service officers being placed at his disposal. These, however, included some of the most distinguished and rising officers of the British army—men who subsequently made themselves a name in many campaigns under their leader.

Sir Garnet Wolseley had not been long in the country when, though only having at his disposal a weak West India regiment, and 400 seamen and marines from the fleet, he struck a blow at Essaman, near the coast, on the Ashantee army, and taught them and our allies that their boasted invincibility was of no avail against British troops. The Ashantees now commenced to retreat from the Fantee Protectorate, and by the 1st of the New Year—Sir Garnet Wolseley having only arrived at Cape Coast on the 2nd October, and fought his successful action at Essaman eleven days later—three British regiments, which had arrived from England, under the command of Sir Archibald Alison, were landed, and on the march to the Prah, the boundary between Ashantee and Fantee land. Some desultory operations had taken place meanwhile, all favourable to our troops, and on the 20th January, 1874, the General, with his staff, crossed the river, and commenced his memorable campaign for the destruction of the power of King Koffee Kalkalli.

On the 31st January was fought the action of Amoaful, in which Sir Garnet Wolseley, with 134 officers, 1,375 European troops, consisting of the 42nd Highlanders, 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, a detachment of

The March to Coomassie. p. 476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the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and a naval brigade, and 208 native levies, utterly routed the Ashantee army, which lost between 2,000 and 3,000 men, including Amanquatia, their famous commander-in-chief, the British casualties being one officer, Captain Buckle, R.E., and three men killed, and twenty-one officers and 173 men wounded. Pushing on, according to his wont, without delay or parley, Sir Garnet Wolseley crossed the river Ordah, and, on the 2nd February, again defeated the Ashantees at Ordahsu, the British loss being one officer, Lieutenant Eyre, and one man killed, and six officers, including Sir Garnet Wolseley, and sixty men wounded.

Leaving a strong guard to hold the place and protect the baggage, the General pushed on with his little army, and, regardless of flank attacks, entered Coomassie at six o'clock the same day. The fighting throughout this brief campaign was close and continuous, and an officer, who has since risen to high distinction, declared that the advance through that region of deadly forest and malarious swamp, with countless enemies on either hand of the path, which only admitted in places of an advance in Indian file, was in the nature of a forlorn hope. What ensured success more than aught else was the confident bearing and cheery voice of the gallant leader. Owing to the lack of supplies, and the season, the river being almost impassable owing to the rains, the British army evacuated Coomassie on the 6th February, and commenced the return march to the coast, which was reached without any noteworthy occurrence. Meanwhile the advance guard of a native force, operating from the direction of the river Volta, under Commander Glover, R.N., so frightened the King that he accepted the terms of peace imposed by Sir Garnet Wolseley.*

So salutary has been the impression of British power produced by this brilliant campaign that the Ashantees have never given further trouble to their less martial neighbours across the Prah. This Ashantee campaign brought to the front a band of excellent officers, of whom many subsequently held high command,—Archibald Alison, Evelyn Wood, Redvers Buller, Brackenbury, Greaves, Baker Russell, and Butler—and it confirmed the public in the high opinion formed of the capacity and generalship of the commander.

* For a detailed account of the Red River and Ashantee Campaigns, see "Life of Lord Wolseley," by C. R. Low. (Bentley and Son.)

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ZULU, BOER, AND AFGHAN WARS.

1877—1880.

The Transkei Campaign—Submission of the Kaffirs—The Invasion of Zululand—The Disaster at Isandhlwana—The Defence of Rorke's Drift—Pearson's Defence of Ekowe—Evelyn Wood's Services in Zululand—Lord Chelmsford's Advance and Victory at Ulundi—Sir Garnet Wolseley's Defeat of Sekukuni—The Boer War—The Defeats of Laing's Nek, Ingogo River, and Majuba Hill—The Afghan War—Capture of Ali Musjid—Surrender of Candahar—Operations on the Helmund and against the Afreedees—Action of Futtehabad—Capture of the Peiwar Kotul—The Battle of Charasia—Capture of Cabul—The Investment of Sherpur—The Battle of Ahmed Khel—The Disaster of Maiwand—Sir Frederick Roberts' March from Cabul to Candahar—Battle of Candahar.

AFTER a period of twenty-four years, dating from the termination of what is known as the great Kaffir War of 1851–53, we were again involved in hostilities in South Africa. In 1877 occurred the Transkei campaign against the Gaikas and Galekas, tribes located beyond the Kei river. The troops engaged, under the command of Sir Arthur Cunninghame and Lord Chelmsford, included the 88th and 90th regiments, the 1st and 2nd battalions of the 24th regiment, a battery of artillery, a naval brigade from H.M.S. *Active*, besides some mounted police, volunteers, and Burgher corps, and our Fingo allies. Hostilities commenced on the 24th September by an action between some 4,000 or 5,000 Galekas, whose country lies between the Kei and Bashee rivers, led by their paramount chief, Kreli, and a mixed force of 80 police and 1,500 Fingoes, who were forced to retreat. But when, a few days later, the Galekas advanced against Ibeka, they were defeated by the Frontier Police, under Mr. Griffiths, who gained some further successes. Nevertheless, Sandilli, chief of the Gaikas, joined in the rebellion and engaged some British frontier posts. Reinforcements now arrived from England, and volunteer* corps were

* One of these corps was the Diamond Field Horse, 200 men, under Captain (afterwards Sir) Charles Warren, sometime Commissioner of Police in London, who did good service in Griqualand West, and in the Bechuanaland expedition, where he

raised, and Sir Arthur Cunninghame conducted operations with great vigour and success against the Kaffirs in the vicinity of the Kei, and the Tambookies, located near Queen's Town, lying about 120 miles due south of King William's Town. On the 7th February, 1878, the combined forces of Kreli and Sandilli, about 6,000 men, made a determined attack on a camp of 400 British troops, with some Fingoes, formed at Quintana Mountain, about twelve miles from Ibeka, under the command of Captain Upcher, of the 24th regiment, but they were driven back on all sides with heavy loss, and pursued by the mounted troops. Sir Arthur Cunninghame was now succeeded in the command of the army in South Africa by Major-General Thesiger, who succeeded, a few months later, to the title of Lord Chelmsford. February was occupied in preparing for the campaign against the Gaika chiefs, Sandilli and Tini Macomo, who were attacked on the 4th March by Colonel Palmer, with a mixed force, consisting of his regiment (the 90th Foot), and some burghers and native allies. The operations, though conducted in a difficult country, the scene in the previous Kaffir War of severe losses to our troops, were successful, and the enemy were driven out of the positions they occupied in the Waterkloof, and confidence was restored among the inhabitants of the district of Fort Beaufort.

Two columns were at this time operating in the Transkei, under Colonel Glyn, of the 24th regiment, and Major Elliott, resident with the Timbus, located south of Galekaland. On the 9th March, Sandilli succeeded in making his way to the Amatola Mountains, where, owing to the very difficult and rugged nature of the country, with its kloofs (bush and tree-clad ravines) there was continuous fighting, with indecisive results between the 18th and 21st March, and skirmishing for ten days afterwards. The troops engaged were 555 regulars of the artillery and 24th regiment, 1,185 mounted volunteers, and 1,295 native levies, with four 7-pounder guns. During April there was a suspension of operations, but fighting of a desultory character took place on the 30th April and during the first week of May. The event, however, that most conduced to the conclusion of the war was the death, by a stray shot, on the 29th May, of Sandilli, the implacable old Gaika chief.

not only taught the Boer freebooters from the Transvaal to respect the name and authority of England, by yielding up the farms they had taken by force, but acquired for this country a magnificent extension of empire, without the loss of a single life. The two other corps were the Frontier Light Horse, 200 men, commanded by Lieutenant (afterwards Sir) F. Carrington, 24th regiment, whose name is a household word in South Africa, as a daring and successful leader of irregular cavalry; and the Rangers, 400 strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pulleine, also of the 24th regiment, who fell at Isandhlwana.

Lord Chelmsford now returned to Cape Town, where, and throughout the colony, the 1st April was kept as a day of public thanksgiving. But the act of the legislature was premature, and Sir Bartle Frere, who had prorogued the assembly on the 2nd August, with a speech announcing the close of the Kaffir War, on the 24th of the same month wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, supporting Lord Chelmsford's demand for reinforcements, as he had resolved on adopting an aggressive policy towards the Zulu King, Cetewayo, the maintenance of whose army of 40,000 warriors* was considered a standing menace to the neighbouring colony of Natal, and our then newly-acquired possession of the Transvaal.

By the close of 1878, the British forces in South Africa numbered eight battalions of the line, besides artillery, a force only sufficient to keep the peace throughout South Africa, with restless Kaffir tribes, some cowed by defeat and others on the verge of rebellion, and with the enormous territory of the Transvaal, containing a population of some 40,000 Boers, of whom 8,000 were capable of bearing arms, many of them being crack shots. But, nevertheless, Sir Bartle Frere, with a rashness not justified by subsequent events, despatched an ultimatum to the Zulu King, demanding, among other conditions, the disbandment of his army, and the payment of a heavy fine in cattle for a violation of the Natal territories by the sons of Sirayo, a Zulu chief. Cetewayo was willing to meet the British High Commissioner more than half way, but the latter would abate nothing of the terms, and so a state of war ensued. As usual, we undervalued our enemy, and Lord Chelmsford embarked on the invasion of Zululand with a heterogeneous force, divided into three columns, with two smaller, or subsidiary columns,

* The military despotism in Zululand, which moulded the whole fighting manhood of the country into a machine obedient to the will of one man, was the work of Chaka, who found the Zulus an unimportant clan, and left them the most martial race in South Africa. Chaka was assassinated, and was succeeded by his son Dingaan, a sanguinary monster, without the military ability of his predecessor, who, in 1840, was killed by the Swazis, whose country lies to the north of Zululand. The Dutch, who had defeated Dingaan and driven him from the country, placed on the throne his brother Panda, who, until his death in 1872, recognized the suzerainty of the neighbouring European Government, whether Dutch or English, which it became in 1846, when the Boers "trekked" to the Transvaal. The Natal Government, at the request of the Zulu nation, acknowledged the late King's son, Cetewayo, as his successor, and Sir Theophilus Shepstone was present in 1872 at his coronation, as the representative of the Queen of England. Cetewayo possessed all the kingly qualities of Chaka, and at once turned his attention to disciplining his army, and training them in the tactics which we found so effective in more than one sanguinary encounter. Cetewayo armed his men with guns instead of only the shield and assegai, and he revived and elaborated the Zulu attack formation of three divisions—two "horns" to attack the flank and rear of an army, and a main body or "chest" to complete the victory.

under Colonels Durnford, R.E., and Rowlands, V.C., which were to effect a junction at Ulundi.

On the 11th January, 1879, the time allowed by the ultimatum having expired, the British troops crossed the Buffalo and Tugela rivers and entered Zululand. The columns were under the command of Brigadier-Generals Charles Pearson and Evelyn Wood, V.C., and Colonel Glyn, with detachments for keeping open the communications. The total strength of the army, including the garrisons, was about 16,000 officers and men, with twenty guns, an imposing array as far as numbers were concerned, but the only reliable portion of which was the British infantry, 5,128—of which, Rowland's column, including the 80th regiment, 834 strong, was too distant to participate in the operations—the Royal Artillery, 263, and the mounted infantry, and colonial cavalry, 1,193 sabres, led by some daring officers, as Barrow, Carrington, Buller, and Lonsdale, all of the British army. The mounted natives, 315, and the infantry of the native contingent, 9,035, were not equal in bravery to the enemy they were to encounter, and being deficient in *morale*, became useless after the great disaster which has rendered this Zulu War memorable.

Colonel Glyn, whose column included two battalions of the 24th regiment and a battery of Royal Artillery with six guns, after crossing the Buffalo river, marched inland, and Lord Chelmsford, who accompanied this column, having met at a rendezvous Colonel Durnford and General Wood, commanding the 2nd and 4th columns, whom he furnished with instructions, on the 20th January encamped near an isolated conical hill known as Isándhlwana. On the following day his lordship despatched a reconnoitring party to Matyan's Kraal, about ten miles distant, where it bivouacked; but as the Zulus were reported to be in the vicinity in great strength, at 4.30 on the following morning, 22nd January, Lord Chelmsford marched to their assistance with the 2nd battalion 24th regiment, the mounted men, four guns, and a battalion of natives, under Colonel Glyn. Colonel Durnford, who was at Rorke's Drift with 500 natives and a rocket battery, was directed to move up and take command of the camp.

Unfortunately the Commander-in-chief, before leaving his camp at Isandhlwana, neglected to fortify it either by throwing up entrenchments, or adopting the Boer method of "laagering" the waggons, of which there were 977 with the column, a method quick and easy of adoption, and which has proved by experience to be effective in breaking a rush of these wild warriors and giving time for the deadly fire of the rifle to take effect; just as in the Soudan, where waggons are unknown, and the country is overgrown with mimosa or camel-thorn, the "zereba," or breastwork of these bushes, with steady troops behind them, is proof against the fiercest assaults of the desert tribes.

Lord Chelmsford left behind him to protect the camp a mixed force of Europeans and natives, under the command of Colonel Pulleine, until Colonel Durnford should join, and proceeded to encounter the enemy, who, with the wiliness of the savage, inveigled him into following them, retiring as he advanced. Meantime, an army of 15,000 or 20,000 Zulus, including some of the bravest regiments, led by Dabulamanzi, the King's half-brother, fell upon the camp, which Colonel Pulleine, waiting for the arrival of Colonel Durnford, had taken no steps to fortify, and the result was a disaster which cost England the lives of many hundreds of brave soldiers, and shook her dominion in South Africa.

The Zulu "impi," or army, moved round to the left point of the English camp—which was partly pitched on a neck between two hills, and partly on the slopes, below one of these hills, which was inaccessible and gave its name to the position—and sent out two horns to make the flank attacks. At 6 A.M. the enemy was first reported in sight, but it was not till two hours later that an attack appeared imminent, and the troops stood to their arms. About 9.30, Colonel Durnford arrived in camp with 250 mounted Basutos and the rocket battery, and took over command from Colonel Pulleine. It appears that neither officer took any steps to "laager" the camp.

As it was reported that the enemy was retiring towards Matyan's Kraal, Colonel Durnford proceeded with two troops of his Basutos and the rocket battery, with an escort of a company of natives, sending a troop over the low rocky hills to the left front. The rocket battery, being in rear of the mounted escort, was suddenly attacked about eleven o'clock, when some three miles from camp and cut to pieces, and Captain Shepstone, realizing the overwhelming nature of the Zulu attack, returned to camp to report. Colonel Durnford, after advancing five miles, came upon the main body of the enemy, and also retreated steadily. The waggons had been "inspanned," but no attempt was made to laager them, which might even now, at the eleventh hour, have proved the salvation of the entire force. Two companies of the 24th were on picket to the front, near the "donga" (deep ditch), about 600 yards from the hill, which, with the assistance of the volunteers and Durnford's Basutos, they doggedly held against 6,000 men, while, on the left, Shepstone's Basutos, reinforced by two companies of the 24th, were retiring steadily before a force of some 8,000 Zulus.

This was the position about noon. On the left of the troops fighting in the donga were the two remaining companies of the 24th, facing towards the left front of the camp, one near the guns in extended order, and the other held in reserve.

The two companies on the left, in support of Shepstone's Basutos,

fell back, fighting, for more ammunition, their pouches being empty. The Zulus, shaken by the tremendous fire, showed signs of wavering, when an unexpected development of their attack suddenly changed the aspect of the conflict. Behind the range of hills on the left, the Zulu right horn, unseen and unthought of, was advancing swiftly to overwhelm their foe. About 4,000 warriors silently made their way to the rear of the inaccessible hill, beneath which the camp was pitched, and just as the ammunition was being hurried out to the companies engaged on the left, they advanced on the position in reverse. At sight of this division the Zulu column in front, hitherto kept in check by the companies in the donga, which were also retiring to replenish their ammunition pouches, advanced on the camp, regardless of loss, and one of the Zulu regiments taking the troops in flank, in an instant all became confusion, and the whole camp was filled with a surging mass of infuriated warriors thirsting for the blood of the invaders of their soil.

The fight was maintained to the last with desperate valour, to which the enemy gave an ungrudging meed of praise. The gunners of the Mountain Battery were assegaied on the limbers, and the drivers on the horses, Major Smith, R.A., being killed while ineffectually attempting to spike a gun. The Basuto mounted men made a dash and managed to escape, but the Europeans—officers and men of the 24th, Mounted Police, and Volunteers—stood together, shoulder to shoulder, and back to back, and fought doggedly with the bayonet and revolver to the bitter end.

Said one Zulu chief:—"The red soldiers killed many of us with their bayonets; when they found we were upon them they turned back to back. They all fought till they died. They were hard to kill. Not one tried to escape." Another said:—"Ah, those red soldiers! How few there were, and how they fought! They fell like stones, each man in his place." Many deeds of gallantry came to light, but none more devoted than the attempt of Lieutenants Coghill and Melvill to save the Queen's colour of the 24th. They rode off the field, but their horses were shot when crossing the Buffalo river. After struggling up the rocky sides of the Natal bank they were utterly exhausted, and finding their pursuers gaining on them, turned at bay and sold their lives dearly. Their bodies were found lying side by side, and the colour, to save which they died, was recovered ten days later in the rocky bed of the river.

The Zulus did not achieve a bloodless triumph. It was estimated that between 2,600 and 3,000 perished in this battle, while the British loss was twenty-seven officers of the Imperial army, twenty-two Colonial officers, and 775 European non-commissioned officers, and men—chiefly of the 24th, the same regiment which was almost annihi-

lated thirty years before at Chillianwallah—and some hundreds of natives, besides two guns (which were afterwards recovered), and a large quantity of arms and stores.

Meanwhile, Lord Chelmsford, having decided that the camp at Isandhlwana was to be struck, and the troops to join those with him at a selected position, started with the mounted men on his return. When about six miles from the camp, Commandant Lonsdale, who had ridden on, unsuspicious of anything being wrong, returned with the almost incredible report that the camp was in possession of a Zulu army. An officer was sent back to the bivouac to direct the troops to move up with all despatch, and on their arrival, at 7.30 P.M., Lord Chelmsford, who throughout had displayed great calmness and intrepidity, briefly addressed the men, informing them of the disaster, and his intention to recapture the camp at all hazards; and expressing his confidence in their ability to retrieve the honour of the flag and avenge the death of their comrades. Darkness was closing on the scene, but the handful of British soldiers, though weary and horror-stricken, responded with a cheer to the call of their general, and advanced without faltering on the fatal hill of Isandhlwana, the four guns being in line in the centre, with three companies of the 24th regiment on either flank, and the two native corps and mounted men on each flank of the Europeans.

When within 2,000 yards, the line was halted, three rounds were fired from the guns, and then, with fixed bayonets, the column advanced right into the camp, which was found to be tenanted only by the dead, the tents being upset, waggons destroyed, and the whole place strewn with corpses of men and horses, and camp equipment.

Lord Chelmsford, whose chief anxiety now was for the little garrison at Rorke's Drift and the colony beyond, marched at early dawn for the Drift, some twelve miles distant, expecting to find the post* in the hands of the enemy, as the garrison consisted of only 104 officers and men of the 24th regiment, with thirty-five sick. But this little band, with a heroism unsurpassed in history, had beaten off a force of 3,000 or 4,000 Zulus, fresh from the slaughter of their countrymen, after a conflict which lasted from 5 P.M. on the 22nd January till four on the following morning. The victors, led by Lieutenants Bromhead, of the 24th, and Chard, R.E., who received the Victoria Cross, had seventeen

* "A worse position," says Captain Parr, in his narrative of the war, "could hardly be imagined. Two small thatched buildings, some thirty-nine yards apart, with their walls commanded by rising ground on the south and west, completely overlooked on the south by a high hill. On the north side an orchard and garden gave good cover to an enemy, up to within a few yards of the houses." During the two hours afforded to strengthen the position, the troops loopholed and barricaded the buildings, and joined them by breastworks formed of a few waggons, sacks of "mealies," and biscuit boxes.

killed and ten wounded, while over 300 dead Zulus were counted lying close to the parapet.

We will now briefly detail the services of the other British invading columns. Brigadier-General Pearson, with 2,055 Europeans, including the Buffs and 99th regiment, and a naval brigade, and 2,342 natives, commenced to cross into Zululand by the Lower Tugela Drift on the 11th January, and on the 18th began his march into the interior. On the 22nd January, the day on which the disaster at Isandhlwana took place, a portion of the column attacked and defeated, near the Inyezana river, a Zulu army, estimated at from 5,000 to 8,000 men. The Zulus held their ground stubbornly for three hours, but were defeated with the loss of 300 killed, the British casualties being two officers and seven men killed, and fifteen wounded. The Zulu attacking force consisted of the coast regiments, and was not equal to the crack corps that had defeated the main column. At noon on the following day Pearson arrived at Ekowe, and on receipt of intelligence of the disaster at Isandhlwana, determined to hold the position with 1,400 Europeans and 460 natives, the remainder of the column being sent back to the Lower Tugela. Under the superintendence of Captain Wynne, R.E., the post was soon made impregnable to the assaults of any native force unprovided with artillery, and the garrison were never seriously menaced.

Brigadier-General Wood's column of the army of invasion was also condemned to enforced inactivity on receipt of the news of the disaster at Isandhlwana. Evelyn Wood, under instructions from Lord Chelmsford, fell back and took up a strong position at Kambula Kop, about twenty miles from the Blood River, thus covering the town of Utrecht on the Transvaal side. But he was not the man to remain idle, and as he had with him that splendid soldier, Colonel Redvers Buller, in command of the Frontier Horse, reinforced by the remnants of the cavalry of Colonel Glyn's column and by some Boer Horse, led by Piet Uys, a gallant and capable partisan leader, the time was employed in making attacks on the kraals of Zulu chiefs, and harassing the enemy, whom they astonished by the distances traversed in these marauding expeditions.

Among successful forays were those of the 24th January, to the slopes of the Zlobani Mountain, the stronghold of a native chief, Umbelini by name, and another early in February, when 400 cattle were captured. The Zulus now strongly fortified the Zlobani Mountain with stone walls and other defences, and when Lord Chelmsford advanced to the relief of Ekowe, General Wood was directed to make a diversion in the direction of the Zlobani. This he did with two columns, one under Colonel Cecil Russell, 12th Lancers, consisting of 250 mounted men and some natives, to make a feigned attack on the

western side; and the second, under Colonel Buller, of 400 horsemen and a battalion of natives, to attack and clear the eastern plateau. The columns quitted camp on the 27th March, and about 3 A.M. on the following morning, General Wood joined Colonel Buller. There was some severe fighting on the mountain side, as the Zulus clung tenaciously to their defences and inflicted heavy loss on the British, who had to assault almost impregnable positions. Meanwhile a large Zulu army, marching in five columns, had advanced with the object of cutting off the line of Buller's retreat from the mountain. Owing to a misapprehension of Colonel Russell's, the native irregulars were cut up, and Buller, who had reached the summit of the mountain, after some smart skirmishing, found himself in a critical position. A retreat ensued, which soon degenerated into a panic. Down the narrow path came a confused crowd of men and horses struggling on the rocks, closely followed by the Zulus, who used the assegai with fatal precision.

Major Leet and Commandant Darcy (of the Colonial forces) strove to restore order, and gained the V.C. by their devotion in taking up wounded troopers on their horses. Piet Uys, the gallant Boer leader, who fell while trying to save his son, displayed equal heroism, but the mounted men felt that they were caught in a trap, and, as at Majuba Hill, discipline was relaxed and a general *sauve qui peut* ensued. The loss experienced was ninety killed, including thirteen officers, and thirty wounded. Among the officers who fell were Captain Hon. R. Campbell, Coldstream Guards (whose assailant was killed by Lieutenant Lysons, who received the V.C.), Colonel Wetherby, a settler (formerly in the 6th Dragoons) and his son, a boy of fourteen, Captain Barton, Coldstream Guards, who was killed attempting to carry off a wounded trooper, and Lieutenants Poole and Duncombe, the latter of whom shot three Zulus before he fell. That Colonel Buller escaped was almost a miracle, as he freely exposed himself, and was one of the last of his men down the rocks.

Flushed by their success, the Zulu army, numbering 23,000 warriors, which had left Ulundi on 24th March to destroy the British force at Kambula, pushed on and made their appearance before the camp, expecting to achieve an easy triumph. At 11 A.M. began a most determined attempt to repeat the horrors of Isandhlwana, but General Wood and his officers and men were ready to receive them, the cattle being laagered, and the tents struck, and every man at his post. The 13th and 90th regiments, with a battery of artillery, sustained the brunt of the attack with all the coolness and spirit of British soldiers, and when the enemy, foiled in every endeavour by the deadly hail from the British infantry, began to retreat, Colonel Buller and his horsemen poured out of the laager and avenged the disaster of thirty-six hours before, the bodies of hundreds of slaughtered Zulus strewing the way

for a distance of seven miles. This great success was achieved with the loss of only two officers, and twenty-five men killed, and four officers and sixty-three rank and file wounded.

In the meantime the Home Government strained every nerve to send out reinforcements to enable Lord Chelmsford to retrieve the British name, and rescue the small garrison cooped up in Ekowe, regarding whose safety there was much concern throughout England. News of the disaster of the 22nd January arrived in London on the 11th February, and within three weeks, over 8,000 men and 1,800 horses had been despatched to Natal.

On the 29th March, Lord Chelmsford marched from the Lower Tugela River, with 3,340 European soldiers and seamen, and 2,280 natives, and on the 2nd April, fought a successful action with a Zulu army of 11,000 men at Gingilhovo, fifteen miles from Ekowe. The enemy attacked the laager with great spirit, but with so large a force of British soldiers behind entrenchments with their arms of precision, the result was never for a moment doubtful, and the Zulus were defeated with the loss of 1,000 men, that of the British army being one officer and four privates killed, and three officers and thirty-four men wounded. Ekowe was relieved on the 4th April, and abandoned, when the column retired to the Lower Tugela.

Lord Chelmsford now turned his attention to organizing his army* for the invasion of the country, and after considerable delay, due to the difficulty of transport, in June advanced into Zululand with three columns—the first division, under General Crealock, from the Lower Tugela, marching along the sea coast (which, however, did nothing), the second division, under General Newdigate, moving from Koppie-Allen, and the third, or flying column, under Brigadier-General Wood, accompanied by Lord Chelmsford, acting as the advance of the second division. The commencement of hostilities was signalized by a sad fatality, the death, while engaged in a reconnoissance, of the Prince Imperial of France, who came out as a volunteer on Lord Chelmsford's staff.

His lordship pushed on slowly and cautiously with Newdigate's division and the flying column, making secure his communication and

* By the end of May, there were under Lord Chelmsford's orders, as appears from a Parliamentary Paper, 16,950 British troops, in addition to 1,064 on passage, and 1,615 under orders to embark. The colonial troops were something like 4,453 of all ranks. This was in addition to the Naval Brigade of 850 bluejackets and marines. These numbers, making a total of 25,000, equal the force with which was fought the battle of Alma, and exceed in the number of British soldiers any army collected under one standard in India. And yet they were so much scattered that only 4,000 Europeans were present in the decisive battle of the war, about the number that Lord Napier, out of 10,800 men, had with him at Magdala, 400 miles from his base at Zoola.

establishing posts, and on the 3rd July, sent Colonel Buller, with 500 cavalry, to reconnoitre the country as far as the white Umvalosi near Ulundi. In this affair Colonel Buller was nearly cut off, and his horsemen had to ride for dear life.

At daybreak, on the 4th July, Lord Chelmsford, leaving a garrison in camp, crossed the river with the remainder of the force, 4,000 Europeans, and 1,100 natives, with eight guns and two Gatlings, and engaged the enemy at Ulundi, the king's kraal. Forming his men into a hollow square, he received the repeated charges of the Zulu army, variously estimated at from 15,000 to 20,000 warriors, led by Dabulamanzi, Sirayo, and other great chiefs, who advanced steadily in the teeth of a storm of shell and rifle-fire with stoical heroism. But all in vain were their repeated efforts to break the square of redcoats, and at length they retreated, when the cavalry, led by Colonel Drury-Lowe, of the 17th Lancers, emerged from the square, and pursuing them over the bush-girt plain, slew hundreds of the flying foe. In this action, which concluded the Zulu War, the British casualties were one officer and ten men killed, and five officers, including Colonel Drury-Lowe, and eighty men wounded. The Zulu loss was very heavy, being, it is supposed, 1,500 in killed alone.

But peace could not be assured so long as Cetewayo was at large; and Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had been despatched from England to supersede Lord Chelmsford, lost no time in organizing two columns, under Colonels Clarke and Baker Russell, for the pursuit of the Zulu monarch. For sixteen days detachments of cavalry and natives dogged the footsteps of the fugitive king, giving him no rest day or night, and at length, on the 28th August, his capture was effected on the confines of the Ngome Forest, by Major Marter of the 1st Dragoon Guards. Among others specially prominent in the pursuit were Major Barrow, 19th Hussars, Lord Gifford, A.D.C., and Captain Herbert Stewart, whose activity, while staff officer of the Cavalry Brigade, under General Marshall, first brought him to the notice of Sir Garnet Wolseley.

The kingdom was now divided into districts under thirteen chiefs; but this arrangement was, a few years later, changed by the reappointment of Cetewayo, the British Government retaining a small territory called the Reserve. The return of the king, however, gave rise to a period of civil war, rapine and bloodshed, which continued after his sudden death, as a new element of disturbance was imported by the intervention of the Boers, and, ultimately, Zululand was apportioned between England and the Transvaal Republic.

Sir Garnet Wolseley now proceeded into the Transvaal, but though he had only a small body of troops at his disposal, such was the awe inspired by his name, and so admirable were his arrangements for upholding British authority, that it was not until his return to England, when

Sir George Colley, Governor of Natal, held the supreme military and civil command, that the Boers attempted the rising which was crowned with such success, and resulted in great loss to us in men and prestige.

Before leaving South Africa, Sir Garnet Wolseley (with Colonel Baker Russell as his second-in-command), undertook an expedition against Sekukuni, a Basuto chief, who had established himself in a difficult country about 120 miles as the crow flies from Pretoria, between the Olifant and Steel Poort Rivers. Sekukuni had not only defeated a Zulu army, but in 1876, foiled the efforts of 3,000 Boers to reduce him to submission, and two years later, a small British column, under Colonel Rowlands, had been compelled to retire without effecting his submission. Sir Garnet now attempted the task of reducing this redoubtable chief with a force of 2,200 Europeans, of whom 1,400 were British infantry (and a contingent of 10,000 Swazies Auxiliaries, under Major Bushman, 9th Lancers), advancing in two columns on the "Fighting Koppie," a natural fortress of singular formation and strength, formed of huge boulders and rocks, covered with trees and brushwood. Wolseley's masterly dispositions for the concentration of these columns and the Swazies were crowned with complete success, and the stronghold was stormed on the 28th November, 1879, the day fixed by him before starting from Pretoria in letters to the Secretary of State for War and the Duke of Cambridge.

The final operations, which began at 4.30 A.M., embraced an attack on Sekukuni's town, from the western side, by three columns, right, central and left, and an attack by the Swazies on the eastern face of the mountain, with the object of covering the heights overlooking the town, by moving down the ridges, and acting in combination with the western force. The "Fighting Koppie" being completely surrounded by the right and left columns, was first pounded with four guns, and stormed at 10 A.M. by the central column, consisting of the 94th and 21st regiments, and detachments of the 80th regiment and Royal Engineers, under Colonel Murray. After an obstinate struggle the place was carried, and Sekukuni surrendered on the 2nd December. Sir Garnet Wolseley now returned to Pretoria, and the district was pacified by a flying column. The British loss on the 28th November was three officers and seven men killed, and six officers and forty-three rank and file wounded. The Swazies lost, it is said, 1,000 killed and wounded, while almost the whole of the 5,000 warriors defending the "Fighting Koppie" were killed, no quarter being given by our savage allies.

Early in April, 1880, Sir Garnet Wolseley returned to England, accompanied by Major Herbert Stewart, now chief of his staff. No sooner had he quitted the Transvaal, leaving Sir Owen Lanyon in command, with a small garrison, consisting of only two weak infantry regi-

ments, the 58th and 94th, and a battery of artillery, than the Boers began to agitate for the retrocession of their country. After, in vain, attempting to get redress for the undoubted wrong committed on them by the annexation of the Transvaal, the Boers took up arms. They numbered at the time between 6,000 to 8,000 men, all mounted, and armed with rifles, but without guns, bayonets or swords.

The Transvaal Republic was proclaimed on the 16th December, 1880, and the same day the first shot was fired at Potchefstroom courthouse, when Major Clarke and fifty men were compelled to surrender. Meanwhile, over 4,000 armed Boers assembled at Heidelberg, and, on the 20th December, as 250 men of the 94th regiment were proceeding from Lydenberg to Pretoria, escorting a long line of waggons, they were summoned to surrender, and on their refusing to do so, were attacked by a force of 250 mounted Boers; and Colonel Anstruther in command, and eighty-six men* were shot down, when the remainder laid down their arms. The attack at Brounker's Spruit was regarded as a treacherous surprise, but the English authorities were warned that resistance would be made if the Boer demands were not conceded. As usual, we underrated the foe and failed to recognize their qualities as deadly marksmen, familiar with every feature of the country. The small British garrisons in the Transvaal at Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Lydenberg, Standerton and Wakkerstroom were henceforward in a state of siege, but all successfully defended themselves and repelled every assault of the enemy.

Sir Owen Lanyon, being beleaguered at Pretoria, Sir George Colley, Governor of Natal, proceeded to Newcastle, on the frontier, where he concentrated 1,500 troops, and marching thence with 1,000 men across the Ingogo River, on the 28th January, 1881, attacked the Boers at Laing's Nek, on the frontier. The position was strong, and the troops were repulsed with the loss of Colonel Deane, 58th regiment, and six officers and eighty men killed, and 100 wounded. No attempt was made to support the 58th, or to renew the assault, and the Boers' superiority was thus tacitly acknowledged.

On the 8th February, General Colley moved with five companies of the 60th Rifles and four guns to restore his communications. On crossing the Ingogo River with four companies and two guns, he was attacked, but repulsed the enemy, though with the loss of six officers and sixty-two men killed, and sixty-four wounded. The troops on this occasion, and at Laing's Nek, though defeated, displayed gallantry, but their shooting was execrable, and the Boer marksmen picked them off without any loss to themselves.

* A memorial brass in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, records the names of the officers and men who were killed, or died of their wounds, at Brounker's Spruit, numbering 112, and also of those who fell during the war in the small garrisons scattered throughout the country.

Reinforcements now arrived from England, under Sir Evelyn Wood, and joined Sir George Colley at Newcastle. These included some regiments which had served under Sir Frederick Roberts in Afghanistan, the 92nd Highlanders, the 2nd battalion 60th Rifles, and two squadrons of the 15th Hussars. On the night of the 26th February, General Colley moved out of camp to occupy Majuba Hill, overlooking the enemy's position at Laing's Nek, with twenty officers and 627 men drawn from the 58th, 60th, 92nd, and Naval Brigade. After an arduous climb of eight hours they arrived, much fatigued, at the summit, but no attempt was made to entrench the position. At five on the following morning, the Boers discovered the British redcoats lining the crest of the hill, and their first impulse was to abandon the position. However, braver counsels prevailed, and a force of Boers,* ascending the mountain, crept from boulder to boulder, and shrub to shrub, keeping up a hot fire on the redcoats, who, lining the summit, offered an admirable mark against the sky-line. This demoralized the men, and when the Boers made a rush for the summit the British soldiers, including veterans of Sir Frederick Roberts' victorious campaign in Afghanistan, who, had they made a bayonet charge would have easily driven the assailants away, were seized with panic and fled precipitately, jumping down the steep rocks, in some instances thus meeting their deaths.

The whole proceeding was unaccountable, and none were more surprised at the result than the Boers themselves. The British loss was 97 officers and men killed, 131 wounded, 58 taken prisoners, and ten missing. It was fortunate for the luckless and incapable, but personally brave, commander, Sir George Colley, that he was killed; but the result proved that even the best troops are liable to panic when they lose confidence in leaders whose dispositions are manifestly faulty, and find that the most rudimentary principles of war have been neglected, and that they have, in short, been sacrificed by an incompetent commander.

Sir Evelyn Wood, hurrying up from Maritzburg, assumed the command, but the British Government had come to the resolution to restore the Transvaal to the Boers, and he was directed to negotiate with General Joubert and the Boer leaders. Accordingly on the 6th March, a conference was held, and an armistice was agreed to for eight days, which ended in a treaty of peace. When it is considered that Sir Evelyn Wood, an officer of whom the Boers had a wholesome dread, had at his disposal an army of nearly 10,000 men, burning with eagerness to be allowed to attack the enemy, and wipe out the stigma which the name of Majuba Hill has indelibly fixed on the British name, it was

* In H. A. Bryden's work on South Africa, entitled "Kloof and Karroo," it is stated that a Boer farmer, who was present at Majuba Hill, said that the attack was made by only eighty Boers.

doubtless magnanimous of our rulers to give the Boers such favourable terms; but whether it was politic, having regard to the desirability, in the interest of the future peace and well-being of South Africa, to maintain the hitherto unchallenged supremacy of England, is a question to which we think a negative reply must be returned. It should be said, to the credit of the Boers, of whom reports were spread at the time of the war, that they were cruel to their prisoners, that this was the reverse of the truth, and they always treated the wounded and captives with humanity.

The disasters of this Boer war were due in an equal measure to military incompetence and that pernicious system by which, for the sake of a short-sighted economy, military garrisons in hostile occupation are reduced to a point of weakness inviting attack and resulting in disaster, and British soldiers are called on to undertake operations for which they are numerically too weak. To this was due the Afghan disaster of 1841–42—when the army of occupation included only three British regiments and two batteries of European horse artillery, distributed throughout Afghanistan—and the Indian Mutiny, when the European troops were reduced to some 35,000 men. Again, the Zulu War was undertaken with less than 5,000 British troops in the field; and a year later, it was attempted to garrison the Transvaal—a country larger than France—with a force consisting of two weak regiments, without any cavalry, the arm which the Boers most dreaded. To this policy—due largely to the eager competition of both political parties in the state for popular support by reducing the estimates, thus sacrificing efficiency, while extravagant expenditure is incurred where it is needless—most of the military disasters suffered by this country are mainly attributable.

The Afghan War.

While England was engaged in hostilities in South Africa we were also waging a war on an extensive scale in Afghanistan. In September, 1878, the Ameer, Shere Ali Khan, instructed the commandant of the fort of Ali Musjid, in the Khyber Pass, to refuse permission to the British Special Mission, under Sir Neville Chamberlain, to proceed to Cabul. As the Ameer had received a Russian envoy in his capital, and treated him with marked consideration, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India, issued a formal declaration of war, and three columns were formed for the invasion of Afghanistan by the Khyber and Bolan Passes and the Kurram Valley. These were placed respectively under

the command of Lieutenant-Generals Sir Samuel Browne, V.C., and Donald Stewart, and Major-General Frederick Roberts, V.C. There was also a fourth column, called the Thal-Chotiali Field Force, under the command of Major-General Sir Michael Biddulph, which was placed under the orders of Lieutenant-General Donald Stewart, in Southern Afghanistan, and a reserve column, under General Maude, was formed at Jumrood, at the mouth of the Khyber Pass.

On the 16th November Sir Samuel Browne, a cavalry officer who had served with distinction in the Indian Mutiny, where he had lost an arm and gained a V.C., made a reconnoissance of the fort of Ali Musjid, a place of great strength, commanding the Khyber defile, held by 3,000 Afghan regulars, with twenty-four guns. The extreme right of the enemy rested on a ridge, with a line of breastworks, broken by three peaks, commanding the fort, on which were placed eight pieces of artillery. The position was one of singular strength, but it was feebly held against the attack made on the 21st November by the artillery and General Appleyard's infantry brigade. Sir Samuel Browne pushed on through the passes and established himself at Jellalabad, so famous in our military history as the scene of the gallant defence made in 1842 by the "illustrious" garrison under Sir Robert Sale. General Maude's division, operating from Jumrood, now acted in co-operation with a force from Sir Samuel Browne's column, starting from Dakha, at the end of the Khyber Pass, under the command of Brigadier-General Tytler, in an attack on the Afreedees, in the Bazar valley. What little fighting took place was done by Tytler's column, which underwent long and fatiguing marches in a difficult country, while the dispositions for the retirement, the best test of good generalship in hill-warfare, were ably planned and executed by the officer in command.

In the early months of the following year, further expeditions were undertaken against the Afreedees and the Shinwarrees, whose villages were carried by assault, and the towers blown up. A brilliant action was fought, on the 2nd April, at Futtehabad, beyond Jellalabad, in which fell Major Wigram Battye, a member of a family of ten brothers, renowned in our Indian annals for their gallantry, one of whom died at Delhi in 1857. General Charles Gough, V.C., advanced with the 10th Hussars and Guide cavalry, and four guns, against the enemy, and opened fire, but as they occupied a strong position he fell back, with the hope of inducing them to follow him. This they did, when the infantry, including the 17th regiment, attacked them, and the cavalry also charged. The entrenched position was carried, and the enemy were completely defeated; but Major Battye, who had received a ball through the thigh, fell dead from a shot in the chest. The command of the Guides now devolved on an equally gallant officer, Lieutenant

William Hamilton, whose tragic fate not long after at Cabul has rendered his name memorable in the annals of the Afghan War. The enemy lost between 200 and 400 killed, and the British loss was two officers and four men killed, and forty wounded.

General Donald Stewart advanced through the Bolan and Kojuck Passes, and, in January 1879, occupied Candahar, but not without some sharp fighting. On the 4th January, the advanced guards of his two divisions, under General C. H. Palliser and Colonel T. G. Kennedy, while moving in concert by two separate passes, came into collision with some 1,200 Afghan cavalry, who were defeated and fell back towards Candahar. In February General Stewart despatched Biddulph's division to the banks of the Helmund, and, on the 26th, a detachment of native cavalry and infantry, under Colonels Malcolmson and Turner, covering the withdrawal of the division from the neighbourhood of Giriskh, came into collision with some 1,500 men, including 500 Ghazies. The enemy made a determined attack, but were gallantly charged and dispersed by the Scinde Horse, who had one officer, Major W. Reynolds, and four sowars killed, and Colonel Malcolmson and twenty-three troopers wounded. The Afghan loss was 200 killed alone.

The chief laurels of the Afghan War were, however, carried off by Major-General Frederick Roberts, who, little known at its beginning, earned a brilliant reputation before the termination of hostilities. Lord Lytton deserves great credit for the discernment he displayed in his selection of General Roberts, then Quarter-Master-General, to command a field force destined for the invasion of Afghanistan by the Kurram Valley. The force placed at his disposal was numerically weak, but it included, besides some of the finest regiments of Goorkhas and Punjaubees in the Indian army, a squadron of the 10th Hussars, and the 8th and 72nd regiments. General Roberts joined the Kurram field force at Kohat on the 9th October, and, having completed its organization, on the 21st November, crossed the river at Thull, and five days later, occupied the fort of Kurram. The first object was to dislodge the Afghan army from the strong position they had taken up in the Peiwar Kotul (or "saddle"), an almost impregnable pass. Having reconnoitred the enemy's position, and formed his plans without reference to any one, at 4 P.M. on Sunday, the 1st December, Roberts convened a meeting of his Brigadiers and Commanding Officers, and apprised them of his intentions. He proposed, while making a feint attack in the front, on the Peiwar Kotul, to be developed into a real attack later on, to making a flank movement to the right rear, round by the village of Peiwar, and thence, by the Spingawi ravine, to the plateau of hills on the right of the Kotul. This flank march of nearly ten miles, to be performed at night, he intended to conduct in person, as discovery would have incurred failure, if not

annihilation. The entire force at his disposal, to capture this strong position, defended by a force of 3,500 regular Afghan troops, with eighteen guns, besides tribesmen, was 3,314 men, of whom only 900 were Europeans.

While the attention of the Afghans was occupied with a demonstration in front of their position, at 10 P.M. on the 2nd December, General Roberts marched with a column, numbering forty-three officers and 2,200 men, to make the flank attack. The first part of the march, 3½ miles, was over broken ground, the tracks, for there was no road, passing through jungle, and crossing many ravines and dry watercourses; but at length the uncultivated land surrounding the village of Peiwar was reached, when the road ran along a terrace to the edge of the Spingawi nullah, along the bed of which flowed swiftly a stream, the banks of which and the boulders on the slope were thickly covered with ice, rendering the footing, during the descent, insecure for man and beast. There was a cutting wind blowing during the march of six miles from the village of Peiwar, which had an elevation of 7,000 feet, to the summit of the Spingawi Pass, 2,400 feet higher.

The troops pushed on doggedly and in silence, but an act of treachery on the part of some Pathan soldiers of the 29th Punjaub N.I., heading the column, nearly proved fatal to the safety of the entire force. Two shots were fired in rapid succession,* when General Roberts, who was riding close in the rear of the advance party, ordered the 5th Goorkhas and two companies of the 72nd Highlanders to head the column. At length, shortly before 6 A.M., when daylight was breaking, the head of the column reached the foot of the pass, where the track left the ravine, and turned up the spur, and soon after two shots, fired in rapid succession, warned every one that the Afghan outposts had discerned the advancing foe. The first to spring upon the enemy was the advance party of the Goorkhas, gallantly led by Major Fitz-Hugh and Captain Cook, and soon the firing became general on both sides. Stockade after stockade was carried by the gallant little Goorkhas, assisted by the Highlanders, and by the fire of the guns under Captain Kelso, who was killed. General Roberts, on foot, himself advanced on the right with some companies of the Highlanders, led by Colonel Brownlow, and within half an hour of the first shot being fired, all the stockades had changed hands, and the line of the enemy's

* A court-martial was subsequently held on the treacherous soldiers of the 29th N.I., when a sepoy was condemned to death and hanged, and another was sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for two years. The Jemadar, or native lieutenant, was also transported for seven years for not disclosing the criminal act to his superior officer, and seventeen other sepoys of the same regiment were sentenced to transportation for varying periods of years, for having quitted the ranks without leave and returned to camp.

defence being turned, he withdrew towards the Peiwar Kotul, and along the edge of the wood to the north, whereupon General Roberts heliographed the news of his success to Brigadier-General Cobbe, and instructed him to carry out the front attack on the Kotul.

With only a portion of his troops, the Goorkhas, 72nd and 29th, General Roberts, at 9.30, pushed on to dislodge the enemy from the dense woods surrounding the plateau in the direction of the Kotul. The Punjaubees reached the crest of the opposite hill, a very steep acclivity, but were met with so heavy a fire, that, being unsupported by the Goorkhas and Highlanders, who had lost their way in the dense forest, they fell back, notwithstanding that the General sought both by voice and example to rally them, and freely exposed his person. At this anxious time the 23rd Pioneers arrived, and, soon afterwards, the Goorkhas and Highlanders came on the scene, and the action of Cobbe's brigade—the 8th Regiment and the 5th P.N.I.—on the enemy's front soon compelled the Afghans to evacuate their strong position. Cobbe, who was wounded, bivouacked on the Kotul, and Roberts, pushing on in order to get round the enemy's rear, so as to attack them on the following morning, encamped that night at an elevation of nearly 10,000 ft., the thermometer marking 25 degrees of frost. The loss in this action, as brilliant in execution as it was bold in conception, was twenty-one killed, including two officers, and seventy-two wounded. The enemy lost heavily, and six field-pieces and eleven mountain guns were captured.

General Roberts arrived at Ali Kheyl on the 6th December, and, three days later, reached the crest of the Shutargardan (literally "Camel's Neck") Pass, which the enemy had evacuated, when he saw at his feet the fertile Logar Valley, and the road that led to Cabul, some fifty miles distant.* As the Government had decided to defer an advance into Afghanistan till the spring, General Roberts returned to Ali Kheyl, whence he marched with a portion of his troops to the Kurram fort, by the northern route, over a range of hills, occupied by the hostile tribe of Mangals, who attacked the baggage, but were driven off by the rear-guard. The troops were now dispersed into winter quarters, but General Roberts, on the 27th December, marched with 2,000 men into the Khost Valley, which was surveyed by Captain Wood ward, R.E. While at Matun, where was the fort occupied bythe Afghan Governor of Khost, an attack was made on all sides of the camp by about 6,000 men of the combined tribes, who were defeated and dispersed with considerable loss. General Roberts made a tour of the Khost Valley, but the people remained hostile, and, on the 27th January, the return march was commenced from Matun to Kurram, whence the General proceeded to Kohat.

* *See* "Life of Sir Frederick Roberts," by C. R. Low. W. H. Allen & Co. 1883.

General Roberts now busied himself with making preparations for the advance on Cabul, which was inaugurated, early in March, 1879, by his return to Kurram, the field force having been reinforced by the 92nd Gordon Highlanders. But the signature of the treaty of Gundamuck apparently ended all further hostilities, and General Roberts accompanied, as far as the Shutargardan Pass, Sir Louis Cavagnari, the newly-appointed envoy to the Court of Yakub Khan, the son and successor of Shere Ali, who had died in exile after his withdrawal from Cabul. In the East nothing is so certain as the unforeseen, and the unfortunate Envoy, together with the members of his mission, and Lieutenant Hamilton, V.C., and almost all his escort of fifty infantry, and twenty-five troopers of his own regiment, the Guides, were slaughtered at Cabul, on the 3rd September, after a gallant defence.

Sir Frederick Roberts (as he now was) was at Simla when news arrived of the massacre, and on the afternoon of the following day, the 6th September, he had started for Ali Kheyl with orders from Lord Lytton to advance rapidly on Cabul with about 6,500 men. Within six days, by dint of rapid travelling, the general arrived at Ali Kheyl, whence he had already directed by telegraph a small column to occupy the Shutargardan Pass. General Stewart, who had evacuated Candahar, had been also ordered by the Viceroy to return to the city, whilst Jellalabad was re-occupied by the Khyber Division, and a reserve of 5,000 men was assembled between Rawal Pindee and Peshawar. The great difficulty was transport, as nearly all the camels, mules, and bullocks had died or been rendered inefficient with over-work, but, by dint of the greatest exertions, the energetic commander managed to collect sufficient cattle to make an advance, with three or four months' supplies for 6,600 troops besides camp followers, and six weeks' forage for 3,500 animals.

On the 27th September Sir Frederick Roberts moved from Ali Kheyl, and, after experiencing a narrow escape from a party of Mangals, who fired on his escort, he pushed across the Shutargardan Pass. On the 28th, he was at Kooshi, where he was joined by the Ameer Yakub Khan, with his eldest son and ministers, who were now virtually prisoners in his camp, and ultimately, as their complicity in the massacre of the British mission was proved to Roberts' satisfaction, were sent from Cabul across the frontier to British India, where they were retained as state prisoners. Pushing on towards Cabul with his small army—which included a detachment of the 9th Lancers, three batteries of Royal Artillery, and the 67th, 72nd and 92nd regiments, in all about 2,558 Europeans—the mobility of which was seriously crippled by the convoy being only sufficient to move one or two infantry brigades at a time, Roberts, on the 6th October, encountered the Afghan army, which had occupied a very strong position at

Charasia, eleven miles distant from Cabul. In this brilliant action only Baker's brigade of infantry, strengthened by the 92nd Highlanders, was engaged, as Brigadier-General Macpherson, who was at Zahidabad, one march to the rear, protecting the reserve ammunition and commissariat stores, only arrived when the day was over.

As at the capture of the Peiwar Kotul, Sir Frederick put into execution his favourite flanking tactics. "Their position," he says, "was so strong, and could only have been carried with such loss, that I determined the real attack should be made by an outflanking movement upon the right of the enemy, while their left continued to be occupied by a feint from our right." Dividing his force into two parts, he entrusted to Brigadier-General Baker the difficult task of dislodging the enemy from the heights above the Chardeh Valley, which formed their extreme right, placing at his disposal a force of about 2,000 men, while a second column, under Major White, of the 92nd Highlanders, was directed to proceed towards the Sang-i-Nawishta defile, where the enemy had concentrated all their guns in the belief that the main British attack would be on that point. Owing to his numerical weakness, Roberts could only retain in camp a small force, and as Macpherson's brigade was advancing from the rear, he determined to incur the risk of an attack on his camp, and left for its defence only 700 infantry and 450 cavalry.

Having secured his base in the wooded enclosures of Charasia, a collection of detached villages, Baker advanced over some bare, undulating hills—forming a position easily defensible, and flanked by steep, rocky crags, varying in height from 1,000 to 1,800 feet above the sloping plains which our troops had to cross—against the main position of the enemy, about 400 feet higher, which commanded his entire front, and was only accessible in a few places. A portion of the 92nd Highlanders and 5th Goorkhas advanced to crown the heights on the left, while the remainder of these regiments and 200 men of the 5th Punjaubees made the direct attack, and, after some spirited fighting, about 2 o'clock the British troops succeeded in seizing the ridge on the left of the position, when the general advance was sounded. The Afghans retreated to a position about 600 yards in the rear, but from this they were driven by our troops advancing in rushes, supported by the fire of the mountain guns. By 3.45 the entire ridge was gained, thus exposing the enemy's line of defence to being taken in reverse, which caused them to retire precipitately from their position on the Sang-i-Nawishta, in which quarter the operations were conducted by Major White with a judgment and skill that fully justified the trust reposed in him by Sir Frederick Roberts. When the enemy, perceiving that the real attack was on the right of their position, weakened their left resting on the defile, Major White attacked with spirit, himself leading his men with characteristic gallantry. The Afghans gave way,

leaving some guns in his hands, on which he pursued them through the pass and effected a junction with General Baker in the rear of the enemy's position.

The Afghan loss in killed was estimated at upwards of 300, and all their guns, twenty in number, brought out from Cabul to assist in defence of the position, were captured. Sir Frederick Roberts calculated that thirteen regiments of regular infantry were opposed to him, and the enemy were aided by contingents from the city and neighbouring villages, and by a large number of tribesmen, chiefly Ghilzies, from the hills which lay to the east and west of the camp. Macpherson's advance from Zahidabad was opposed, but he easily drove off his assailants, and, after his arrival in camp, all anxiety on the score of its safety ceased. The British loss in the action of Charasia was sixteen killed, and three officers and fifty-nine men wounded.

Sir Frederick Roberts marched early on the following morning through the Sang-i-Nawishta defile to Beni Hissar, on the Cabul road, and on the 8th October, the great cantonment of Sherpur was occupied by the cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-General Massy, who captured seventy-three guns. Some troops occupied the Bala Hissar, or citadel-palace of Cabul, through the streets of which the British army marched, and those concerned in the massacre of the mission were brought to justice and executed. Meanwhile the Ghilzies and other tribes had attacked the troops left at the Shutargardan Pass, under Colonel Money, but Sir Frederick sent Brigadier-General Hugh Gough with a force to his assistance, and the tribesmen were defeated with considerable loss. As the winter season forbade the pass from being used as a line of communication with India, which in future would have to be carried on by the Khyber route, General Gough and Colonel Money evacuated the Shutargardan and arrived at Sherpur on the 4th November with their troops.

On the 16th October there were terrific explosions of gunpowder, cartridges, and shells in the Bala Hissar, and Captain Shafto R.A., and some soldiers and many natives were killed, and the British troops were all marched into the Sherpur cantonments, where was ample barrack accommodation. The General had learned the wisdom of concentrating his troops by the sad lessons taught by the events of the first Afghan War, in which his father, Sir Abraham Roberts, had been employed. With a people so fierce and independent as the Afghans, nothing was more probable than an attempt to repeat the scenes of that terrible winter, when the infuriated Cabulees besieged the small British army in the cantonment partially situated on the site of that occupied thirty-eight years later by another British force. But the commander of 1879 was of a different mould from General Elphinstone, and the troops also were animated by a sense of superiority and not

cowed by repeated defeats, the result of incapacity and vacillation. The events that happened throughout the first Afghan War, including the massacre of a British Envoy, and the destruction of a British force, were faithfully repeated in 1879, even to the investment of the British cantonment; but as the disasters of 1842 were wiped out by British triumphs, so the leaguer of Sherpur ended, not in disgrace, but in a crushing defeat for the besiegers.

It was in December, some two months after his arrival at Cabul, that the people and tribes of this portion of Afghanistan—instigated by an aged fanatic Moollah, Mooskh-i-Alum (literally "scent of the World"), Sultan Jan, from the Maidan and Ghuznee districts, Meer Butcha, from the mountainous Kohistan country to the north of the city, and other rebel leaders—rose to the number of about 100,000 combatants to expel the invaders from the soil of their country. Roberts was at first unaware of the strength of the coalition, but took immediate steps to disperse the large bodies of tribesmen before they could effect a junction, and, on the 8th December, sent Macpherson with a brigade towards the west, *viâ* Urghandeh, in order to engage the enemy coming from Maidan, and Baker with a column, *viâ* Charasia, also towards Maidan, with the object of placing himself across the line by which the enemy would retire. The troops at Sherpur were thus reduced to a point of dangerous weakness, notwithstanding that they were reinforced by the arrival of the Guides Corps from Jugdulluck; and had it not been for the promptitude and military skill of Sir Frederick Roberts, after the check received on the 11th December by the cavalry, it is certain that a great disaster must have ensued. This was the only miscalculation General Roberts made throughout the war, and we know, from the dictum of the great Napoleon, who was himself guilty of strategic mistakes, that the greatest general is he who makes the fewest blunders, hence implying that the military commander must not be expected to be exempt from the failures that await the action of all human agency.

Acting under orders, Macpherson changed his line of advance, and marched to disperse the Kohistanees; and, in order to cut the enemy's line of retreat, the cavalry and horse artillery, under Brigadier-General Massy, were despatched from Sherpur to his assistance. Without waiting for orders from Macpherson, Massy attacked a force of about 10,000 infantry, in a position in which his cavalry could not act with advantage, and the result was that he lost two guns, and the cavalry were forced to retreat after delivering two charges, in which they lost twenty-seven killed, including four officers, and twenty-five wounded, the 9th Lancers being the chief sufferers. Sir Frederick Roberts immediately proceeded from Sherpur with the 72nd Highlanders to secure the Deh Mazung defile, barring the road to the city of Cabul,

and was barely in time to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. Here he was joined by Macpherson, and on the following morning, recalled Baker's brigade, the guns lost having been recovered by Colonel C. Macgregor, Chief of the Staff. On the morning of the 12th, Macpherson, advancing from the Bala Hissar and Deh Mazung, sent Colonel Money with a portion of his force to attack the enemy on the crest of the Takt-i-Shah. The fighting lasted all day without result, and on the following morning, Baker, who had returned to Sherpur, acted in concert with Macpherson's brigade, and after some desperate fighting, the 92nd and Guides, led by Major White, reached the summit, where the 72nd, 3rd Sikhs and 5th Goorkhas, under Major Sym, had arrived a few minutes before. Meanwhile large bodies of the enemy, issuing from the city, collected on the Siah Sung Heights and the villages towards Beni Hissar. From the latter they were driven out by Baker's brigade, when returning from Takt-i-Shah, and the masses collected at Siah Sung were dispersed by dashing cavalry charges made by the Guides, 5th Punjab Cavalry and 9th Lancers, which lost Captain Butson and four men killed, and two officers and eight men wounded. The Afghans, nothing daunted by their reverses, and reinforced by great masses of men, now occupied the Asmai heights. Baker was sent to dislodge them from this position and cut off their communications with the north. Colonel Jenkins, of the Guides, was successful in driving them from a conical hill, and the Asmai heights were gained; but the enemy were largely reinforced, and after a stubborn defence of the conical hill, Jenkins's column were compelled to retreat with the loss of two guns. At this time, a dashing cavalry charge was made by twelve men of the 5th Punjaub Cavalry, led by Captain Vousden, who killed five Afghans with his own hand, for which he received the V.C.

As it was evident that the enemy were in overwhelming force, General Roberts abandoned the Bala Hissar and Asmai heights, which were occupied by the enemy, and by the night of the 14th December concentrated his troops in Sherpur, where, with considerable foresight, he had collected some months' stores in preparation for all eventualities. While waiting for the reinforcements for which he had applied to the Government of India, he employed his troops in strengthening the defences of Sherpur.

The losses during the operations between the 10th and 14th December were eight officers and seventy-five men killed, and twelve officers and 185 wounded. Two of the officers, Colonel Cleland, 9th Lancers, and Major Cook, 5th Goorkhas, who had gained the V.C. for gallantry at the Peiwar Kotul, died of their wounds. "Had Major Cook survived," writes the General, "he would have risen to the highest honours of his profession."

There was desultory fighting with the enemy between the 14th and 21st December, and on the 23rd, the anniversary of the murder of Sir William Macnaghten at this spot in 1841, they delivered their long-prepared attack, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The fighting lasted between daybreak and nightfall, and the Afghans brought scaling-ladders to enter the works; but they were never able to plant them, and so rapidly did they disperse that by night not a trace of them could be seen by the cavalry, which sallied out in pursuit during a heavy snowstorm. The casualties during the investment of Sherpur were two officers and eight men killed, and five officers, including Brigadier-General Hugh Gough, and forty-one rank and file wounded. On the 24th reinforcements arrived, under Colonel Hudson, from Lutterbund, and from Gundamuck under Brigadier-General Charles Gough, who now occupied the Bala Hissar, while a column was despatched, under General Baker, to punish the Kohistanees.

Some months later, Sir Frederick Roberts sent a force, under Major-General John Ross, to Shekabad, in the neighbourhood of which they had successful encounters with the enemy on the 25th April, 1880, and two succeeding days. A severe action was fought, on the 25th, on the old battle-field of Charasia, by a small force of 883 officers and men, under Colonel Jenkins, who was reinforced from Sherpur, during the action, by General Macpherson's brigade. The enemy, about 4,000 or 5,000 strong, attacked Jenkins, who remained on the defensive until the arrival of Macpherson, when the gallant officers made a combined movement in advance, and the enemy were defeated with great loss, after which the whole force returned to Sherpur. The loss incurred during th 'ay was four killed and thirty-four wounded.

On the 2nd May General Donald Stewart arrived from Candahar with a strong column, including the 59th regiment and 2nd Battalion 60th Rifles, with three batteries of artillery. He left at Candahar a division of his troops, under General Primrose, the object of his march being to break up any hostile combination at Ghuznee, and open communications with Cabul. As Stewart was senior to Sir Frederick Roberts, he assumed the chief command. His march was remarkable for a severe action fought at Ahmed Khel. The route from Candahar was through a country deserted by its inhabitants, where supplies were scarce; and though the advance was not so striking in its rapidity and results as the famous march made a few months later by Sir Frederick Roberts, it deserves greater commendation than it has received. For several days previous to the approach of the troops to Ghuznee, a hostile gathering marched about eight miles on the right flank, and on the 19th April, the enemy were observed in position at Ahmed Khel, three miles in advance of the head of the column, which covered in the order of

march no less than six miles. When the leading brigades, under Generals Palliser and Hughes, were about 2,500 yards from the enemy's line, the guns came into action, but scarcely had they opened fire, and before the intended attack of the position was developed, the crest of the range occupied by the enemy was observed to be swarming with men along a front of nearly two miles, a body of horsemen on the right outflanking the left of the British line. In an incredibly short space of time, an enormous mass of men, with standards, formed on the hill-top, a considerable number of horsemen riding along the ridge, with the intention of sweeping to the rear of our line to attack the baggage. From the central mass out rushed successive waves of swordsmen on foot, stretching out right and left, and seeming to envelope the position. The horsemen turned the British left, forcing back the Native cavalry, and the right of the line of infantry, then hotly pressed, gave way. The onslaught of between 3,000 and 4,000 fanatic swordsmen was at this time so rapid, and was pushed with such desperation, that it became necessary to place every man of the reserve in the firing line. The enemy, however, continued to push on, and approached within a few yards of the guns, when, the whole of their case-shot being expended, both batteries were withdrawn a distance of 200 yards, and the infantry of the right also took up a fresh position. But the attack had spent itself, and time being given for the guns to check the forward movement of the enemy's horsemen round the left flank, General Barter came up with the rear-guard and reinforced the right centre. The action was over at ten o'clock, within one hour of its commencement, and the enemy, who numbered between 12,000 and 15,000 infantry and 1,000 horsemen, broke up and dispersed over the country, their loss being estimated at from 2,000 to 3,000, while that of the victors was seventeen killed and 124 wounded, including nine officers. After a halt of two hours, the army continued its march, with the baggage in close formation, over the enemy's position, completing a distance of seventeen miles.

On the following day Ghuznee was entered, and as the Afghans had taken up a position at some villages about sixteen miles from camp, on the 23rd General Stewart marched to dislodge them, and the enemy were driven off with the loss of 400 men.

No important military operations were undertaken by the large army now assembled at and near Cabul, amounting to some 18,000 men, under these two distinguished Indian generals. On the 1st July the cavalry brigade of General Hills' division, numbering 577 sabres, under Brigadier-General Palliser, encountered and routed, in the Logar Valley, a body of 1,500 tribesmen belonging to Zermut, of whom 200 were killed during the pursuit, the British loss being only three killed and twenty-nine wounded.

Everything now portended a speedy return of the Expeditionary force to India. Since March, Sir Frederick Roberts and (on his arrival at Cabul) Sir Donald Stewart, and Mr. Lepel Griffin, the Political officer sent from India by the Viceroy, had been negotiating with Abdurrahman Khan—son of Afzul Khan, elder brother of Shere Ali, and grandson of Dost Mahomed Khan, the great Ameer of Afghanistan during our former war—who, for ten years, had been resident in Russian Turkestan as a pensioner of the Czar. Incensed at his exclusion, Ayub Khan, a younger brother of Yakub Khan, now a prisoner in India, quitted Herat on the 27th June, resolved to strike a blow for power, and moved upon Candahar, with the intention of seizing the southern capital of Afghanistan. At this time an Afghan force was stationed at Giriskh, on the Helmund, under the Wali, or governor, of Candahar; and to check the advance of Ayub Khan, who was known to have left Herat with a force of 6,000 men and thirty guns, a British brigade left Candahar on the 3rd July under Brigadier-General Burrows, and joined the Wali at Giriskh.

On the 14th, the Wali's troops mutinied and deserted to Ayub Khan, and, as this increased the difficulties of his position and the river Helmund was fordable, Burrows, on the following day, marched from Giriskh to Khuski-Nakud. The strength of his column was 1,788 bayonets, including 516 of the 66th Foot, 556 sabres (Scinde Horse and Bombay Cavalry), a detachment of 44 Sappers, and a battery of Horse Artillery, manned by 146 officers and men. In addition, there was a battery of six-pounders taken from the mutinous troops and manned by forty-two men of the 66th Foot. On the 26th, Burrows, who had received imperative instructions that Ayub was to be intercepted if he attempted to slip past Candahar towards Ghuznee, learned that 2,000 of the enemy's cavalry and a large number of Ghazis had arrived near Maiwand, and that Ayub was about to follow with the main body of his army.

Accordingly, at 6.30 on the morning of the 27th July, Burrows marched with his brigade for Maiwand, twelve miles distant, encumbered by an enormous train of stores and baggage, which, owing to the hostile state of the country, he could not leave behind without weakening his already small force. After proceeding about eight miles, large masses of the enemy, estimated at 25,000 men, were discovered about four miles distant, moving in a diagonal direction across his right front. As it was evident that a collision with Ayub Khan must take place before he reached his destination, Burrows placed his baggage in the village under a guard, and on the higher ground beyond deployed his infantry into line, with guns in the centre, and the cavalry on the left, covering the movement with two Horse Artillery guns, escorted by a troop of cavalry.

About noon the engagement commenced by the advanced guns coming into action on the left, followed shortly by two more guns and the smooth-bore battery in the centre. The remaining two 9-pounders were soon after brought up from the rear-guard. In about half an hour the enemy began to reply from their right, gradually extending along their front, and concentrating their fire on the British position. The infantry were ordered to lie down, and the wing of the 30th N.I., which had been in reserve, was brought up on the flanks, which were threatened on the right by Ghazis, and on the left by the enemy's regular cavalry. Thus the brigade remained for nearly three hours, the artillery making excellent practice, the cavalry holding the enemy's cavalry in check, but losing heavily in horses under the accurate artillery fire, and the infantry keeping up a steady fusillade on the Ghazis on the right. A large body of the enemy's regular infantry were on the British left front, and about the middle of the day they advanced in line, but were checked by well-directed volleys.

Between two and three o'clock the fire of the enemy's guns slackened, and swarms of Ghazis advanced rapidly towards the British centre. "Up to this time," says General Burrows, "the casualties among the infantry had not been heavy, and as the men were firing steadily and the guns were sweeping the ground with case-shot, full confidence was felt by the little army as to the result." But a rapid change came over the scene. The chief lesson inculcated by our Indian military history is that a British force should act on the offensive. It has ever been so—at Plassey, Assaye, Meeanee, and in all the battles where a determined charge, even by a handful of British infantry, has turned the day. Encouraged by their foe remaining on the defensive for so many hours—a tacit acknowledgment of weakness—the Ghazis, regardless of the British fire, came on in overwhelming numbers, and, making good their rush, seized the two advanced Horse Artillery guns. With the exception of two companies of the 30th N.I., which had displayed unsteadiness early in the day, the conduct of the troops had been splendid up to this point; but now, at a critical moment, when a firm resistance might have achieved a victory, these companies, which had lost their European officers, gave way, and soon the remainder of the Native Infantry fell back on the 66th, which maintained a steady front. General Burrows in vain used every effort, assisted by his staff, to rally the troops, who, he says, "commencing from the left, rolled up like a wave to the right." As a last resort, he called upon his cavalry to charge across the front, and thus give the infantry a chance of re-forming; but the terrible artillery fire to which they had been exposed, and from which they had suffered severely, had so demoralized them, that only the officers and a few men responded to General Nuttall's order

All was now over, and the gallant 66th regiment, and a portion of the 1st Bombay N.I., retreating across the nullah and the gardens near the village, reached a small walled enclosure, where about 150 men with several officers made a stand and checked the enemy for a time. Seeing, however, that they were rapidly being out-flanked, and that their line of retreat would presently be cut off, the general gave the order to retire. A scene of disorder ensued, but a remnant of the infantry succeeded in joining the guns and cavalry in rear of the baggage, which was by this time stretching for miles over the country towards Candahar, over forty miles distant. Fortunately, no vigorous pursuit was made by the enemy, though after daylight the fugitives were fired on from every village they passed, until they met a small force under Brigadier-General Brooke, which cleared the way for them into Candahar. Of the Horse Artillery and smooth-bore guns taken into action, four of the former and one of the latter were brought safely into Candahar, the five other smooth-bore guns had, one by one, to be abandoned during the retreat, the horses being unable to bring them on. Nothing could exceed the determined valour of the European portion of the force, the soldiers of the 66th, who died fighting, like the 24th at Isandhlwana, and the gunners of the artillery. "Exposed," says Burrows, "to a heavy fire, the artillerymen served their guns coolly and steadily as on parade, and when the guns were rushed, they fought the Ghazis with handspikes and sponge-rods. There fell at Maiwand twenty-six officers (including Colonel Galbraith of the 66th, and Major Blackwood, commanding the artillery), 297 European soldiers and 701 sepoys, and 331 camp followers. Fourteen officers, forty-two European, and 139 Native soldiers were wounded. As soon as the shattered remnants of General Burrows' force arrived at Candahar, General Primrose hastily evacuated the cantonment outside the city, and concentrated his force—consisting of two batteries of artillery, the 7th Fusiliers, and two regiments and a wing of N.I.—in the citadel, in expectation of an attack by Ayub Khan, who, advancing leisurely, took up a position for beleaguering the British garrison. General Primrose made a sortie, but it was mismanaged, and Brigadier-General Brooke and a large number of officers and men of the 7th Fusiliers and Native Infantry were killed and wounded. After this the garrison remained inactive until relieved.

It was on the 29th July, as Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick Roberts were engaged concerting measures for withdrawing the army from Cabul to India by way of the Khyber Pass and Kurram Valley, that the startling news of the disaster at Maiwand, like "a bolt out of the blue," was received at the British headquarters. Sir Frederick Roberts immediately offered to assume command of a force of 10,000 men to relieve Candahar and rehabilitate British honour, and the offer

was accepted by the Indian Government. An arrangement having been already concluded with Abdurrahman Khan for taking over the government of the country, on the 8th August the troops selected marched out of Sherpur into camp, and Sir Frederick Roberts issued a characteristic order before commencing one of the most famous marches recorded in our history.

The strength of the Cabul-Candahar Field Force—which included three batteries of artillery, the 9th Lancers, the 72nd and 92nd Highlanders, and the 2nd battalion 60th Rifles—was 10,148 combatants, 223 medical staff, and 8,134 camp followers. As wheeled artillery was unsuitable for the country to be traversed, a battery of 7-pounders (jointed guns) was carried on mules.

The army set out on its adventurous march of nearly 300 miles on the 9th August. On the 15th, Ghuznee, ninety-seven and a half miles distant, was reached, and on the following day, the army passed over the battle-field of Ahmed Khel. The strong fort of Khelat-i-Ghilzye, held by a small column, under Colonel Tanner, was reached on the 23rd August, the distance traversed in eight days being 136 miles, or sixteen and three-quarter miles per day. The division halted here on the 24th August, and, on the following day, accompanied by the garrison of that fortress, continued the march to Candahar, eighty-eight miles distant, by the Turnuk Valley route. Communication was opened with General Primrose by the cavalry on the 27th August at Robat, and the Field Force moved to Momund on the 31st August, and on the following day arrived before Candahar.

Though suffering from fever, Sir Frederick Roberts quitted his doolie, and, mounting his horse, reconnoitred the enemy's position, when he determined to turn the Baba Wali Pass, where they had posted heavy guns, instead of carrying it by direct assault, which would entail heavy loss. A reconnoissance in force was made the same day by the cavalry under General Hugh Gough, and on the following morning, the 1st September, the two brigades of the Cabul Field Force, with the 3rd in reserve, advanced against the enemy's position at Gundigan and Pir Paimal, while the cavalry brigade was posted so as to cut off the enemy's line of retreat to Giriskh, and the Candahar garrison were directed to hold the city and precincts, and make a feint on the Baba Wali Pass.

The village of Gundi Mulla Sahibdad was stormed by the 92nd Highlanders and 2nd Goorkhas, supported by the 2nd Brigade, and it was while engaged clearing some enclosures that the gallant Colonel Brownlow, commanding the 72nd Highlanders, who had faced death so often since the capture of the Peiwar Kotul, met his end. Soon after noon the village of Pir Paimal was carried at the point of the bayonet, and, pushing on, the 1st and 2nd Brigades, at 1 P.M., entered

the enemy's camp. In this advance, Major White, of the 92nd Highlanders, "gallant and ever foremost," as Sir Frederick Roberts said of him in his despatch, greatly distinguished himself.

The rout of Ayub Khan was complete, among the trophies being thirty-two pieces of ordnance, including five in position at Baba Wali Kotul, abandoned by the enemy, and the two Horse Artillery guns captured at Maiwand. Leaving 1,000 dead on the field, he fled towards Herat with a handful of infantry and cavalry, the remnants of a force of 13,000 men. The British loss was three officers and forty men killed, and 228 wounded, including eleven officers. Not another shot was fired during the remainder of the stay of the British force at Candahar, which was evacuated in accordance with the promise of the British Government and the advice of many officers of distinction, including Lord Wolseley and General Gordon, though others equally qualified to give an opinion, as Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick Roberts, were opposed to the measure. As a result of the war, the districts of Pishin, Sibi, and Thal Chotiali, were annexed, and more recently the Kakar country and Khetrai Valley became subject to British administration. But the sacrifice in lives and treasure was immeasurably greater than the value of the results attained, and for the second time in our history Afghanistan was a synonym for disaster. The time may not be far distant when this difficult country will again be the theatre of military operations. When the Russian and the English soldier, the Cossack and the Sepoy are locked in deadly struggle on the banks of the Oxus and the Helmund, let us hope the name of Afghanistan may be an augury for victory, and the warlike races within its borders, oblivious of the memories of the invasions of 1839 and 1879, may be rallied under our banners as allies, and not assembled under those of our enemies, eager to pay off old scores.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

THE EGYPTIAN, SOUDAN, AND BURMESE CAMPAIGNS.

1882—1890.

The Seizure of the Suez Canal and Disembarkation at Ismailia—Actions at Tel-el-Mahuta and Kassassin—The Battle of Tel-el-Kebir—The Surrender of Cairo—The Soudan Campaign—Battles of El Teb and Tamai—The Nile Expedition—The Actions at Abu Klea and Gubat—The Second Campaign in the Eastern Soudan—The Third Burmese War—Annexation of Upper Burma—Suppression of Dacoity—Conclusion.

In 1882 this country was involved in hostilities with Egypt, with which some of the most interesting military and naval events of our history are connected. Here Nelson achieved perhaps the most brilliant of all his successes, and here Abercrombie fell, and our army triumphed over that of Napoleon. The bombardment of Alexandria, on the 11th July, 1882, by a British fleet, under Sir Beauchamp Seymour, necessitated the landing of a military force, and Sir Archibald Alison was despatched from England to take command. With a very inadequate body of troops and assisted by the navy, this distinguished officer kept the Egyptian army at bay until the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley with large reinforcements.

Sir Garnet gave out to the newspaper correspondents that he intended to attack the forts at Aboukir, a *ruse* he had adopted before in the Ashantee War, and which he recommended to commanders in his "Soldier's Pocket Book." Embarking General Willis's division of his army, of which the Duke of Connaught and Major-General Gerald Graham, V.C., commanded the two brigades, on the 19th August he proceeded direct to Port Said. On the following day Admiral Hoskins effected the seizure of the Suez Canal, in spite of the protest of M. de Lesseps. Port Said and Ismailia were occupied by Captains Fairfax and Fitzroy, of the Royal Navy, with seamen and marines, and Admiral Sir William Hewett seized the Suez end of the canal. This important operation completed, in spite of the open hostility of Egyptian troops, stationed at Port Said, Ismailia, and Shalouf, Sir Garnet Wolseley landed his army at Ismailia, and proceeded to prepare for his advance upon Kassassin, as the object of paramount importance was the secur-

ing possession of that part of the fresh-water canal lying in the desert between Ismailia and the first cultivated portion of the Delta.

Though the transport department was still unorganized, he determined to push forward with a portion of his cavalry and artillery to Tel-el-Mahuta, about nine miles from Ismailia. This Sir Garnet accomplished on the 24th August, after a smart action, in which his little force of only three squadrons of cavalry, about 1,000 infantry, and two Horse Artillery guns, engaged an army of nine battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and twelve guns, holding a strong entrenched position on the canal and railway. It was an audacious movement, but, as Sir Herbert Stewart informed the writer, the officers and men who were required to perform this task were inspired with confidence when they regarded the serenity of their general. As to the impression created on himself, that lamented officer said in a letter to the author :—"As the numbers of the enemy developed and their guns came into play, as their irregulars threatened our flank, and their main body formed up, apparently to come on, I believe that nine men out of ten would have thought how to retire judiciously. I remember so well Sir Garnet's expression at the time when things looked worst : 'I shall turn their left flank and roll them into the canal.' The late arrival of reinforcements, owing to the heat of the march, prevented his doing this on that day eventually ; but I shall never forget the sublime confidence of the man under the circumstances, a confidence that had a great influence—in my opinion, the very greatest—on the course of the campaign."

The reinforcements for which Sir Garnet Wolseley sent, including the brigade of Guards and the 4th and 7th Dragoon Guards, arrived too late in the day to take part in the action, but the gallantry of the 2nd battalion York and Lancaster regiment* (65th Foot) and Royal Marines, in holding their own against overwhelming numbers, illustrated the stubborn valour of British infantry, while the small band of gunners replied boldly to the superior weight of the Egyptian fire.

On the following day the whole of Willis's division pushed on and seized Mahsameh, with its extensive camp and munitions of war, and on the 26th August, Kassassin was occupied. The British loss in these operations was slight, being only five killed and twenty-five wounded, but forty-eight men suffered from sunstroke. Sir Garnet Wolseley now returned to Ismailia to organize the transport department, which offered no ordinary difficulties, as there were no transport animals in the country, and the railway was almost useless owing to the

* The Egyptian campaign was the first in which the British army was engaged after the line regiments received their territorial designations.

absence of engines, and injury to the line. General Graham was left in command at Kassassin, where he had plenty of work in maintaining his position against the superior numbers of the enemy, with his small force of 1,728 infantry—the York and Lancaster and 2nd battalion Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry (46th Foot)—125 cavalry and mounted infantry, and two guns.

A spirited action was fought on the 28th August, when the Egyptians, about 8,000 infantry, with 1,000 cavalry and twelve guns, made a determined attack on General Graham's position at Kassassin. The veteran officer held his ground all day with determination against the continuous attacks of the enemy, and despatched an order to General Drury-Lowe, who was at Mahsameh, five miles in the rear, with the cavalry and four guns, to send the Royal Marines to his assistance, and "bring round his cavalry under cover of the hills and fall upon the left flank of the enemy's skirmishers and roll up his line." Shortly before seven, when he expected the cavalry to be in a position to render assistance, General Graham gave the order to his whole line to advance, and at the same time the Household Cavalry and 7th Dragoon Guards, led by Sir Baker Russell, charged through the Egyptian infantry in the waning light, sabring the enemy and capturing nine guns, which, owing to the darkness, they were unable to secure. In the day's fighting at Kassassin General Graham's brigade had one officer and seven men killed, and five officers and sixty-six men wounded. The cavalry brigade lost one officer and six men killed, and one officer and eighteen men wounded. Arabi himself was present on the field and witnessed the prowess of the British army, of which he was soon to have a more memorable instance.

On the following day a portion of the cavalry of the Indian Contingent, under Brigadier-General Wilkinson, marched into Kassassin from Suez, having made the distance of eighty-three miles through the desert in four days. Daily reconnoissances were now made of the enemy's position at Tel-el-Kebir, but before the attack was delivered, Arabi tried to force the hand of the British commander, on the 9th September, by making a determined attempt on the position at Kassassin. The attack was made in early morning by Ali Fehmi Pasha, acting under Arabi's orders, with seventeen battalions of infantry, a strong force of cavalry, and thirty guns; but Graham's brigade displayed their wonted stubborn gallantry, and the Egyptians were driven off after a hard day's fighting.

Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived on the field shortly before 11 A.M., and, after a careful survey of the position, withdrew his troops into camp. The Commander-in-chief had resolved to deliver his great blow when he considered it could be most decisive, and was not to be hurried prematurely into action. The Guards were brought from Mahuta, and

the Highland brigade,* under that experienced veteran, Sir Archibald Alison, from Ismailia, with the remainder of General Hamley's division, which had been brought shortly before from Alexandria. Sir Garnet Wolseley also moved to the front the greater portion of the Indian contingent—which included the 1st battalion Seaforth Highlanders (late 72nd)—commanded by that tried soldier, Sir Herbert Macpherson, one of Sir Frederick Roberts's ablest generals in Afghanistan. The Intelligence Department, which had been well presided over by Colonel Tulloch, was now superintended by Colonel Redvers Buller, whose name has so frequently been honourably mentioned in these pages since the Red River Expedition, where his high soldierly qualities first attracted public notice.

On the 11th September Sir Garnet Wolseley carefully reconnoitred the ground in front of the enemy's works, and, at daylight on the following morning, accompanied by his staff and all his generals, rode out of camp, and having inspected the Egyptian position, explained to them his intended mode of attack. This was, briefly, to move out with his whole force at nightfall, and making the desert march of eight miles, to attack the enemy's entrenchments, at the point of the bayonet, at daylight. This programme he carried out to the letter, and so well were his plans matured, and so admirably executed, that a signal success was his reward. To effect the defeat behind field-works, defended with fifty-nine guns, of a disciplined army of twenty-four battalions of infantry (about 20,000 men) with three regiments of cavalry, and some 6,000 Bedouin irregulars, and a force of 5,000 men, and twenty-four guns, on the flank at Salihieh, the British general had at his disposal only 11,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and sixty guns, including the Indian contingent, but exclusive of the small force he left behind to protect his camp.

Marching all night, guided only by the light of the stars, the serried ranks of the British army swept in ghostly silence across the desert. The risk of discovery was great, and it involved the storming of the enemy's entrenchments in the teeth of a fire of sixty guns and 20,000 rifles. In this case, as in so many others, the boldest course—as in the flank march of Roberts on the Afghan position at the Peiwar Kotul—was the one offering the greatest chance of success, and, with the intuition of true military genius, these two great illustrators of the art of war adopted in each case the best method of attaining victory.

The Highland Brigade, about 3,000 bayonets, with Ashburnham's regiments (the Duke of Cornwall's and 3rd battalion 60th Rifles) in support, was detailed to assault the works at the point nearest the canal,

* The Highland Brigade consisted of the 1st battalion Royal Highlanders (late 42nd), 2nd battalion Highland Light Infantry (late 74th), 1st battalion Gordon Highlanders (late 75th), and 1st battalion Cameron Highlanders (late 79th).

the whole of the Artillery, forty-two guns, was massed in the centre, and beyond was General Graham's Brigade, with the Guards in support. Still further to the right was the Cavalry Brigade, seven regiments, including the Mounted Infantry, and two batteries of Horse Artillery. On the further side of the canal the Indian Contingent and a Naval Brigade were to operate, while Sir Garnet Wolseley supervised the whole from the rear of the second division, keeping up communication with Sir H. Macpherson by means of an insulated wire through Kassassin.

Camp was struck at 6.15 P.M. on the 12th September, and after a march lasting all night, with occasional halts to dress the line and rest the men, the entrenchments of Tel-el-Kebir were neared as daylight began to break, at the exact indicated time. This operation of marching so vast a force, in the dark, with a front extending over many miles of ground, was unparalleled in war, and could only have been accomplished by highly-disciplined troops led by well-trained officers. It was an impressive scene, and perhaps unique in war.

As the stars were paling, a few shots were heard as the enemy's videttes sighted the apparition of an army in position to assault the works which they considered impregnable. Within a few minutes of each other the leading brigades, gallantly led by Generals Graham and Alison, without firing a shot, but receiving in their faces the hot fire of the awakened Egyptian army, charged across the narrow strip of intervening ground, and immediately the struggle was removed to the ditch and parapet of the works, and then, as the noble British infantry topped the wall and jumped within, to the enclosure, when the bayonet did its work silently and well.

By 6.30, within 90 minutes of the first shot being fired, the battle was over, and Arabi's camp and the railway station, with 100 carriages, were captured by a party of Highlanders, led on foot by Sir Archibald Alison. The brigade lost seven officers and fifty-four men killed, and fifteen officers and 164 men wounded. Among those who fell was the gallant Lieutenant Wyatt-Rawson, R.N., who had guided the Highlanders by the stars throughout the night, and was among the first to enter the enemy's works. General Graham's brigade was equally successful, but lost three officers and nine men killed, and three officers and 116 men wounded. The Guards, acting in support, scarcely came under fire, and suffered but slightly. The Indian contingent, on the extreme left across the canal, numbering 1,500 infantry, with a battery of mountain guns, a squadron of cavalry, and the naval brigade, six Gatlings, performed its *devoirs* gallantly, taking some batteries and clearing the fields on the left of the causeway. The Egyptians lost over 1,500 men slain, with all their guns and munitions, and the victory may indeed be regarded as among the most decisive in history.

Sir Garnet Wolseley, on arriving at the bridge over the canal beyond the camp, directed the cavalry division to continue the pursuit of the enemy, an order admirably executed by that brilliant leader of horse, General Drury-Lowe. The Indian contingent, commanded by Sir H. Macpherson, pushed on for Zagazig, 25 miles distant, which was reached at 6 P.M. the same day, an almost unprecedented feat for infantry in a tropical climate. All that day, without drawing rein, General Lowe's cavalry and a battery of Horse Artillery continued their march, arriving that evening at Belbeis, 25 miles distant from Kassassin. After a cheerless bivouac, with little food, General Lowe pushed on for Cairo, and, on the morning of the 14th, arrived at the Abbassiyeh barracks, near the city, with the 4th Dragoon Guards, Mounted Infantry, and a portion of the Indian Cavalry; the Household Cavalry, 7th Dragoon Guards, and battery of artillery being some distance in the rear.

Colonel Herbert Stewart negotiated the surrender of the barracks and the citadel of Cairo; Arabi and Toulba Pashas gave themselves up as prisoners, and, at nightfall, the extraordinary spectacle was witnessed of the surrender of a strong fortress and an army of 6,000 men to a detachment of 150 troopers, who forthwith occupied the fortress. Thus the Egyptian army was conquered, and the famous country of the Pharaohs lay at the feet of a British General.

The Khedive, Tewfik, arrived from Alexandria, and once more took up his residence at his capital, where Lord Wolseley held in his presence a grand review of the troops, some 16,000 men, to whom his Highness owed his restoration to power. The army of occupation was now reduced to 12,000, and, in the following year, preparations were made for the evacuation of Cairo, with the ultimate object of quitting Egypt within two years, when, in November, 1883, a terrible and unexpected catastrophe occurred, which changed the aspect of affairs.

This was the destruction of the army of Hicks Pasha, near Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, by the fanatical soldiery of Mahomet Achmet, known as the Mahdi, or Messiah, who was looked upon as the saviour of the Soudanese from the Egyptian yoke, and the successor of Mahomed. The British Government ordered the evacuation of the Soudan by the Egyptian garrisons, and when Sinkat and Tokar, near Suakin, were invested by the so-called rebels, under Osman Digma, Valentine Baker Pasha was sent to relieve the garrisons with an ill-disciplined force of some 5,000 Egyptian *gendarmerie*, a small column having already been slaughtered in the attempt. General Baker suffered a disastrous defeat at El Teb, with the loss of half his column, nearly all the British officers accompanying him being slain, and the British Government, early in 1884, despatched Sir Gerald Graham from Cairo with a small force* to effect the relief of Tokar, the garrison of

* The following was the constitution of the force:—10th and 19th Hussars; 8

Sinkat, led by a brave Egyptian officer, Tewfik Pasha, having been annihilated to a man, after a gallant and protracted defence. General Graham disembarked his little army at Trinkitat, to the south of Suakin, on the 25th February, when news arrived of the surrender of the garrison of Tokar. Nevertheless Sir Gerald Graham resolved to push on to Tokar, and, crossing the lagoon at Trinkitat, arrived on the following day at Fort Baker, where 300 men were left in garrison, and a supply of food and water for three days was stored.

On the morning of the 28th February, the force, numbering 3,000 infantry, 750 sabres, 115 sailors and 200 artillerymen and engineers, moved off towards El Teb in a hollow square, 250 yards by 130, containing the transport animals carrying the reserve ammunition and hospital equipment. The enemy were seen in front, but disappeared as the square advanced over the line taken by Baker's column in its flight, the ground being dotted with skeletons of the ill-fated force. The advance necessarily was slow, as the ground was broken and covered with scrub, and the men were occasionally rested. When about three miles from Fort Baker, an earthwork was seen, and the enemy, who had been keeping up a desultory fire, were found to be in great strength. Pushing on at a brisker pace, with the bagpipes playing, the square advanced to within 800 yards of the right flank of the enemy's position, in order to take it in reverse. The men now lay down in the ranks, and the machine guns and 7-pounders of the camel battery replied to the enemy's rifle and artillery fire. At this time Baker Pasha, who was in charge of the Intelligence Department, was struck in the face by a fragment of shell, but though the wound was severe, he remained in the saddle till the close of the fight.

As the Arabs would not attack, after a short consultation between Generals Graham and Buller, the order was given for the square to advance, and, with a cheer, the British infantry, firing the while, moved rapidly, but with perfect steadiness, on the earthwork. The Arabs, nothing loth, charged out of the rifle-pits and entrenchments to meet their foes, and a desperate struggle ensued. But the spear and sword and buckler were no match for the withering fire of the Martini-Henry and the bayonet, and the enemy fell back; when the British troops, of whom the York and Lancaster, Royal Highlanders, and Naval Brigade had borne the brunt of the attack, entered the earthwork. Colonel Burnaby, who had his horse killed under him, and was

battery of Artillery, and a company of Engineers; 1st battalion Royal Highlanders (42nd regiment); 1st battalion York and Lancaster Regiment (65th regiment), which arrived from Aden that day; 1st battalion King's Royal Rifle Corps (60th Rifles); 1st battalion Gordon Highlanders (75th regiment); 1st battalion Royal Irish Fusiliers (87th regiment); a battalion of Royal Marine Infantry and Artillery, also a detachment of seamen, with six Gardners and Gatlings.

wounded in the arm, was among the first to mount the parapet, and dealt death around him with a double-barrelled shot-gun. On gaining the earthwork, the two Krupp guns, which had been served by Egyptian gunners from the Tokar garrison, were turned against the enemy, and an advance was made on their second position, within a loop-holed brick building, which was carried at the point of the bayonet.

Pushing on, the British gained the walls of El Teb, where the Soudanese made their last stand, but whence they were driven by the Gordon Highlanders. Meanwhile the cavalry, led by Brigadier-General Herbert Stewart, charged in three lines over the broken ground, hillocks, and scrub, swarming with the enemy, who fired from rifle-pits, or speared the troopers, hamstringing the horses as they passed over them. In this conflict three officers were killed; and Colonel Barrow,* commanding the 19th Hussars, a most distinguished and experienced officer, received a spear wound in the arm and side, and was only rescued from death by the gallantry of three of his men. Of General Stewart's four orderlies one was killed and two were wounded, and few who rode in the repeated charges through the Arab ranks but had narrow escapes.

The British loss was thirty killed, including four officers, and about 150 wounded, including twenty officers, of whom Lieutenant Royds, commanding the Naval Brigade, and several men, died. The enemy lost very heavily, about 2,300 bodies having been counted; and four Krupp guns, two brass howitzers, and a Gatling were captured. The bodies of the British officers of Baker's former expedition received interment. Tokar, eleven miles distant, was reached on the following day, and then the column returned to Trinkitat, where it embarked, on the 5th March, for Suakin.

But the power of Osman Digma was not yet broken, and, on the 11th March, General Graham marched out to Baker's zareba, eight miles from Suakin, and, on the following day, continued the advance towards Tamai, where it was known the Arabs had entrenched themselves. The infantry was now formed into two squares, under Major-Generals Davis and Sir Redvers Buller, the cavalry being under Brigadier-General Stewart. The enemy were found in position on a low range of hills on the northern side of the Valley of Tamai, and the infantry having constructed a zareba for the night, about 2,500 yards distant, the cavalry returned to Baker's zareba to water their horses. The enemy kept up a desultory fusilade during the night, and the troops were glad when the order for their advance was given. At seven the cavalry rejoined, and, an hour later, the infantry marched, Sir

* Colonel Percy Barrow died at Cairo two years after receiving this wound, from its effects. In the meantime he had passed through the Nile campaign, where he acquired fresh glory.

Herald Graham taking up his post in the leading brigade, under General Davis. This brigade consisted of the Royal Highlanders and York and Lancaster Regiment on the front and flanks, with the Marines in the rear face, the Naval Brigade, with the machine guns, being in the centre of the square. Sir Redvers Buller's brigade, also in square formation—consisting of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, Gordon Highlanders, and third battalion 60th Rifles—was *echelloned* on the right rear.

The enemy were soon seen in front in great force, and the cavalry falling back, artillery and rifle-fire was opened on them, but failed to stay their advance. General Graham now gave the order to Davis's brigade to charge, and in executing this movement, the companies of the York and Lancaster and Highlanders in front were separated from the remaining companies on the flanks. The Arabs, seeing their advantage, burst in like a flood on the right face of the square, and a scene of disorder ensued as the York and Lancaster Regiment wavered and fell back on the Highlanders and Marines. The confusion was only temporary, and, after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, in which the prowess of the British soldier prevailed, the whole of the Arab assailants were either expelled or killed, 600 bodies being counted on the spot. The loss, especially among the Naval Brigade, was heavy, and, during the retreat, the machine guns were abandoned. Meanwhile Buller's brigade, advancing on the right rear, in perfect order, as if on parade, by their terrible fire not only prevented the Arabs from coming to close quarters, but assisted in driving off the assailants of Davis's brigade. The two brigades now advanced abreast, and the lost Gatling was recovered and turned by the sailors against the enemy, who, emerging from a deep rocky ravine, made a second attempt to overwhelm the British. Nothing finer than the devoted gallantry of these fanatical Arabs could be imagined, and the slaughter was proportionately heavy. The British loss was five officers, including two of the York and Lancaster and three of the Navy, and 105 men killed, and eight officers and 120 men wounded, while of 12,000 Arabs, one-fourth were left on the field.

Pushing on after a brief rest, General Graham reached the wells of Tamai, three miles distant, and occupied the deserted camp of Osman Digma. On the following day, the British force set fire to the village of Tamai, and after destroying an immense amount of ammunition taken at Baker Pasha's defeat, and burning Osman Digma's camp, extending over two miles of ground, which was sulkily witnessed by the remnant of his brave followers, the whole force returned to Suakin. The last event of this campaign was the advance, on the 25th March, of General Graham, with two infantry brigades and cavalry, to beat up the quarters of Osman Digma, who still remained defiant at Tamanieb, to the west of Tamai, on the road to Sinkat. The village was committed

to the flames, when the column returned unmolested to Suakin, whence General Graham and the greater portion of the troops proceeded to Cairo and England.

We have not the space here to detail the circumstances that led Mr. Gladstone's Government to undertake what is known as the Nile Expedition, one of the most remarkable and interesting of military history. Suffice it to say that, on the 18th January, 1884, General Gordon was despatched to Khartoum, to withdraw all the Egyptian garrisons from the Soudan, and make the best arrangements possible for its future government. When taking his departure from Charing Cross the singular spectacle was witnessed of the Duke of Cambridge holding open the carriage door for the hero, while Lord Wolseley, his old fellow-campaigner in the Crimea and China, carried his portmanteau, and Lord Granville took his ticket.

General Gordon entered Khartoum on the 18th February, and at first all went well, and he declared Khartoum was "as safe as Kensington Park;" but the Mahdi continued to gain successes, Khartoum was invested, and, on 26th May, Berber fell. Lord Wolseley conjured the British Government to despatch an expedition to the relief of General Gordon in May; but doubts were entertained by the Ministry as to his inability to extricate himself, and no determination was come to until the 5th August, when the Government brought before the House of Commons a vote of credit for £300,000, though Mr. Gladstone declared that this was done only as a precautionary measure, and he was "not in a position to say that the contingency had arisen for rendering military aid to General Gordon." The loss of these three months was fatal to success, and the desert column, under Sir Herbert Stewart, arrived at Khartoum too late by two days.

When, late in August, the expedition was resolved upon, everything that military promptitude and foresight could do to remedy the delay, was effected. Some 800 boats suitable for the rapids and cataracts of the Nile, were built in England, and 500 Canadian *voyageurs* and 300 West African Kroomen were engaged to navigate them and assist in getting the steamers over the cataracts. British troops were pushed on to Wady Halfa, the frontier town of Egypt Proper, and reinforcements were sent out from home, from India, and the Mediterranean; and, finally, Lord Wolseley, Adjutant-General at the Horse Guards, left for Egypt, on the 31st August, to assume supreme command. On his arrival at Cairo, he called for volunteers from the regiments of Guards and cavalry stationed in the United Kingdom, to form a Camel Corps,*

* This was not the first experiment of the sort. A Camel Corps, consisting of four British officers and eighty-four natives was organized by General Sir Charles Napier, in Scinde, and employed between the years 1844–49, in checking the robbe-

consisting of sixty-five officers and 1,187 rank and file, each regiment and battalion contributing two officers and forty-three men, the whole being organized into three distinct corps, called respectively the Guards, and Heavy, and Light Camel Regiments. This chosen body of troops embarked from England on the 26th September, and the sagacity that dictated the formation of the Camel Corps was amply justified by its success in the famous desert march to the Nile, the probability of which Lord Wolseley had in view.

For four months the Nile presented the most singular spectacle that even "the father of rivers" has shown throughout the centuries during which some of the most striking episodes of history have been enacted on its banks. For many hundreds of miles of its broken and tortuous course, a British army of 9,000 men, with the necessary *impedimenta*, were toiling at the oar in 800 boats, and transporting stores, or dragging pinnaces and steamers by main force over the cataracts. Lord Wolseley left Wady Halfa for Sarras on the 29th October, and arrived on the 3rd November at Dongola, where the Mudir, or local governor, had kept the Mahdi's troops at bay, though his loyalty was long a subject of doubt. On the 16th December, Lord Wolseley arrived at Korti, 1,250 miles from Cairo, and as from private advices Gordon's position was known to be critical, on the 30th December, Sir Herbert Stewart was despatched to make the desert march to Metemmeh, on the Nile, opposite to Shendy, 170 miles from Korti, whence he was to sail in one of Gordon's steamers, with a small detachment of British soldiers, to Khartoum, 100 miles up the river. Major-General Earle was, later on, to proceed by river, with about 3,000 men, to Berber, after retaking which, he was to co-operate in any ulterior operations at or beyond Khartoum.

Sir Herbert Stewart moved with 1,100 men, each man with seven days' rations, escorting 2,000 camels carrying supplies. Gakdul, a distance of ninety-seven miles, was reached at 6.45 A.M., on the 2nd January, 1885, a very remarkable performance. Leaving the Guards and Marines to guard the wells and supplies, Sir Herbert returned to Korti, where he arrived on the afternoon of the 6th January, and, two days later, finally left Korti, to which he was destined never to return. The small column* placed under his command to effect the honourable task of relieving the great English hero who

tribes on the frontier. There was also a Camel Corps which did good service at Gwalior during the Indian Mutiny.

* The troops consisted of a detachment of the 19th Hussars, the Guards and Heavy Camel Regiments, the Mounted Infantry, the 1st battalion of the Sussex Regiment (35th), a detachment of the Royal Artillery with three 7-pounders, the Naval Brigade, numbering fifty-two officers and men, with one Gardner gun, under Lord Charles Beresford, and a detachment of Royal Engineers.

had so worthily upheld the prestige of his country, consisted, all told, of 100 officers and 1,500 rank and file, with 300 natives, and 2,228 camels.

The force suffered greatly during the march from thirst, but Gakdul, where water was had in abundance, was reached on the 12th January, and, two days later, the march for the Nile was resumed, 150 men of the Sussex Regiment being left as a garrison in place of the Guards, thus increasing the fighting strength of the column by about 100 bayonets. It was not anticipated that any opposition would be met with; but this idea was destined to be belied, as, on approaching Abu Klea, the Hussar scouts reported that a large body of the enemy was encamped about two miles from the wells. The small British force formed a zareba of the mimosa bushes, and slept that night on their arms, the cattle and baggage being in the centre, while three small works, giving a flanking fire, afforded a further protection from surprise.

The Arabs kept up a desultory fire all night, but as they made no offensive movement, at 9.30 on the following morning, the 17th January, Sir Herbert Stewart, leaving a small guard at the zareba marched out to bring them to action, with his force on foot, except the Hussars. As the square wound round the left flank of the enemy's position, they were met with a hot fire from the Arabs, by which many were killed, including Major Gough, of the Mounted Infantry, and Lord St. Vincent, 16th Lancers, who had served in South Africa and Afghanistan, received a wound of which he died.

Notwithstanding the fire of the guns and rifles the Arabs continued to advance with banners waving, and suddenly a body, numbering some thousands, charged up two narrow gullies leading from the valley, and bore down on the Heavy Camel Regiment, who formed the rear half of the left face, and the whole of the rear face, of the square. Colonel Burnaby, who had arrived a few days before from Korti with a convoy of grain, and by seniority was second-in-command of the column, called upon the Heavies to meet the Arab charge, and, riding out, was killed after a hand-to-hand conflict, in which this most gallant soldier displayed his wonted intrepidity and contempt for death. But the movement was fatal to the Heavies, who lost their formation, and the Arabs, breaking in upon the square, cut them down in scores, while the small Naval Brigade, who occupied the centre of the rear face, were overpowered, and their Gardner gun, jamming at a critical time, two officers and many seamen were killed beside the gun. Had it not been for the steadiness of the Sussex Regiment, the Mounted Infantry and the Guards, who poured in a heavy fire upon the struggling masses of Arabs, some of whom had gained the centre of the square, whence, however, none of them emerged alive, a terrible catastrophe must

have occurred; but the discipline and calm valour of the British soldier asserted itself at this supreme moment of trial, and the Arabs were finally beaten back with fearful slaughter, over 800 bodies being counted round the square alone, including many sheikhs. The British loss was nine officers and sixty-five rank and file killed, and nine officers and eighty-five wounded.

The Hussars pushed on and occupied the wells of Abu Klea, whither the force, carrying the wounded on stretchers and camel litters, advanced later in the day. The supplies having been brought from the former position, a strong zareba was erected, and a detachment being left to guard the wells and the wounded, at 4 P.M. on the 18th January, the column pushed on for the Nile, though much fatigued from want of rest. Marching all night, with occasional halts, when dawn broke it was found that the Nile was still six miles off, and from the masses of the enemy seen to be pouring out of Metemmeh with the object of barring the way to the river, it was manifest that the hardly-pressed soldiers would have to fight an action before reaching its banks. Sir Herbert Stewart took up a position near Abu Kru, about four miles from the river, and proceeded to form a zareba. The Arabs continued to gather round the column, on which they kept up a very heavy fire, causing many casualties, including the gallant commander, who fell severely wounded by a bullet in the groin. The command now devolved upon Sir Charles Wilson, R.E., head of the Intelligence Department, an officer of great scientific acquirements, but scarcely fitted for high command in a crisis demanding the abilities of an experienced and daring soldier.

Having completed his preparations, Sir Charles Wilson left a guard of about 300 men with the guns, in the zareba, under Lord Charles Beresford and Colonel Barrow, and pushed on with about 1,000 men on foot, marching in square, for the Nile, where he intended to entrench himself. It was a desperate course, but the only one likely to prevent the annihilation of the small column. Protected by the accurate fire of the guns from the zareba, the British square pushed on slowly, now swinging to the right and now to the left as the Arabs advanced to the attack, and finally repulsing a determined assault of some 10,000 Arabs, who swept down upon the left face with a determination only less than that displayed at Abu Klea. After this all further opposition ceased, and the column arrived at Gubat, on the banks of the Nile, where the men, having quenched their overpowering thirst, at length found a welcome rest. Early on the following morning, leaving a strong guard, the column returned to the zareba, and brought back with them their comrades, together with the wounded and stores. During the fighting since the 17th, two officers and the correspondents of the *Standard* and *Morning Post*, with twenty-two men, had been killed; and nine officers

including the commander, and ninety-two men, were wounded, mostly severely.

On the 21st January, a reconnoissance in force was made towards Metemmeh, but the place was not assaulted, as the attempt would have ensured heavy loss. At 7 A.M. on the 24th, Sir Charles Wilson left for Khartoum with two of the four steamers Gordon had sent to Metemmeh, taking with him twenty men of the Sussex Regiment, and 250 of Gordon's Soudanese troops. On approaching Tuti Island, two miles from Khartoum, he was met by so heavy a rifle and shell fire that the bitter truth was forced home to him that all the hardships incurred and losses suffered by the British army, had been without avail to avert the sad catastrophe of the death, two days before, of General Gordon, whose life, together with that of his followers and the people of Khartoum, had been sacrificed by the treachery of Faragh Pasha, one of his generals, who, on the morning of the 26th January, had opened the gate in the southern face of the fortifications to the Mahdi's soldiers. Sir Charles Wilson, returning the fire from his armour-plated steamers, steamed back towards Metemmeh, but, on the way, the steamers were wrecked by the treachery of the pilot, at a point about thirty miles distant from the British camp, where the first intimation of the great catastrophe that had happened at Khartoum was received, on the 1st February.

No time was lost in sending Lord Charles Beresford, with a steamer, having on board twenty picked sharpshooters, and a strong body of sailors to work the Gardner and broadside guns. Proceeding up the river, the gallant officer engaged the enemy's batteries near which the steamers had been wrecked, within a range of eighty yards, until an unlucky shot pierced the boiler and placed him at their mercy. Lord Charles Beresford anchored his ship, and having repaired the boiler during the night, a little before daylight on the 4th February, the steamer got under way and ran the gauntlet of the enemy's fire. Sir Charles Wilson's party were now embarked, and Gubat was reached the same evening in safety.

As a campaign for the recovery of Khartoum at this season of the year, and with the resources at his disposal, was out of the question, Lord Wolseley directed the withdrawal of the force from Gubat, and its return to Korti. This difficult task was accomplished by Sir Redvers Buller, who was sent from headquarters for the purpose. The column left Gubat on the 14th, and, on arrival at Abu Klea, was threatened by a large body of the enemy, whom they drove off, and arrived without further opposition at Gakdul. Here many of the sick and wounded died, including Sir Herbert Stewart, whose premature fate called forth the sincere sorrow of every officer and man of the gallant band he had led to victory on the 17th January at Abu Klea. Sir Redvers

Buller continued the retreat, and, by the 8th March, the last party of the war-worn column which had left Korti with such high hopes exactly two months before, arrived at headquarters.*

Meanwhile the other column, under Major-General Earle, numbering some 3,000 troops, including the 1st battalion Black Watch (late 42nd) and 1st battalion South Staffordshire Regiment (late 38th), proceeded up the Nile to attack Berber and punish the Monassir tribe for having treacherously murdered Colonel Stewart, General Gordon's able and gallant lieutenant, and his companions, in the latter part of the preceding September, while on their way from Khartoum to Dongola in the steamer *Abbas*. The river was very difficult above Handab, but the troops pushed on by boat, reaching the vicinity of Kirbekan, seventy miles from Merawi, on the 9th February. On the following day they attacked the Arabs, who had taken up a very strong position, and while two companies of the South Staffordshire, with two guns, kept their attention engaged by a front attack, the bulk of the force, executing a circuitous movement, attacked the enemy in rear. A complete victory crowned the admirable arrangements of General Earle, who, however, was killed, as well as Colonel Eyre, commanding the South Staffordshires, and Colonel Coveny, V.C., of the Black Watch. Besides these officers, seven men were killed, and four officers and forty-one rank and file wounded.

Brigadier-General H. Brackenbury, who assumed command of the column, pushed on towards Abu Hamed, but was recalled by Lord Wolseley, acting upon instructions from England. Eventually the entire force was directed to evacuate Korti and the province of Dongola, and return to Cairo, a small portion only being retained on the frontier of Egypt proper.

But before this resolve was finally taken by Mr. Gladstone's Government—at the time when, inflamed by the death of General Gordon, the public opinion of England demanded an autumn campaign for the recovery of Khartoum, in order "to smash the Mahdi" and establish a stable Government in the Soudan—an army of 12,000 men was despatched from England, Cairo and India, to Suakin, with the object of breaking the power of Osman Digma, and laying a railway to Berber, on the Nile, in order to co-operate with Lord Wolseley at Korti in his projected advance on that town and Khartoum. Sir Gerald Graham was entrusted with the command of this army, which

* Lord Wolseley issued a General Order to his troops, in which, after expressing his own and the Queen's thanks, he said :—"Your noble efforts to save General Gordon have been unsuccessful, but through no fault of yours. Both on the river and in the desert you have borne hardships and privations without murmur ; in action you have been uniformly victorious ; all that men could do to save a comrade you have done, but Khartoum fell through treachery two days before the troops reached it."

included a brigade of Guards, and an Indian Contingent; and before the close of the campaign, a force of 800 men arrived from New South Wales, the first occasion on which our colonists have assisted the mother country in a foreign war. The campaign is chiefly memorable for this circumstance, and for an incident which gave further evidence, if such were required after the actions of El Teb, Tamai, Abu Klea and Kirbekan, of the indomitable valour of the British soldier.

The first military operation conducted by General Graham was the occupation, on the 20th March, 1885, of Hasheen, in order to protect the flank of the army in its ulterior operations. This was done after some fighting, in which the 1st Battalion Berkshire Regiment (late 49th) and Royal Marines, a battalion of which had long formed the garrison of Suakin, had the chief share, the Berkshires storming the hill in good style. Two officers and seven men were killed, and ten officers (of whom three died) and thirty-three rank and file were wounded. The Surrey Regiment was left to hold the position, and the column returned to Suakin.

On Sunday, the 22nd March, Sir John McNeill, V.C., an officer who had served with distinction under Lord Wolseley in the Red River and Ashantee Expeditions, marched at daybreak with his brigade and the three infantry regiments of the Indian Contingent, under Brigadier-General Hudson, convoying 1,500 camels. When at Tofrek, about six miles from Suakin, General McNeill commenced forming three lozenge-shaped zarebas, placed diagonally, the centre one, of large size, for the camels, and those at the angles each to contain one British battalion and two Gardner guns, manned by the Naval Brigade. At 2.40, when the zarebas were approaching completion, that occupied by the Marines having its guns mounted, and some of the working parties being still out in the bush cutting brushwood, while a portion of the troops were at breakfast, suddenly the cavalry vedettes were seen galloping in closely pursued by the Arabs, and in an instant the British troops found themselves engaged in a terrible hand-to-hand struggle with dense masses of a dauntless and fanatical foe. All the conditions of the conflict were in favour of the assailants, but once more the serene valour of the British soldier shone with the lustre of Albuera and Inkerman. Half the battalion of the Berkshires were in their zareba, but the remainder, in companies or groups as they were collected in the open, stood back to back and fought with a doggedness that wrested victory from the jaws of annihilation. Not less gallant, though not so hard pressed, were the Marines, Naval Brigade, 15th Sikhs and 28th Bombay N.I., but the 17th Bengal N.I. gave way and suffered greatly in consequence, losing their commanding officer, Major von Beverhoudt. The total loss in killed in this action, known as Tofrek (for

which a clasp was given), was probably not less than 400,* while some 600 camels and 200 other transport animals were slain, thus seriously crippling the future movements of the army.

Sir Gerald Graham immediately proceeded with the Guards to the front, but no further fighting took place that day, the Arabs, who had lost fully 1,500 men, being thoroughly cowed. True, they attacked a convoy of provisions sent to Baker's zareba, on the 26th March, though escorted by all the cavalry and infantry in camp, but only a small number charged the square, and they were easily repulsed, with the loss of 100 killed. On the 2nd April, General Graham, taking with him 8,000 men, including the newly-arrived Australian Contingent, marched from Suakin for Tamai, the old fighting ground of Osman Digma's Hadendowa Arabs. A zareba was constructed, after a long and fatiguing march of five hours, and, on the following morning, the column marched on Tamai, which was burnt. During the operations two men were killed and fourteen wounded, including two Australians, the first blood spilt by the colonists in the cause of the mother country The column returned to Suakin without molestation, the formation adopted being that advocated by General Hudson, commanding the Indian Contingent, an officer of great experience in hill warfare in Afghanistan.

The railway was now advanced to Otao and Tambouk, on the road to Berber, under protection of the British troops, but it was ultimately abandoned owing to orders from England. Towards the end of April, Lord Wolseley, leaving Dongola on the 30th March, arrived at Suakin *viâ* Cairo, with the object of reporting to Government on the situation, and inspecting the troops who formed part of his command. Though unsuccessful in effecting the object of the Nile campaign, owing to circumstances beyond his control, Lord Wolseley enhanced his reputation by his able organization and conduct of the expedition. The Liberal Government, for the Egyptian campaign of 1882, had raised him to the peerage, and although he spoke his mind with soldierly bluntness on their giving up the autumn campaign, Mr. Gladstone conferred on him the ribbon of St. Patrick, and Lord Salisbury, on his accession to office, elevated him in the peerage to the rank of viscount.

Notwithstanding their successive defeats, the desert Arabs, followers of the Mahdi, known as Dervishes, have made repeated attempts to gain possession of Suakin, and even to invade Egypt proper, but on every occasion have suffered defeat.

* The Naval Brigade had an officer and 6 men killed and 14 wounded; the Marines lost 8 killed and 23 wounded; the Berkshire Regiment lost an officer and 25 rank and file killed and 37 wounded; the Royal Engineers had 2 officers and 13 men killed, and the Royal Artillery, 5. The Indian Contingent lost 61 killed and 63 wounded.

On the 20th December, 1888, they placed Suakin in a state of siege, and the garrison of Egyptian and Soudanese regular troops, assisted by some British regiments, drove them out of their trenches and inflicted heavy loss on them. For this action, known as Gemaizah, a clasp was given to the troops engaged by the British Government. Again, on the 3rd August in the following year, the Dervishes were defeated with great slaughter at Toski, on the Nile (for which another clasp was granted), and their invasion of Egypt came to an ignominious end. On both occasions Sir Francis Grenfell, "Sirdar," or Commander-in-chief, of the Egyptian army, was in command of the troops, and the Khedive's soldiers were disciplined and led by British officers.

The Third Burmese War.

The last important conquest made by England was that of Upper Burmah. By the first war of 1824–26, we gained the province of Arracan, and three districts of Tenasserim; by the second war of 1852–53, we acquired the province of Pegu, and by the last brief and successful campaign, we annexed the whole of the remainder of the once powerful empire of the dynasty of Alompra, and made our boundaries conterminous with those of China and Siam.

The imagination is stimulated, and the mind staggered when we contemplate the extent, population, and potentialities of the vast Oriental empire built up in little more than a century by the enterprise and valour of our race. Nothing in ancient or modern history offers a parallel, for the empire of Alexander broke to pieces on his death, as did the conquests of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, while ancient Rome, whose dominion extended from Hadrian's wall to the "pillars of Hercules," held sway over semi-civilized or barbarous states, and the modern empire of Russia in Asia is composed of countries which, though once the seats of opulent dynasties, are now poor and backward in civilization.

The third and last Burmese war took place in 1885, and was of a singularly uneventful and bloodless character, though the result was to add to the British dominions a vast empire larger than any European state except Russia. General Prendergast, V.C., of the Royal (Madras) Engineers, who served with distinction in the Mutiny under Sir Hugh Rose, and in Abyssinia, under Lord Napier, commanded the expedition, which proceeded up the Irrawaddy, with a flotilla, and no opposition was experienced until the troops arrived near Pagan. It was on the 24th November, that, after the Naval Brigade had dispersed a body

of the enemy, the 2nd Hampshire Regiment (67th Foot) and Madras Sappers, were landed, and scaled the works of Pagan. King Theebaw's soldiers fled to the jungle without firing a shot, and on the same day, the Naval Brigade and flotilla shelled the enemy out of their earthworks at the important town of Myingyan. Mandalay was occupied on the 28th, and the deposition was decreed of the "Golden-footed Monarch, Lord of the Sea and Land," as he arrogantly styled himself, who had treated the demands of the British Government for justice to its subjects with an insolent defiance that could only have been justified by his power to brave their resentment. Theebaw quitted Mandalay on the 29th November for India, and was at first detained at Arcot, near Madras, the scene of Clive's historic defence. Significantly enough, the so-called "White Elephant" died on the same day the kingdom ceased to exist, but whether from poison or natural causes is unknown. Like the Emperor Caligula's horse, the royal beast lived in great pomp, and ate and drank out of huge silver buckets.

But no sooner was the conquest of the ancient kingdom of Burmah achieved, with an ease almost unexampled, than we were compelled to undertake, as in Pegu in 1853, the difficult task of pacifying the country, and extirpating dacoity. A general disarmament took place, and troops were poured into Upper Burmah, until, in November of the following year, besides 8,000 military police, there were no less than 32,000 soldiers in the country—including ten battalions and nine batteries of Europeans—under Sir Frederick Roberts, who was engaged in succession to Sir Herbert Macpherson, until his departure on the following 6th February, in carrying into execution a plan for crushing the dacoits, who were led by Boshway, and other noted chiefs. An expedition took possession of Bhamo, on the extreme northern frontier, bordering on the possessions of China, and the district containing the famous ruby mines was occupied by a column under General Stewart. The Shan country, extending from Bhamo to the southward of Mandalay and as far east as the Chinese and Siamese frontiers, comprising one-third of Theebaw's dominions, was reduced to subjection, and the Looshai-Chin Expeditionary Force in 1889–90 had an arduous task in traversing the intermediate countries, when the eastern column suffered heavily from fever. Under General Symons, it advanced from Burmah, and the second, or Looshai column, under General Tregear, pushed on from the Chittagong frontier, in the west, and joined hands, when the country was pacified and a route for a trunk road between Upper Burmah and Lower Bengal was explored.

In the task of reducing Upper Burmah to subjection and putting down dacoity, Sir Frederick Roberts was assisted by his Afghan associates, Sir George White and Sir Robert Low; and on his return to India, his successors, Generals White and Gordon, carried through the

task indicated by him, though many valuable lives were lost in the effort. These able commanders, besides reducing the Shan states, and the wild Chin tribes inhabiting the Yau country, subjugated the large district of Chindwin, extending from the Irrawaddy to Munipore, on the frontier of Assam, the Sagaing division to the northward, and the Montsobo district (the birthplace of Alompra, founder of the Burmese dynasty), further to the north, whence extends to Bhamo the Kachyen country. Such a task as this, which has been effected without an effort, could have been undertaken by no other country in the world but England. Any of the great powers of Europe, with all their boasted military strength, would stand aghast at the task of subjugating this vast and ancient empire, portions of which, as Bhamo, are one thousand miles from the sea, but our admirably organized Indian army has accomplished the problem without putting its resources to an undue strain, and we have made so light of this great military enterprise that it has attracted but little notice among foreign powers.

Throughout these arduous and protracted operations, from which little honour could accrue, the British army performed its duty, with a devotion and courage beyond praise. Though the country was difficult and the climate unhealthy and depressing, the operations were carried on by all ranks with cheerful discipline and unfailing success. Many valuable lives were lost in action—storming stockades and clearing jungles, the lairs of dacoits—and many more by disease. All who died perished in the performance of their duty, and, like the myriads of brave soldiers and sailors whose bones lie buried in every clime and under every sea, their services will be cherished in the memory of a grateful country.

"And though no stone may tell
Their name, their work, their glory;
They rest in hearts that lov'd them well,
They grace Britannia's story."

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WOODFALL AND KINDER, LONG ACRE
LONDON